Congress Position

Reg. No. B3002

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor PYARELAL

VOL. XII. No 1 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY FEBRUARY 1 1948 TWO ANNAS

HARIJANS AND TEMPLE ENTRY

(By M K Gandhi)

A friend from Wadhwan writes

You must be receiving reports about the entry of the Harijans into temples These days Harijans are taken into temples anyhow — with or against the consent of the trustees One can understand the insistence on getting Harijans admitted to Vaishnavite *havelis* or Ramji *mandirs*, but one fails to understand what good it can serve to take them into Swami Narayan or Jain temples in which they do not believe Or is it supposed that they will develop faith in them the moment they are admitted there?

The other letter is from Ahmedabad. It is unsigned and carries only a *nom de plume* Your oppressed ones From the handwriting and the language it is clear that it has not emanated from the pen of the Harijans I know Its relevant portion is as follows

"On the festival of *Makar Sankranti* on the 14th Harijans tried to visit temples When they reached the Swami Narayan Mandir at 8 a.m. with the *Harijan mandalis* they found the doors shut and fastened with *khambhats* locks They are squatting there still making *satyagraha* They refuse to go to work The local Congress Committee has condemned their action How strange! If they do not agree into their rights even after the attainment of independence when will they at all? Local Congressmen go there and return after a few minutes stay — there is no serious effort on effective help and the poor Harijans are left to drown their discomfiture by bawling out devotional songs in the bitter cold Who will end this impasse? There is no man with personality or character among the Congressmen here. In Dakor Shri Ravishankar Maharaj used his influence to get the Harijans admitted into the temple there But there is nobody to get them admittance to temples here Are the Harijans for ever to be baulked of their inherent right? Only your intervention can save the situation. Today for the third day thousands of Harijan *satyagrahis* are squatting in front of the temple gates exposed to the inclemencies of the weather They do not want to go to law Nor is there a brahmood of the hearts of the so-called *savarnas* melting. What will be the end? Would you, please show the way out?"

The distinction drawn by the writer of the first letter in my opinion, has no meaning The Harijans are entitled to and do actually visit Swami Narayan and Jain temples and they should be allowed to do so For years there has been a movement to secure for the Harijans equal temple entry rights with the *brahmanas* and it has met with considerable success Now that the Bombay Government have passed a law to that effect there seems to be no occasion left for *satyagraha*. If the law reflects popular opinion it ought to command spontaneous acceptance and respect If on the other hand it is in the teeth of popular opinion its enforcement will be retarded In democracy a law cannot be given effect to by force It calls for discerning circumspection It will succeed in its object if the reformer makes an intelligent and discriminating use of it. Hurry or impatience will defeat its object

Trustees are not owners of temples Even owners cease to have property rights over temples when they are meant for public use True owners of the temples are the votaries who go there to worship Regarded in this light all Jain and Swami Narayan temples are Hindu shrines I have myself visited these temples No one ever cared to inquire as to what my sect was It was enough that I looked like a Hindu The same holds good of hundreds of other visitors like myself Therefore, the Harijans must be free to visit all temples that are open to the Hindus Today, awakened public opinion and the law which embodies that opinion do not regard Harijans as a separate caste, but an integral part of the four or the eighteen *varnas* comprising Hindu society Therefore, the contrary view cannot prevail It is the devotee's devotion that makes a temple a living shrine The deity in the temple is only a reflection of the devotee's spirit.

To come to the second letter—in spite of my clear view being as stated above I fail to appreciate the importunity of the Harijans. The squatters are not true devotees They do not care for *dev-darshan*, they are running only after their right, and to that extent they are running away from true religion To write letters anonymously or get others to write them for you is not the mark of a devotee A true devotee will follow in the footsteps of Nandanar who disdained help of anybody but God. Today he commends the homage even of the *brahman* who regards himself as 'high caste' I look forward to the birth of a Nandanar among those who have become Harijans by adoption And I know that must be the wish of the Harijans by birth too If non-Harijan Hindu society wants, let them take Harijan to their

temples and shrines with due regard and respect If not, and pending that consummation let the Harijans stay in their homes and sanctify them by the purifying Ganga of their devotion They don t have need to squat or sit *dharna* before any temple In my opinion such *dharna* carries no merit—it is irreligious sinful and fit only to be eschewed

New Delhi, 27-1-48

(*From the original in Gujarati*)

SACRED MOMENTS

I

The saddest spectacle that met one on our arrival in Noakhali was that of women with their bare wrists and foreheads without the auspicious red mark Their conch bangles had been broken and the auspicious marks forcibly removed by the rioters at the time of their so-called conversion In some cases they had themselves removed them out of fear Their faces were joyless and faded and in their eyes was the hunted animal look which went to one s heart As a rule they seldom spoke to you in the open but took you into the privacy of their inner apartments before they dared to open their lips and pour out their tale of woe From this life-in-death existence they were resurrected by the magic of *Ramanama* I had nothing else to give them.

I shall never forget the experience when for the first time I assembled a group of them in a devastated *bari* in Shahpur and made them recite *Ramanama* They were all poor folk—the poorest of the poor—*dhobis* and *mahs* and *chowkidars* Their masters had fled leaving them to look after their *bari*s. A small group of children had run inside their house at the sight of strangers on our approach "Till a short time ago ' their parents told us, "we all used to wear Muslim dress A Maulvi used to come daily to teach them *namaz* They lived under a pall of fear

"We have no earthly helpers we are helpless,' they told us

' Do you ever take *Ramanama*? ' I asked them.

" We dare not."

" Even in your homes? '

" Yes even in our homes You do not know what we have passed through "

Then begin doing it from today — now, with me "

They agreed As their singing gathered volume, they became altogether oblivious of their surroundings. A new light spread over their countenance They had found the " Help of the helpless "

The next step was to gather all of them from two villages in one place and hold a *Harikirtan* jointly It proved to be a great success and for the first time since the riots, the blast of a conch shell was heard in Shahpur Bazar It had a strange sequel. But I must leave that for the present.

Rehabilitation had commenced late in the village of Kararkhil. To commemorate it an inter-caste dinner was held in April last A procession of Muslims from Shahpur Bazar that happened to pass over the District Board road just then shouting slogans of *Allah-o-Akbar* had the effect of throwing the whole gathering into a commotion Someone from among the processionists had entered into a *mah s bari* —so ran the report —and beaten the *mah s* little boy who happened to be alone there. The culprit could not be traced. I followed up the processionists to Somepara Bazar With several of them I had made friends and found that they meant no trouble When I returned, the dinner was still in progress I asked the gathering to indicate by raising their hands as to how many of them had not been unnerved by the shooting and the rest In reply five hands from among men and three only from among women went up

The next morning after a sleepless night I began to make them recite *Ramanama* together At first I used to gather together, in one place members of each *bari* and explain to them the inner meaning and significance of the Name Afterwards they began to assemble from all the *bari*s in front of their devastated *Thakurghar* The gist of what I told them in scores of heart-to-heart talks was that if they had a living faith in God and walked in His fear always, they would know no other fear Fear of death turned men into cowards and yet was there a man who being born could escape death? On the reverse, was there any to whom death could come twice? Which was better then —to face the miscreant's dagger like a man while defending one's honour and religion or to purchase a brief cowardly reprieve only to die of sickness, old age or disease after prolonged agony and suffering? If they really regarded God as Father, why should they be afraid at the prospect of meeting Him in answer to His call? Did they not believe that not a sparrow falls without His will? And to illustrate the remark I told them the story which the late Maulana Shaukat Ali used so often to relate of a condemned prisoner in the Yerawda Prison, who, all through the night previous to his execution for wife-murder, danced and sang in his cell, the song

'कर ले सिंगार चतुर अलबेली
साजनके घर जाना होगा ।'

" Bedeck thyself O ! gay elegant youth prepare thyself for the journey to thy beloved's place.'

If they really believed that God was their friend and protector they would rejoice to meet Him Such living faith would make the weakest of them more than a match for physically the strongest Arms would have no terrifying effect upon them since arms could not further accentuate death Supposing I put it to them, a horde of hooligans, armed with *lathis* and daggers— came upon them while they were engaged in singing *Ramadhun*, and the women and children instead of collapsing or running helter-skelter at their sight remained absorbed in their singing, altogether oblivious of their presence, the hooligans would be non-plussed. They would feel that those unarmed women and children had something in them which they (the hooligans) lacked — a power that was superior to

that of arms and which enabled them to remain undismayed even in the face of death The condition was that the latter should neither tremble nor turn pale nor harbour resentment or ill-will in their hearts Woman was looked upon and she regarded herself as the 'weaker vessel' That was perhaps true when the contest was of arms, but since the inauguration of the *satyagraha* era, the situation had been reversed In *satyagraha* not only could women take an equal part in the struggle with men; they could lead. They had an infinite capacity for patient suffering In their homes they had wielded unconsciously perhaps the weapon of *satyagraha* since the beginning of time Men might delude themselves with the belief that they could defend themselves by the strength of their right arm True, in practice they had seen its futility, but women had nothing else to rely upon except God and the power of *satyagraha* 'Ramanama' therefore must mean everything to you, if it comes not merely from your lips only, but from your heart so that it becomes a living presence with you and shows in the littlest of your little acts I promise that in future it will not be you who will tremble before the *goonda*, it is the latter who will tremble before you '

The last words came out from the depths without any premeditation and in spite of myself almost. I confess if I had time to reflect and rationcinate I might have trembled before giving these words utterance.

It was no easy task in the beginning to persuade women to come out of their seclusion and stand erect in regular rows facing men and sing in a loud voice free from embarrassment *Ramadhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* But gradually they got used to it At first men used to lead and the women followed But after some time the arrangement was reversed They led and the men followed

The routine which we followed was to have *Ramadhunkartan* in our *badi* in Bhattalpur early in the morning to the sounding of the gong (*hansa*) The signal was picked up by the adjoining village where a small party of us proceeded next singing *Ramadhun* to the accompaniment of *tal* all the way As soon as we reached there the gong would be beaten there and that served as a signal for the third village, which we visited next with more members added to our party The return journey was utilized to teach the little boys and girls some songs and *mantras* which later formed part of their regular prayer at all functions After *Ramadhunkartan* they all dispersed and engaged in scavenging and sanitation work in their respective *badis* which was an essential part of our programme. I with my doctor colleague would then visit the sick and ailing patients. Incidentally this enabled us to teach the boys and girls accompanying us a little nursing care of the sick and elementary rules of health In the afternoon we all assembled in one place and had an hour's *takli yagnana* in perfect silence.

New Delhi, 12-1-'48 PYARELAL

(To be concluded)

LESSONS FROM RUSSIA

Speaking on a cut motion in the Legislative Assembly recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech defending the obtaining of furniture from Stockholm for the Embassy at Moscow said

'It just is not possible to furnish in Moscow You get an empty house We thought of sending things from India but it was almost physically impossible unless we spend vast sums over aeroplanes carrying chairs and tables from here! Of course, it could be furnished alternatively with Russian furniture The Russian people, and all credit to them for this, even since this war are an intent on doing what they consider to be the fundamental things that they refuse to waste their time on accessories of life They have to build up their country after the most horrible sufferings and damage they suffered in the war and they are building it up in regard to the major undertakings They go about in torn 'clothes and broken down shoes it does not matter, but they are building dams reservoirs and factories and the rest which they consider more important So it is not easy to get any of these small necessaries of life for the moment The result is our Embassy in Moscow had to go to Stockholm for its tables and chairs

Russia made tremendous sacrifices after the 1917 revolution and built up an economy which was the admiration and wonder of certain types of economic thinkers After thirty years of forced-pace planning and repeated stepping up of their production plans we find Russia is not able to supply even tables and chairs and they have to be content with torn clothes and broken down shoes ! Why? This is a lesson for India to sit down and think before she takes to the same line of action

Russia built enormous 'dams, reservoirs and factories' after the first world war at a feverish rate and at a stupendous human cost Where are they now? Once again they are building 'dams-reservoirs and factories' How long are they going to last? Will history repeat itself in another twenty years? The people are now said to be again 'going about in torn and broken down shoes What has been the benefit to the common man of all the sacrifices that have been made? How has the world been benefited? May India draw its lessons

May we take a lesson from the Russians that they are "intent on doing fundamental things?' In India we have not even 'clothes' to be "torn nor shoes' to be 'broken down Our fundamental thing is food for the very existence. Under these circumstances, whether India obtains tables and chairs from Stockholm or not is not the thing that will affect the people of the land. One would imagine obtaining food is a greater 'fundamental need' but the planning that the Government of India does today ignores this very need and is directing its attention to the frills of life which the Embassies are to the imperialist nations They are not even 'small accessories' to an agricultural country like ours

J C KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

February 1 1948

CONGRESS POSITION

(By M K Gandhi)

Indian National Congress which is the oldest national political organization and which has after many battles fought her non-violent way to freedom cannot he allowed to die It can only die with the nation. A living organism ever grows or it dies The Congress has won political freedom, but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and morel freedom These freedoms are harder than the political if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular All-embracing constructive work evokes the energy of all the units of the millions.

The Congress has got the preliminary and necessary part of her freedom The hardest has yet to come In its difficult ascent to democracy it has inevitably created rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions, popular and democratic only in name How to get out of the weedy and unwieldy growth ?

The Congress *must* do away with its special register of members at no time exceeding one crore not even then easily identifiable It had an unknown register of millions who could never be wanted Its register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters rolls in the country. The Congress business should be to see that no faked name gets in and no legitimate name is left out On its own register it will have a body of servants of the nation who would be workers doing the work allotted to them from time to time

Unfortunately for the country they will be drawn chiefly for the time being from the city dwellers, most of whom would be required to work for and in the villages of India. The ranks must be filled in increasing numbers from villagers

These servants will be expected to operate upon and serve the voters registered according to law in their own surroundings Many persons and parties will woo them The very best will win Thus and in no other way can the Congress regain its fast ebbing unique position in the country But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the Nation, it was *khudai khidmatgar* — God s servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God s servant — nothing more, nothing less If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, it is now no longer in sole possession of the field.

I have only opened to view the distant scene If I have the time and health I hope to discuss in these columns what the servants of the Nation can do to raise themselves in the estimation of their masters the whole of the adult population male and female New Delhi, 27-1-'48

MILL CLOTH V. KHADI

How easy it is to produce enough cloth will be seen from the result of a little experiment conducted through the basic school at Gandhi Camp, Kazirkhil in Noakhali. Spinning as a basic craft was introduced in the month of July 1947 In the first month 13 spinners working 10 wheels produced 67,000 yards of yarn weighing 4 seers and 1 *chhatak* The equivalent in *khadi* is nearly 26 square yards of *khadi*. The highest average speed attained by a spinner was 186 yards of yarn per half hour, the highest out-turn being 12 500 yards or 12·5 *chhataks* of yarn. During the month of October the out-turn of 19 boys and girls was 1,06,500 yards The corresponding figure for December was 1,46,798 yards of yarn, giving an average of 12,200 yards or 4 square yards of *khadi* per head — the number of spinners being 12 One of them was a girl. The speed for half an hour averaged from 122 yards to 296 yards Here are a few samples of speed attained by children of various ages

Age	Speed per half hour
8 to 6½ years	122 yards
10 years	295 yards
17 years	298 yards

The total output of the youngest spinner for the month was 2 135 yards of yarn, that of the eldest 19 642 yards, the girl span 15 799 yards

Every one of the children attending the school today is dressed in immaculately white *khadi* uniform of his or her own spinning

In Ramadevpur where Shri Kanu Gandhi is working, almost every woman spinner has got one *sari* woven out of self-spun yarn Equally eloquent are figures from other centres where spinning has been organized on self-sufficiency basis

Centre	Number of Spinners	Out turn for November
Nandapur	32	*Dhotis* 6 *Saris* 15, *Chaddars* 31 and long cloth 15 pieces
Kotturi	95	*Dhotis* 17 *Saris* 9 and long cloth 16 pieces
Shirsadi	76	*Lungis* 14, *Jamas* 13, *Saris* 20 *Dhotis* 22 and long cloth 21 yards
Chandipur	137	*Saris* 18 *Chaddars* 2 and *Dhotis* 6
Parakot	88	*Chaddars* 14, *Saris* 17, *Dhotis* 2 and long cloth 10 pieces

And this in a place where people used to wait for one precarious piece of mill *sari* or *lungi* month after month

New Delhi, 20-1-'48 PYARELAL

ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR
(Revised Second Edition)
By
Richard B Gregg
Price *Rs Two* Postage *etc As Seven*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

WORTHY OF REFLECTION

(By M K Gandhi)

A young man writes

'Today at noon I learnt that you had commenced fasting I resisted the temptation of writing to you during the fast But I can do so no longer

1 It is idle to think that a fast of five or seven days on your part can establish heart unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans All it can achieve will be a sort of unity on the surface that manifests itself in mammoth public meetings processions and such demonstrations And that is good so far as it goes But it won't be a sign of a real heart unity You should not, therefore delude yourself into the belief at the end of your fast that heart unity has been established I do not regard the peace in Calcutta either as betokening heart unity What your fast will do will be to make the Hindus suppress their anger so it is not to kill innocent Mussalmans And I think it should be enough to induce you to end your fast

2 By your penance you have gained a unique place in the hearts and affection of the people On the other hand our people have not yet attained a living faith in the immortality of the soul which can enable them to regard physical death with philosophical indifference They are not prepared to allow your life to ebb away by inches before their very eyes They will therefore, suppress their anger and hatred in order to save your life But this pent up anger is sure to burst out at the first opportunity It seems to me that some such consideration alone must have led you to suggest that even civil war was to be preferred to partition

3 If anger and hatred are to be purged out of the hearts of the people, the Government ought to teach them to base their lives on constructive work But today we see in the Papers that shortly 600 imported tractors and 6000 or more tons of fertilisers i e ammonium sulphate are going to be unloaded on our shores One can understand people wanting industrialization of key industries to build up the country s war potential but I fail to understand why they should want to centralize the production of the prime necessaries of life, viz. food and clothing In America they are tending more and more to revert to natural manures We seem to be going in for the production of chemical fertilizers

4 I can say from my experience that the Indian Muslims are not so innocent as they might appear Let not the tales of woe which the Delhi Muslims pour into your ears mislead you into thinking that all the Muslims in India or a greater part are innocent sufferers On the contrary, a large majority of them are simply biding their time and waiting for an opportunity to play the fifth columnists when Pakistan would invade India. I do not impute these motives to the multitude of ignorant Muslim masses in the villages, but I do believe that they can [illegible] that [illegible] Pakistan [illegible] lessness is the feeling [illegible] Indian Muslims are with them, and that they can [illegible] will exploit you to the full They also reckon [illegible] on getting the support of some other selfishly inclined powers

5 In view of the foregoing I feel that your fast was not meant to achieve anything more than making the Hindus restrain their passions

6 I hold that the Hindu Muslim trouble can be resolved only in two ways First by the Hindus completely cleansing their hearts Their expectation may be said to have been behind long ago As you have observed, the Congress struggle has so far been based on the passive resistance of the weak Therefore, now that power has come to it it will rush towards *himsa* with redoubled speed. A glance at the record of the various provincial Governments will amply bear out this The other way is for the Indian Government to handle the situation with firmness This, it seems to me it has failed to do so far and to that extent — thanks to your influence — the interest of the country has suffered

The foregoing letter deserves careful attention Contrary to what the correspondent holds instances can be adduced of instantaneous change of heart It would have been more apt to say that such heart change is transitory Now that my fast is over it remains to be seen what result it produces I say this not to deprecate or detract from what the writer of the foregoing letter has said The Hindus, Muslims Sikhs — all may learn something from it The ideal of communal unity is not a new one It has always been before the country as one of the pillars of national independence. Without it independence cannot last. This has been regarded as more or less axiomatic. The transition period, which I hope, is now over, reflected our distemper We may, therefore expect that the unity that has been established in Delhi will prove enduring

That the edifice of unity can rest on constructive work alone is a maxim which everybody should remember The question is how to realize it It is up to every worker who believes in it to live it in his life and to bring it home to his neighbours. By going into explaining the scientific basis of the constructive programme, it can be made interesting Our daily experience shows that this programme cannot be advanced by mechanical or unintelligent work

That tractors and chemical fertilizers will spell our ruin, I have not a shadow of a doubt

I do not regard all the Mussalmans of India to be innocent What is obvious is that after the birth of Pakistan the Muslims in the Indian Union have been placed in a very difficult situation and it is up to the majority community to mete out exact justice to them It would spell the ruin of both Hindu religion and the majority community, if the latter, in the intoxication of power entertains the belief that it can crush the minority community and establish a purely Hindu Raj. I consider the

present occasion to be particularly auspicious for purging out the dross from the hearts of both the communities by a strenuous effort at self-purification

The meaning of the fifth paragraph is not quite clear In any case my fast being for the purification of all I expected and still expect all — he they Hindu, Muslim or others — to turn the searchlight inward and to cast out all hidden impurity

In the sixth paragraph I find only dry logic. It ignores the heart No one has a right to say that what could not be achieved during the struggle for independence is unachievable at all times On the contrary, today there is a real opportunity to demonstrate the supremacy of *ahimsa* True our people have been sucked into the whirlpool of universal militarization If even a few can keep out of it, it will be their privilege to set an example of *ahimsa* of the brave and he reckoned as the first servants of India This cannot be demonstrated by intellect Therefore, till it can be realized through experience, it must be accepted in faith.

The Swaraj Government is bound to proceed with firmness and courage A Government which is weak or which allows itself to be led into courses which its reason does not approve of, is not fit to rule It ought to step aside and make way for a better one. To say or to believe that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel have weakened under my influence is to betray gross ignorance of their character And if my influence has really the enervating effect imputed to it by my correspondent, it is a thing for me to be ashamed of and for the country to deplore as detrimental to its very existence

New Delhi 23-1-'48

(*From the original in Gujarati*)

THE SEVEN POINT PLEDGE

[Below is the text of the declaration made by the Peace Committee of Delhi before it could persuade Gandhiji to break his fast — ED.]

We wish to announce that it is our heart felt desire that the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and members of other communities should once again live in Delhi like brothers and in perfect amity and we take the pledge that we shall protect the life, property and faith of Muslims and that the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again.

We want to ensure Gandhiji that the annual fair at Khwaja Qutab-ud Din Mazar will be held this year as in previous years

Muslims will be able to move about in Sabzimandi Karol Bagh, Paharganj and other localities just as they could in the past

The mosques which have been left by Muslims and which now are in the possession of Hindus and Sikhs will be returned. The areas which have been set apart for Muslims will not be forcibly occupied

We shall not object to the return to Delhi of the Muslims who have migrated from here if they choose to come back and Muslims shall be able to carry on their business as before

We assure that all these things will be done by our personal efforts and not with the help of the police or military

We request Mahatmaji to believe us and to give up his fast and continue to lead us as he has done hitherto

REORIENTATION IN RAILWAYS

Most of the Indian Railways have been nationalized. The expectations of the major travelling public have greatly risen A classless railway service stands as the ultimate ideal. Such an achievement will of course serve as toeforfoot training to the ordinary citizen if in due course the establishment of a genuine socialistic State in our country is seriously proposed by those at the helm of affairs At least while travelling the rich and the poor would have the same standard of life

A complete overhaul for making the third class journey more comfortable may involve some delay especially for constructing improved types of bogies etc But levelling down can be immediately taken up without running extra cost. On the other hand, it will result in some saving which can be used for urgent needs There can be two opinions on the immediate closure of the first and second class for obvious reasons But there are quite a number of other facilities monopolized by the upper classes other than the luxurious bogies Third class passengers are simply treated like untouchables.

There are separate booking offices maintained for the higher classes As a matter of fact the number of higher class travellers is comparatively small They can as well book their tickets at the third class booking offices. Thus eliminating the minor stations where the booking offices are common for all classes if there are about 2000 major railway stations on our railways, about 2000 booking clerks can be diverted to provide better facilities to the general passenger public (third class) The vacant counters of the upper class booking offices are an eyesore to the third class passenger, whose ordeal in getting a ticket is too well-known to need description

Then there are the exclusive entrance and exit doors maintained for the upper class passenger This involves unnecessary additional cost of maintaining another 2000 ticket collectors, who can be relieved and used at the common exits and entrances

Even lavatories are maintained at every major railway station exclusively for the upper class entailing cost of special staff which can be usefully diverted to better the appalling condition of the ordinary lavatories

Special waiting rooms and dining halls are also run at railway junctions and major stations The hell-like condition of the ill-attended third class waiting rooms is notorious enough Then why not have a clean and simple comfortable waiting place for all passengers alike?

Interim Reforms

Besides the above mentioned measures the following steps should be taken for the immediate relief of the third class passengers:

1 *Sanitation — Station premises* Instead of having third class waiting rooms, in most cases as open halls like cowsheds affording no protection from wind or cold or dust, and even rain in some cases proper enclosures should be put up affording sufficient shelter

Basins for spitting be provided in adequate numbers

2 *Water Supply* The existing water supply arrangement is quite unsatisfactory Even at important junctions there are only two or three taps. The passengers have to struggle to get even a jug filled with water The person detailed for serving water at train times cannot cope with the demand.

In a tropical country like India travellers ought to get ample fresh water More taps about half a dozen, can be attached to the same pipe and. The washing place where the taps are located deserves reform As water gushes out with extra force the whole place is made dirty and much water is wasted On the other hand if more spouts are attached to the same pipe, many people can avail of the water supply at the same time and with comfort The masonry construction beneath the taps the height, size and contrivance of the taps all vary from place to place Would it not be advisable to have a standard pattern most convenient for all stations alike?

It is high time that we have drinking water supply in moving trains

3 *Latrines* in third class bogies have at present, no lights and this adds to the insanitary state of these latrines In some cases the water pipes in the latrines are out of order and in most cases there is no water Until proper care is taken to rectify the present state of affair in third class latrines they cannot be considered fit to serve as honourable citizen in a free India Old bogies have a repulsive appearance They should be repainted

4 *Food Supply* The quality of the eatables supplied is much inferior This is perhaps due to the existing contract system Contractors are given a monopoly to engage vendors over almost a whole railway line This monopoly contract should be replaced by issuing direct licenses to local vendors Stipulated lists of food stuffs have to be reformed on the basis of the purchasing capacity of the majority of travellers nutritive values and climatic conditions must be considered. Cheap fruit juices like sugarcane juice and palm juice and *sherbat* prepared from *gur* should be made available in lieu of costly aerated waters. Cheaper *chapatis* and millet rotis be made universally available instead of the unhygienic *puris* The South Indian Railways food provision is commendable Rice mixed with curds wall-wrapped in clean leaves is sold besides other cheap local preparations at every important station At major junctions full-fledged Indian meals (stomach-full) are provided at nominal rates Why should not there be the same arrangement in other railway lines too? In general the whole catering should be for the benefit of the passengers and not to enable a few to amass wealth

5 *A Meaningless Luxury* The inter, second and first class ladies' compartments are superfluous Generally educated ladies alone resort to the higher classes While they do not prefer segregation in other walks of life will it not be agreeable to them to be seated in the same compartments as males, if necessary with reserved seats, just as the buses have? So long as class distinctions are tolerated, one special upper class may be provided for ladies In practice generally, ladies accompany their male relatives The ladies compartments run empty So also is the case of ladies waiting rooms As a matter of fact, there is fear and loneliness for ladies travelling in segregation Thus an intelligent husbanding of the space available in trains can relieve the suffocating third class passenger to a great extent

6 *Sanitary Service* Exclusive and prompt service is provided for cleaning the upper class compartments But the third class carriages are neglected. The latrines are filthy in most trains and the floor is rarely swept at junctions The passengers co-operation counts much But as the railways focus their attention on the sanitation of the upper class bogies, the third class compartments should also get the same treatment and attention. For effective work in this respect honorary services of sanitary visitors and inspectors can be enlisted from public spirited social workers without incurring extra cost Active co-operation of the passengers can be had by providing brooms etc in the carriages.

7 *Long journeys involving night travel Third Class* Special passes should be issued authorizing such travellers the use of special bogies with sleeping accommodation exclusively reserved for them. A railway servant must be posted to the bogie to assist the passengers

8 *Short Journey Travel* For every carriage the old rules providing a limited sitting accommodation can be temporarily amended by prescribing some additional number The number given, which is the maximum that can be reasonably accommodated, must in no circumstances be exceeded. This must not be left to the discretion of the passengers For ensuring the observance of this rule and also for eradicating the habit of ticketless travel, it will be much helpful to post in each carriage a conductor He shall have to look after the comfort of the travellers and safeguarding the interests of the railway He should be invested with all powers of the present ticket examiner and the railway police except issuing tickets or receiving any payment on behalf of the railway The cadre of the present ticket examiners and the provision of issuing extension and other tickets in moving trains ought to be abolished for effectively eliminating ticketless travel.

Magansvadi
Wardha 13 1-'48

Gajanan Naik

NOTES

Decontrol Vindicated

Contrary to the warnings of the prophets of evil that decontrol of food stuffs would send prices of food stuffs rocketting up bringing untold hardships to the poor consumer events are more and more vindicating the wisdom of the step and today even some of its erstwhile critics have become its warm supporters A correspondent from Ahmedabad while noting the remarkable change that has come over the general atmosphere as a result sends the following comparative figures of various food stuffs before and after the lifting of the controls, showing further decline over figures published previously

Food stuff	Black market price per maund Rs. As. Ps.	Current price per maund Rs. As. Ps.
Bajra	12 0 0	8 0 0
Paddy	12 0 0	8 0 0
Wheat	25 0 0	15 0 0
Jowar	12 0 0	8 0 0
Sugar	60 0 0	25 0 0
Molasses	24 0 0	16 0 0
Oil	40 0 0	25 0 0
Tuar	20 0 0	10 0 0
Gawar	9 0 0	6 0 0
Mung	20 0 0	8 0 0
Math	15 0 0	7 0 0
Ghee	100 0 0	80 0 0

Wheat crop for the current year, the correspondent goes on to add has been satisfactory Unless therefore, some unforeseen calamity overtakes us, the price of wheat after a couple of months would further drop down to Rs 10 per maund and *bajra* to Rs 7 per maund

After Food Stuffs Cloth

The correspondent then proceeds

> ' One fails to understand why the control on the price of textiles is still not lifted I am certain that if it were removed within two months the price of cloth too would come down I am afraid that if control on the price of cloth is not removed it will in the long run have an adverse effect on the prices of food stuffs too On the other hand its removal will tend to bring down the prices of food stuffs still further

In fact the case for lifting of the control on the prices of cloth is even stronger than that in respect of food stuffs. The consumer cannot grow more food stuffs at will But every man woman and child given the necessary technical training and raw materials — of which there is no dearth — can easily produce the cloth he or she requires if only they have the will. That by itself would provide an effective check on unscrupulous profiteering

P

[Happily cloth control has now been practically lifted. New Delhi 18-1-48 — M K. G]

The New Family Member

Readers of the *Harijan* will have seen the things that Gandhiji has been saying regarding Compost Manure, and how he has received it into the Family of Constructive Activities

I am writing these lines to ask the old members to receive the new family member kindly as being worthy of consideration

Compost will be helpful to *Khadi* for it will grow better cotton

Compost will be helpful to Education for it will teach sanitation thrift and the science of soils.

Compost will be helpful to the Harijans for it will provide a good living to the lowliest

Compost will be helpful to Hindu-Muslim unity, for it will bring us into useful touch with the peasants of both the communities

And lastly Compost will be helpful to all for it will lead us from want to plenty

All those in Constructive Work who feel interested may kindly communicate with me so that we may discuss and decide how best to co ordinate the Compost Campaign with the rest of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme

12-1-48 MIRA

P O Rishikesh,

Dist Dehra-Dun (U P)

A Suggestion

A rural worker who has been experimenting in agriculture makes the following suggestion for the better utilization of manures The suggestion is that instead of spreading the manure broadcast if the manure is drilled along certain lines on which again the seeds are drilled, then the quantity of manure that is used per field will be much better utilized because all the manural properties will be concentrated close to the roots of the plants and plants grown in this fashion yield considerably more. In our country as the manure problem is very acute every means of husbanding the resources and putting them to the best possible use should claim our attention and therefore we are passing on this suggestion for what it is worth

Sport

Lord Wavel the last Viceroy who is at present the Chancellor of Aberdeen University stated in regard to Cricket that

> ' It is a game involving prodigality of time and effort out of proportion to its importance and it seems the height of absurdity that Eton boys and man should spend several days at a stretch on it and go on doing this for months together

We presume Lord Wavel knows what he is talking about If these sports are wasteful of money and time in Great Britain one of the richest countries of the world what shall we say of the poor India sending out teams to show their achievements in other parts of the world ? It seems to us that a time has come for us to rethink and consider many of the ways that had been introduced by our

erstwhile rulers which we have taken for granted as the acme of civilization Even newsprint, which is scarce today, is being used liberally where sports news is concerned. At least one page a day in most of the important newspapers is devoted to such pastimes as Cricket Racing Cinemas Gambling, etc We have to build up anew our requirements in amusements

Is It Too Late ?

It has been stated that the fertilizer factory to be situated in Sindri (Behar) will be built up soon. The erection works are to begin early this year Seeing that the question of using artificial fertilizers without widespread organization for careful soil analysis may prove a danger to the maintenance of the fertility of the soil, as has already been demonstrated in the experiments in Gujarat is it wise to go ahead with this ill-conceived project? It may be best at the present time to retrace our steps and utilize such materials as have been ordered in the many irrigation projects and other undertakings that the Government of India may plan for the better cultivation of food crops Instead of sinking twenty crores in an undertaking of doubtful benefit it would appear wisest, even at some loss to change our mind now and proceed with schemes that will serve a definite purpose.

J. C K

HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION

As the waters of a river are kept in their course by its banks so also the government of a country has to be directed by forces which lie outside the official sector of the government. Great Britain prides itself on possessing the 'Mother of Parliaments The method prevailing there is to maintain at Government cost 'His Majesty's Opposition' to keep the Ministers within bounds by directing the flood-light of public criticism on the steps taken or proposed to be taken by the Government The British Parliament is a veritable arena, where many a mortal combat between political knights take place The discomfitted knight yields place to the victor The occupants of the Opposition Benches today may be the proud occupants of the Treasury Benches tomorrow according to the fortunes of Parliamentary debate This is the function of the Opposition in the British Parliamentary system It is an outcome of the competitive economy projected into the political sphere

The composition of the Cabinet itself reflects the structure of imperialism in the economic field. Centralized industries need to gather the raw materials from the four corners of the world and send back their finished products to markets in the outermost parts of the globe This necessitates widespread use of money and transport and control of political power To achieve this Foreign Affairs, Finance and Army, Navy and Air Force become essentials. Hence these have secured coveted status in the British Cabinet

Both competition and Imperialism have their roots in violence

Our country has taken up the reins of Government If we desire to pursue non-violence, what shall be the form of our Government? Our Government also will need a corrective force to perform the functions of an "Opposition' But we want an economy based on co-operation and not on competition The "Opposition' members in our economy will not be looking forward to occupying the Treasury Benches one day should the fortunes of debate go against those in the saddle at the time Personal ambition can have no place in an economy of non-violence and co-operation. What we should aim at is not to replace the ministers but to hold up models that they should follow The constructive workers should direct them into proper channels by the beacon light of their example This is a great responsibility that would devolve upon the constructive workers in a non-violent economy

A well-organized body of constructive workers will be needed to provide this directive force Their service to the people will be their sanction and the merit of their work will be their charter The ministers will draw their inspiration from such a body which will advise and guide the secular Governments

To be able to discharge this function the constructive workers forming such a body will have to be drawn from men of renunciation whose one aim and ambition is the service of the people

In such a political make-up the Cabinet will handle portfolios that will be essential to an economy of self-sufficiency The major portfolios will be Agriculture, Land Development — anti-erosion, reclamation fertilization — Irrigation River Controls, Forests, Village and Cottage Industries Minerals and Heavy Industries, Health, Education and Home Affairs It is not imperative in such a set-up to give Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence Cabinet rank, however important these departments may be

In a political structure of this nature the body of constructive workers will form the bulwark of safety for the people against exploitation A Government run on this basis will give the needed emphasis to the affairs of the people and ensure their welfare, bringing in Swaraj to the masses

J C KUMARAPPA

[This is very attractive. But it has to be confessed that we have not the requisite number of selfless workers capable of giving a good account of themselves.

New Delhi 24-1-48 — M. K G]

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi 20-1-'48

Electricity having failed the loud speaker was not working. Gandhiji addressed the meeting in a feeble voice and at the end of it Dr Sushila Nayyar repeated the substance of his speech to the audience from her notes.

A PLEA FOR SANITY

Gandhiji said that Delhi had done a great thing and he hoped that the signatories to the Peace Pledge had given their signature with God in the form of Truth as their witness. He had heard that there was a repudiation of the pledge on behalf of an official of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was sorry. If the inhabitants of Delhi and the refugees in the capital would remain steadfast and not be swayed by happenings elsewhere they would save India and also Pakistan. Delhi was an ancient city. If Delhi acted truthfully and not violently the effects of its action would be felt all the world over. If they would carefully read the Sardar's speech at Bombay they would realize that there was no difference of outlook between the Sardar, Pandiji and himself. They were all working for the same end although they might express it differently. None of them was the enemy of the Mussalmans. Enmity towards the Muslims amounted to enmity towards India. The least he expected them to do was not to take the law into their own hands and so carry out inhuman acts. That would mean the end of society. They were bound as respectable citizens to leave justice in the hands of their chosen Government. They and their newspapers were never tired of condemning in unmeasured terms the acts of those Americans as barbarous who lynched Negroes. Did similar acts on their part become less barbarous?

Gandhiji next referred to his statement that he might now proceed to Pakistan. But that he said could only happen if the Pakistan Government were convinced that he (Gandhiji) was a man of peace and a friend of the Muslims and would therefore like him to go to Pakistan. He would however, in any case, have to wait till the doctors declared him fit to undertake the journey. They had said that the convalescence would take at least a fortnight and it would be some time before he could take solid food. The liquids that he was now taking included fruit juice, vegetable soup and goat's milk and this was enough in all conscience.

PRIME MINISTER'S NOBLE GESTURE

Referring to the sufferings of the Hindu and Sikh refugees Gandhiji said that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was doing all that was possible in order to bring them speedy relief. His heart bled for them. He was a man who would offer his own bedding to one in distress and pace up and down the whole night in order to keep himself warm. His house was full. Being the Prime Minister of India he had to accommodate guests both Indians and foreigners. Still he had expressed a wish to offer one or two rooms in his house to lodge refugees. He expected other Ministers, officials and men of means to do likewise. He (Gandhiji) was convinced that this act of self sacrifice on the part of India's foremost leader would be appreciated all the world over and put a speedy end to the sufferings of the homeless refugees. It should gladden their hearts to note that this beautiful lead of theirs had produced such great men endowed with such a wonderful spirit of service and self sacrifice. Jawahar was a real *jawahar* (gem) and there were others only not so lustrous perhaps. If their leaders were doing all this for the people it behoved them not to hurt their Muslim brethren. To hurt them was to hurt their leaders.

Gandhiji then went on to say that there were opportunists too in India. Some such man had endeavoured he was told to make money out of his fast. They produced notes which they could sell to the credulous poor. He severely criticized the practice and asked the authors of such mean actions to find some honourable means of earning money. At the same time he warned the public against the tactics of such unprincipled men.

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Gandhiji referred then to a telegram that he had received from Lahore. The sender had signed himself as President Kashmir Freedom League and had written as follows:

> "Highly appreciate your magnanimous gesture for Hindu Muslim unity. Kashmir is the root issue of the present tension and a stumbling block in way of any rapprochement. Must resolve top priority if peace actually desired. Withdrawal of aggressive Indian troops from Kashmir and handing it over to whomever it rightfully belongs is the only satisfactory solution of the problem.

It hurt him. If the Kashmir issue was not settled, would the Muslims continue to look upon the Hindus and Sikhs as their enemies and vice versa? The army of the Indian Union had not entered Kashmir as their own. So far as he was aware they had gone there at the call of the ruler of the State and the leader of the Kashmiri Muslims, Sheikh Abdulla. If the invaders, tribesmen and others would withdraw and the issue was left to the rebels in Poonch and the rest of Kashmir, and did not secure any aid from outside. It would be time to ask the Indian Union to withdraw its troops. The suggestion that Kashmir should go to whomsoever it rightfully belonged was perfectly true. And who were the rightful owners of Kashmir? The Maharaja was there and the Indian Government could not ignore him. Ultimately it was for the people of Kashmir to decide their own fate. Hence the idea of referendum.

GWALIOR BHAVNAGAR AND THE KATHIAWAD STATES

Next Gandhiji read out a telegram that some Gwalior Muslim had sent to him from Ratlam. It said:

> "We Muslims inhabitants Jahangirpur, District Ujjain, Gwalior request your honour that on 15th and 16th instant our village was surrounded by Hindu party who beat us seriously. Several injured are dead. Our crops and houses destroyed. Officer of State not taking any action. We are in danger. Kindly arrange urgently.

If the report was correct, it was a matter of sorrow for them. All breach of communal peace in any corner of India should make them and their Government hang their heads in shame.

Lastly, Gandhiji referred to the newspaper report that the princes of Kathiawad had decided to become in effect one State. He congratulated them on the very

wise step, and also congratulated the ruler of Bhavnagar, who had given the lead by introducing full responsible Government in his State and placing himself at the people's disposal as their first servant

Birla House New Delhi, 21-1-'48

BOMB AT THE PRAYER

Speaking after prayers on Wednesday evening, Gandhiji referred to the previous day's bomb explosion in the Birla House compound He had been receiving anxious enquiries and praise for being unruffled at the accident He thought that it was military practice and, therefore nothing to worry about He had not realised till after the prayers that it was a bomb explosion and that the bomb was meant against him God only knew how he would have behaved in front of a bomb aimed at him and exploding Therefore he deserved no praise He would deserve a certificate only if he fell as a result of such an explosion and yet retained a smile on his face and no malice against the doer What he wanted to say was that no one should look down upon the misguided youth who had thrown the bomb He probably looked upon Gandhiji as an enemy of Hinduism After all had not the *Gita* said that whenever there was an evil-minded person damaging religion God sent some one to put an end to his life? That celebrated verse had a special meaning The youth should realize that those who differed from him were not necessarily evil The evil had no life apart from the toleration of good people No one should believe that he or she was so perfect that he or she was sent by God to punish evil-doers, as the accused seemed to flatter himself he was

He (Gandhiji) had heard that the youth had without permission occupied a *masjid* for lack of other accommodation and now that the police were getting all mosques evacuated he resented the act It was a wrong thing on his part to have occupied the *masjid* in the first place and it was doubly wrong to defy the authorities, who asked him to vacate it

ILL SERVING HINDUISM

To those who were at the back of the youth, he would appeal to desist from such activity That was not the way to save Hinduism Hinduism could be saved only by Gandhiji's method Gandhiji had practised Hinduism from early childhood His nurse had taught him to invoke Rama when he feared evil spirits. Later on he had some in contact with Christians Muslims and others and after making a fair study of other religions, had stuck to Hinduism He was as firm in his faith today as in his early childhood. He believed God would make him an instrument of saving the religion that he loved, cherished and practised In any case one had to have constant practice and acquaintance with the fundamentals of religion before being qualified for becoming God's instrument

PITY THE BOMB THROWER

Continuing Gandhiji said that some Sikh friends came and said that he (Gandhiji) should not think that the Sikhs had anything to do with the deed He knew that the youth was not a Sikh But what did it matter whether he was a Sikh or a Hindu or a Muslim? He wished well to all perpetrators He had told the Inspector General of Police also, not to harass him in any way They should try to win him over and convert him to right thinking and conduct He hoped that the youth and his guides would realize their error For, it was a wrong done to Hinduism and the country At the same time Gandhiji warned his hearers against being angry with the accused He did not know that he was doing anything wrong They should pity him If they harboured resentment against Gandhiji's fast and had still pledged themselves to maintain peace in order to save an old servant of the nation the guilt was theirs not that of the young man who had thrown the bomb If on the other hand, they had signed the Peace Pledge whole heartedly persons like the young man were ultimately bound to come to their way of thinking

Gandhiji said that he expected the audience to go on with the prayers in spite of bomb explosions or a shower of bullets He was glad to learn that a poor unlettered woman was the cause of the arrest of the miscreant If the heart was sound if there was right thought lack of letters was not of any consequence He congratulated the unlettered sister on her simple bravery

BAHAWALPUR AND SIND

Next he referred to a note from the Bahawalpur sufferers He had not forgotten them Even that very day he had received a telegram from the Nawabsahib of Bahawalpur saying that he was doing everything possible for the welfare of the non-Muslims in his State He (Gandhiji) was pursuing the matter in his own way

Gandhiji narrated a telegram that he had received from the Sindhi Sikh refugees at Bombay They said that 15 000 Sikhs scattered about in Sind were in danger of extermination Their life religion and culture were in danger Arrangements should be made for their speedy evacuation Gandhiji could never tolerate the extermination of the Sikhs and would do for them all that was possible for one man to do Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Government was also fully alive to their responsibility He called upon the Sind Government and the Pakistan Government to reassure the Sikh residents there that they would protect them with their own lives If they could not guarantee their protection, they should gather them in one place and make arrangements for their speedy and safe evacuation The Sikhs were a brave community They should know that everyone's honour and religion were safe only in one's own hands No one also could rob one of these Parsi friends of his had gone to Sind that day

A MISLEADING ANALOGY

Gandhiji then referred to a letter written to him during his fast The writer had said that while Gandhiji was in jail in 1942 the country had somewhat taken to violence If Gandhiji died of the fast, there would be such a violent upsurge in the country that it would stagger humanity Therefore, the writer had argued that for the sake of humanity he should give up his fast Gandhiji said that while it was true that the people had resorted to violence when he was locked up in jail, he did not think that his death under a fast should have the feared result But he had rehearsed before embarking on the fast the possibility

of a wide family. The Yadavas had destroyed each other before Lord Krishna's death. But he (Gandhiji) was too insignificant a mortal, to produce such an effect. However if the people had become indolent and vicious like the Yadavas and God saw that there was no way out but extermination, he might make even an ordinary person like him, the instrument of such a catastrophe. Having left himself in God's hands he worried no more about the consequences. What, however he saw during the fast nerved him to hope that India had no such self-destruction in store for her.

Lastly, he expressed satisfaction at the way the Muslims were freely moving about in Delhi. He wanted them to continue the process of self purification and convert their hearts into temples of the living God of Truth.

Birla House, New Delhi, 22-1-48

For the first time after the fast Gandhiji was able to walk to the prayer ground this evening. He said in his post-prayer speech that he was slowly gaining strength and God willing hoped to return to his normal health before long.

PANDIT NEHRU'S EXAMPLE

Gandhiji then went on to say that a friend had written to him that although Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Ministers and the officials might lodge some refugees in their houses, that would not even touch the fringe of the refugee problem. Gandhiji agreed that the Ministers and the officials together could not house more than a few thousands at the most. The virtue of the offer consisted not in the number so to be accommodated but in the fact that the example of the leaders doing the act was proving infectious. The British people appreciated the least act of self denial on the part of the king for the sake of the people. All civilized people would appreciate and value such acts of leaders of men. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had set an example before the whole country. That this was so was proved from the fact that more refugees were being attracted to Delhi. They felt evidently that they would be best treated in Delhi. While it was proof of the popularity of Panditji's example, it was proof also that we had not learnt the art of self restraint.

POVERTY NO SHAME

The second difficulty to which his attention was drawn was that while the Congress had been in the wilderness it had set before the people the ideal of service, self denial and simplicity. In those days it was difficult to collect even a lakh of rupees. Today the Congress Government was in charge of crores of rupees and could raise as much as it liked. Were they to spend it as if there was no change from foreign rule to indigenous rule? Some people seemed to think that India's leaders and ambassadors must live and spend money in a style befitting their independent status and vie with independent America and England in stylishness. They thought that such expenditure was necessary in order to uphold India's prestige in foreign countries. Gandhiji did not think so. Independence was not synonymous with stylishness or pomp. We had not cut our cloth according to our cloth. There was no merit in hiding our poverty. India's status in the world depended upon her moral supremacy which her passive resistance had brought her. It was thus she had no rival as yet for the other nations great or small were proud of their armaments and military valour. That was their capital. India possessed only her moral capital which increased with the spending. On any other condition the Congress claim to revolutionize values when they came into power would be forfeited. People criticized the Ministers for accepting high salaries and not bringing the original British standard down to the natural Indian standard. These critics knew nothing of the private life of their Ministers. But the fashion was for Congressmen and others to expect high emoluments wholly out of keeping with what one was making out of office. One who managed to live on Rs. 150 per month would not hesitate to demand and expect Rs. 500. Such persons felt that they would not be appreciated unless they demanded high salaries and lived in the old Civil Service style and dressed up as such. That was not the way to serve India. They should not forget that a man's value did not depend upon the amount of money that he earned. The process of self purification which they all must share, demanded right thought and action.

GWALIOR AGAIN

Lastly Gandhiji referred to Gwalior. He had already mentioned a telegram enumerating the sufferings of the Muslims in a village in that State. However a Praja Mandal representative came to see him the evening before after the prayer meeting and asked for his blessings on the eve of the Maharaja giving full Responsible Government to the people. Gandhiji said that he was not interested in political reforms in the State if there was to be any distinction of caste, creed or community. Both the Maharaja and the people would deserve his congratulations and blessings only if they did away with all such distinctions and if there was not the least dislike towards the Muslims and the *bhangi* and the brahmin and the rich and the poor had equality of treatment in law and in fact. If the Maharajasahab would be the first servant of the people, he would welcome him and his successors to continue to occupy the *gadi* and keep on serving the people. The raiyats and the ruled had all to undergo self-purification. That was the only way for India to stand erect before the world and be the custodian of its moral height.

Birla House, New Delhi, 23-1-48

NETAJI'S BIRTHDAY

Today being the anniversary of Subhashbabu's birthday Gandhiji referred to it in his post prayer speech. He said that he generally did not remember such dates nor did he attach much value to dates of birth and death. He did not know whether it was right or wrong for him to be so indifferent. But he was just reminded of the day and he was glad that there was special reason to take note of Subhashbabu's birthday in spite of the fact that the deceased patriot had believed in violence while he (Gandhiji) believed in non violence. But he would not forget at this time that it was Subhashbabu who knew no provincialism nor communal differences. He had in his brave army men and women drawn from all over India without distinction and evoked affection and loyalty which very few have been able to evoke. A lawyer friend asked him for a good

definition of H[illegible] though he was a *sanatani* Hindu he was [illegible] to be a Hinduism Gandhiji replied that [illegible] his law for years. Nor was he learned in the science of religion. But as a lay man he could say that Hinduism regarded all religions as worthy of all respect. Subhashbabu was in his opinion such a Hindu. In memory of that great patriot, they should cleanse their hearts of all communal bitterness.

A PLEA FOR CAUTION

Proceeding Gandhiji referred to what he had said about communal trouble in a Gwalior village. He had been investigating the matter and had just received a telegram from one who had personally visited the village in question saying that the information conveyed to him regarding looting arson and killing of the Muslims in the village of Jahangirpur was quite wrong. It was true that there was a personal private quarrel which could not be stretched into a communal question. And in no case was there arson or loss of life. Gandhiji said that the telegram gladdened him. He advised his Muslim friends to be most careful about sending complaints. They should meticulously avoid all exaggeration. The golden rule in life was to exaggerate one's own faults and belittle those of others. That was the only way to self purification. Those who indulged in exaggeration would discredit their community.

MYSORE, JUNAGADH AND MEERUT

Gandhiji then mentioned a telegram from Mysore saying that there had been communal trouble there and that his fast had not produced any effect in Mysore. He (Gandhiji) was sorry to hear this. He advised the Mysore Government to issue a clear statement on the actual happenings.

Gandhiji next referred to a telegram by several influential Muslims of Junagadh. They said that since the Sardar had appointed a Regional Commissioner there they felt fully reassured. No one would now be able to create a split amongst the people of Junagadh and at the referendum they would be able to prove that the Muslims of Junagadh were with the rest of the people.

Gandhiji had also received a telegram from Meerut. It said that the efforts to keep perfect peace in the country were highly appreciated. They had no ill feelings against the Nationalist Muslims, but they did not believe that those League Muslims who until yesterday had been collecting arms and even now intended to help Pakistan could ever be loyal to the Union. He (Gandhiji) would have to repent if he put his trust in them. They also said that religion and politics were quite separate and non violence could never work in politics. They added that they were satisfied with the present Government and did not want any change in it. He (Gandhiji) did not understand how the question of change in the Government arose. He did not believe that anyone could displace or replace the present Government.

HOW TO DEAL WITH TRAITORS

It was rather late in the day to tell him that non violence could not work in politics. In politics they could not begin with distrust. Those in charge of the Government were men of great courage and self-sacrifice. They would deal with traitors when the occasion came. Traitors might be found in any community and not only among the Muslims. They had [illegible] live with the Muslims as brothers and he [illegible] to stick to their resolve. All Leaguers were [illegible]. They should report against those who in [illegible] questionable activities and let the Government [illegible] with them as severely as it liked. They must on no account take the law into their own hands. That would be barbarous.

Lastly, Gandhiji again thanked those who had sent telegrams of good wishes which were still pouring in. He prayed to God that their wishes for the maintenance of peace might be fulfilled. The senders would excuse him for his inability to send personal acknowledgments.

Birla House, New Delhi, 24-1-48

Gandhiji on arrival at the prayer ground was greeted by an unusually large gathering. The women with crying babies were chattering among themselves. Gandhiji therefore exhorted the audience to maintain perfect quiet during the prayers and this was done for a time only. The prayer over, Gandhiji had again to call attention to the noise of the women and children and appealed for silence with some effect.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—ABDUCTEES

Gandhiji then read from a letter received by him complaining that the inter Dominion agreement for the restoration of abducted women prisoners while it was duly honoured in the earlier stages, was not being implemented now. He was informed that the West Punjab Government had demanded as a condition precedent that the States should also fall in line. Gandhiji had no objection to such a wish, but if it was a fresh condition, it was not proper. Friendship demanded that all prisoners and women should be returned to either Dominion without regard to their number. The number of abducted women kept in the West Punjab might be larger but so long as there was one such sister in the East Punjab it would be sinful to withhold her from her kith and kin. Why should there be a competition in wrong behaviour? Gandhiji suggested that there should be complete forgetting of the past if there was a thorough inward cleansing. He had noticed with much pain that each Dominion accused the other of bad faith. If they were to give a good account of themselves, this thing had to stop.

At this stage the chatter had become so great that Gandhiji said that he could not proceed with what he wanted to say. He, therefore, brought the meeting to a close and in doing so again stressed the importance of women observing complete silence at the prayers and that those with children should stand at the fringe in order that silence might not be broken.

Birla House, New Delhi, 25-1-48

The gathering at Gandhiji's public prayer which has been growing bigger and bigger for the last two days reached unusual dimensions today owing to its being Sunday. Gandhiji began his address after the prayer by suggesting that the audience should try in future to bring with them an asana made of straw or the thickest *khaddar*, as it was not advisable for them to sit on bare damp ground.

ALL QUIET IN DELHI

Gandhiji then proceeded to say that assurances were daily pouring in that all was well with Delhi and that there was nothing to worry so far as the communal

situation [illegible] It gladdened his heart to be told by his Hindu and Muslim friends that a reunion of hearts was in the course of being established and that the people were waking up to the truth that it would not be possible for them to pursue their normal avocation if they continued quarrelling among themselves. Having regard to the improved situation he suggested that they might go a step further and that each Hindu and Sikh should make it a point to bring with him at least one Muslim to the prayer gathering

URS AT MEHRAULI

Gandhiji next referred to the annual celebration of the *urs* at Bakhtiar Chishti's *dargah* at Mehrauli which was to commence from the next day During the riots the *dargah* had been damaged by miscreants and some of the stone latticework was removed Efforts had been made during the last few days to effect the repairs so far as it was possible Previously both Musalmans and Hindus used to visit it and take part in the *urs* If the Hindus could still go there in the same spirit of peace and devotion it would be a great thing He hoped that such Muslims as might want to take part in it would be assured the completest security and safety from insult or molestation and that too with the minimum assistance of the police He would rather that they should all constitute themselves into police for the purpose The eyes of the whole world were on them continued Gandhiji Telegrams were pouring in from all quarters of the globe — from China from Africa from Europe and from America expressing deep appreciation and admiration of what they had done in Delhi He hoped that they would all so act as to come up to the expectations that had been aroused The transfer of power on the 15th of August as a result of their passive resistance struggle was a unique event in the history of the world But then they fell from grace and the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs behaved towards one another like barbarians It was, however, he hoped, only a temporary distemper Their hearts were sound. The fast seemed to have served to throw out the distemper He hoped that the cure would be permanent, without the possibility of a relapse

'SET ME FREE'

Gandhiji then proceeded to say that he hoped that they would now set him free to go to Wardha He would be going there to do their work Dr Rajendra Prasad too would be going there But he could go only with their blessings coupled with the solemn guarantee that things would be well during his absence He wanted to go to Pakistan too But since legally Pakistan was now foreign territory, he could go there only with the permission and consent, if not the invitation, of the Pakistan Government

LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

Continuing Gandhiji referred next to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of re constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in that day's meeting. The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally [illegible] to power as such re distribution [illegible] to the cultural advancement of the [illegible] re distribution should not militate against the organic unity of India Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that here after provinces could go the way they chose independent of one another and of the Centre If each province began to look upon itself as a separate, sovereign unit India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as conceived by the Congress was based on village autonomy But all the villages were to derive vitality from the Centre, as the latter in its turn derived all power and authority from the former It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism mutual bickerings and rivalries — between Tamil and Andhra for instance Bombay and Karnatak and so on The re distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height Hindustani was to be the lingua franca — *Rashtra Bhasha* — of India but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces — much less English Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India The world outside did not know them as Gujaratis Maharashtris Tamilians etc but only as Indians We must therefore, resolutely discourage all provincial tendencies and feel and behave as Indians Subject to this paramount consideration a linguistic re distribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade

NO BOUNDARY COMMISSION

Gandhiji hoped that they would not need a Boundary Commission to delimit the frontiers on the new basis That was the foreign way which they had discarded. The best thing would be for themselves to determine the boundaries on the new basis by mutual agreement and consent and place the same before their Prime Minister for his final sanction. That would be true independence To go to a third party in the shape of a Boundary Commission for a settlement would be a negation of independence They must evolve inter dependence and mutual help

Birla House, New Delhi 26-1-'48

INDEPENDENCE DAY

This day, 26th January, is Independence Day This observance was quite appropriate when we were fighting for Independence we had not seen nor handled. Now! We have handled it and we seem to be disillusioned At least I am even if you are not

What are we celebrating today? Surely not our disillusionment We are entitled to celebrate the hope that the worst is over and that we are on the road to showing the lowliest of the villager that it means his freedom from serfdom and that he is no longer a serf born to serve the cities and towns of India but that he is destined to exploit the city dwellers for the advertisement of the finished fruits of well thought out labours that he is the salt of the Indian earth, that it means also equality of all classes and creeds, never the domination and superiority of the major

community over a minor however insignificant it may be in number or influence Let us not deter the hope and make the heart sick Yet what are the strikes and a variety of lawlessness but a deferring of the hope? These are symptoms of our sickness and weakness Let labour realize its dignity and strength Capital has neither dignity nor strength compared to labour These the man in the street also has In a well ordered democratic society there is no room, no occasion for lawlessness or strikes In such a society there are ample lawful means for vindicating justice Violence veiled or unveiled must be taboo Strikes in Cawnpore, coal mines or elsewhere mean material loss to the whole society not excluding the strikers themselves I need not be reminded that this declamation does not lie well in the mouth of one like me who has been responsible for so many successful strikes If there be such critics they ought not to forget that then there was neither independence nor the kind of legislation we have now I wonder if we can remain free from the lever of power politics or the bid for power which afflicts the political world the East and the West Before leaving this topic of the day, let us permit ourselves to hope that though geographically and politically India is divided into two at heart we shall ever be friends and brothers helping and respecting one another and be one for the outside world

DECONTROL AND TRANSPORT

Decontrol of cloth has been welcomed in all quarters. There never was scarcity of cloth How can there be when there is enough cotton and enough hands in the land for spinning and weaving? Equally welcome is the removal of control on firewood and coal It is remarkable that there is now a glut in the market of *gur*, the poor man's supply for calorie deficiency There would be no remedy of glut nor of reaching places outside the boundary of production unless there is quick locomotion Let a correspondent in the know speak on this subject

'Needless to say that efficiency of the Rail and Road Transport is the chief factor for the success of the Decontrol Policy If there is no improvement in the Railway Transport there is danger of countrywide famine and the entire collapse of the decontrols The present working of the Railway Transport is a living danger to these decontrols and controls alike. The terrible contrast of different prices prevalent in the different parts of India for the same commodity is chiefly due to this transport bottleneck If *gur* is sold at Rs 8 per maund at Rohtak and at Rs 50 in Bombay we must say that there is something wrong with the working of the Railways Thousands of wagons in the length and the breadth of the country are not kept moving Wagons are not even unloaded for months and months together Corruption is rampant in a most virulent form in the booking of these wagons, in the garb of 'scarcity of wagons and coal and 'priority for different commodities For the booking of one wagon load one has to spend hundreds of rupees and spend days together in the railway yards Even the best efforts of the worthy Transport Member have cut no ice in so far as the supply of these wagons and their constr[illegible] s concerned The entire Rail and Road [illegible] requires a complete overhauling by the [illegible] Member to make the decontrols a thorough [illegible] Then only decontrols shall prove a blessing to the poor for the benefit of whom they are being pursued Millions of villagers farmers and labourers are hit owing to the defective system in the Rail and Road Transport, as their produce seldom reaches to the markets.

'As stated in my previous letter the rationing of petrol ought to be removed and the monopoly and the permit system of the Road Transport may be abolished altogether This monopoly system is benefiting a few transport companies only but has rendered the lives of millions and millions of our countrymen difficult

95 per cent of the success in decontrols solely depends upon the efficient working of the railways and vehicles i e in keeping the wagons moving and abolishing the rationing of petrol and the permit and monopoly system of the lorries. This shall bring from the remotest corners of the country lakhs of tons of foodstuffs and all other produce profusely to the entire markets of the land."

DEMON OF CORRUPTION

The subject of corruption referred to by the [illegible] pondent is not new Only it has become [illegible] than before Restraint from without has [illegible] gone Corruption will go when the large [illegible] persons given to the unworthy practice realize [illegible] the nation does not exist for them but that they do for the nation It requires a high code of morals, extreme vigilance on the part of those who are free from the corrupt practice and who have influence over corrupt servants Indifference in such matters is criminal If our evening prayers are genuine, they must play no mean part in removing from our midst the demon of corruption

GANDHI'S CHALLENGE
TO
CHRISTIANITY
By
S K George
With Forewords
By
Prof S Radhakrishnan
and
Mr Horace Alexander
Price *Re One As Eight* Postage etc. *As Five*

SELF-RESTRAINT v SELF-INDULGENCE
[Revised one volume Edition]
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs Two* Postage *etc As Eight*

WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE
[Third enlarged Edition]
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs Three* Postage *As Eight*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105
AHMEDABAD

THE SILVER LINING

An esteemed English friend in a letter to Gandhiji writes

"You will remember that on one of your cheering visits to my sick bed recently we both felt that more should be known of the good deeds of the Muslims to non-Muslims and vice versa in the Punjab And I promised to give a few examples from my own experience. I have been working almost entirely in the West Punjab, on behalf of the non-Muslims, so my memories are mainly of Muslim kindness, but I am sure that similar stories could be told of the generosity of individual Hindus and Sikhs on the other side

Perhaps the most vivid recollection is of the evacuation of Lillah, in District in November As we came into the town with our Sikh drivers all the Muslims assembled and glared at us suspiciously Suddenly an old gentleman with a long red beard came out and hugged me like a bear, and we sat down in the square and drank tea and ate biscuits There was a sigh through the crowd Some went home but many stayed to help the Hindus load their heavy tin boxes, and there were tears in their eyes as we left

'I think it was in District that the President of a branch of the Muslim League recovered many abducted Hindu girls telling the abductors that their conduct was a disgrace to Islam The girls were taken safely to the East Punjab Liaison Officer, and each was given five rupees by the local Muslims to make themselves tidy before they entered the camp

'Certainly, in the Deputy Commissioner was always accessible and friendly to non-Muslim deputations and did everything he could to improve their conditions I was told that in his last District he had quelled single-handed a mob which tried to attack the non-Muslim camp Another very fine Deputy Commissioner was in So consistently did he protect the non-Muslims that I heard that several disgruntled local Muslims went to the Prime Minister of the West Punjab to have him removed as pro-Hindu But the Prime Minister backed him as an officer who was doing his duty

Even in rebel Kashmir I found Muslims who saw it as their duty to protect non-Muslims In , said to me "Islam forbids us to war on women children and holy men I must keep those prisoners of war who bore arms against us. We may have an opportunity of exchange. But from any of our camps or villages you may take all the Hindu and Sikh non-combatants. Or if this is not convenient, I pledge my solemn word to send them to the border' And on the border promised to feed and care for them even without orders from his superiors "It is my duty as a soldier and a Mussalman' he said

So much depends on approach. I think very few people in India know how much is owed to India's representatives in the West Punjab and in particular to and to for their constant tact and successful diplomacy

'Brigadier boldly moved his headquarters from Amritsar to Lahore as soon as he was appointed He set up his office in the same building with the Pakistan M E O and established such excellent liaison that every train and truck which crossed the border always came back with a full return load. Entirely unofficially quite outside the inter-Governmental agreements, he arranged for Indian troops to go out into the villages along with Pakistan troops, and thus we rescued many desperate non-Muslims who were terrified to go with Muslim troops alone I never heard a bad word from any Pakistani against Brigadier and yet he completed his evacuation programme well ahead of schedule The only thing I ever held against him is that he used to try and persuade me to believe that the Mahrattas really captured fortresses by being drawn up the walls on the tails of lizards! And I hate having my leg pulled.

Mr s approach was equally confident He had served the Punjab Government twenty-five years He approached the Muslim Deputy Commissioners as friends and former colleagues and frankly asked their help in our work Four out of five would respond in the same spirit.

'And on the non-official side I never can forget how much I learnt from Miss Mridula Sarabhai, whose fearless, completely non-communal spirit has succeeded in getting so many abducted women restored on both sides"

Of course,' he adds 'I have also seen horrible things, in both the East and the West Punjab And I have been very peevish at being shot at by Pathans, though I am told that it is just their idea of fun'

But he is of opinion that given certain conditions and more of the spirit of confident approach the Punjab might become safe for the minorities within a year

New Delhi 20-1-'48 PYARELAL

CONTENTS PAGE

HARIJANS AND TEMPLE ENTRY	M K GANDHI	1
SACRED MOMENTS — I	PYARELAL	2
LESSONS FROM RUSSIA	J C KUMARAPPA	3
CONGRESS POSITION	M K GANDHI	4
MILL CLOTH v KHADI	PYARELAL	4
WORTHY OF REFLECTION	M K GANDHI	5
THE SEVEN POINT PLEDGE		6
REORIENTATION IN RAILWAYS	GAJANAN NAIK	6
HIS MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION	J C KUMARAPPA	9
GANDHIJI'S POST PRAYER SPEECHES		10
THE SILVER LINING	PYARELAL	16
NOTES		
DECONTROL VINDICATED	P	8
AFTER FOOD STUFFS CLOTH	P	8
A NEW FAMILY MEMBER	MIRA	8
A SUGGESTION	J C K.	8
SPOILT	J C K	8
IS IT TOO LATE?	J C K.	9

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year Rs. 8 or 14 sh or $ 3.

Reg No. B 3092

HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL

VOL. XII No 2 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY FEBRUARY 8 1948 TWO ANNAS

3072

OUT OF THE ASHES

Mahatma Gandhi is no more in flesh and blood to speak to us to console us to encourage us to guide us But did he not tell us often that the body is mortal and transient that the *atma* alone is immortal and imperishable? Did he not tell us that God would keep his body so long as He had any use for it? May be that his spirit freed from the limitations of body will work all the more freely and create instruments to complete and fulfil what remains unaccomplished May be that out of the ashes on the banks of the Jamuna will arise forces that will blow off all the mist and cloud of misunderstanding and distrust and establish the kind of peace and harmony for which he lived and worked and alas! at last fell victim to the assassin s bullet

Was he not the quintessence and embodiment of all that is noble and magnificent in Hinduism—indeed in humanity? And yet was it not a Hindu hand that aimed the pistol and lodged the bullet in the heart that knew no bounds of race or creed or country? What can be the motive of this crime? Is it to save Hinduism? Is it to serve the Hindu Samaj? Is Hinduism saved that way? Is Hindu Samaj served that way? Search the innumerable pages of the chequered history of Hinduism and the Hindu Samaj You will find no other instance of such a foul and treacherous deed It is an indelible black patch on that history which nothing will wash out

We are sad We are stunned Must we need be despondent? The body will not be seen The voice will not be heard But has he not left us an invaluable heritage? Has he not given us enough of guidance and inspiration to lead us on and to sustain us in our onward march? In the face of this awful tragedy let his clarion call once more rouse us to our sense of duty He made heroes out of clay He made consummate use of indifferent instruments in the lifelong struggle he carried on against injustice against oppression against slavery India needs the same heroism the same disregard of dangers the same recklessness of consequences for establishing righteousness. Gandhiji has given away his life for it Shall we not follow him after death as we did when he was walking on this earth?

Birth 2-10-1869 BAPU Death 30-1-1948

This is no time for anger or retaliation In Gandhiji s teaching there is never any time or room for either What is needed is a firm determination to eradicate the narrow soul-killing sectarianism

24 SEP 1982

that has made the crime possible Gandhiji's performances — political social or economic — always had two facets — the negative and the positive or constructive Ill will must be destroyed so that good will may take its place Communal distrust and discord must disappear and harmony and concord should be established. This was his last wish We must and shall fulfil it

New Delhi, 3-2-48 RAJENDRAPRASAD

SACRED MOMENT

II

Little occasions now and then provided miniature rehearsals and rest of faith Women and even our little boys and girls took pledges that they would shed the fear of death and go unaccompanied to any place on a dark night that they might be ordered to, without a lantern I sent two little girls from my *bada* to the village adjoining ours They were given an electric torch which however they were not to use unless they really felt afraid Of course, I sent a friend after them to keep watch unobserved The path lay through a thick betel-nut garden where even in the daytime the sun seldom penetrated On the previous day a woman in that village had been so frightened by the shouting of a Muslim procession that she ran to a neighbouring *bada* to seek shelter and at night got high temperature as a result of the fright The girls visited her and put heart into her so much so that she afterwards accompanied them back to our place at half past ten at night to tell me that she too had taken the pledge to shed fear and would never again behave as she had done on the previous day She insisted on returning to her *bada* alone and without a lantern unescorted by the girls, whom I had asked to accompany her and she did go alone One elderly widowed sister of our *bada* who was known as Thakurma caused a sensation even among the Muslims by going alone after dusk to Kafla Toli which was considered to be very unsafe "But O! she is from Bhatialpur — that explains, they exclaimed as she passed through the village of Karpara — the grim site of the tragedy of Raisaheb Rajendra Lal Chowdhry's family a few months back 'No no, she is a Nepali' exclaimed some others because of her somewhat Nepalese features "You will all become Nepalis if you come and stay in our *bada* for a fortnight, she answered back. Since then she is known amongst us as 'Nepali Ma' When a couple of months later I was woken up at midnight to go to Gopaire Bag where a *mali's bada* was threatened to be fired by some local bad characters 'within an hour's time', I took with me only Thakurma and one of the two girls. About the same time a deputation came one day from the village of Sindurpur where a dacoity had taken place on the previous day They were afraid to return to their village without an escort, as it was dusk Two girls offered to accompany them. They did not ask for an escort after that and went back alone

On another occasion when I went to see a riot leader, who was absconding and spreading terror in the country-side by organizing gangs from his hiding so that men simply turned pale and trembled at his name, two little girls from the village of Mogarpara walked into his *bada* and stood before us as we were talking. One of them had her maternal uncle murdered by this gang leader during the Gopaire Bag massacre She had taken the pledge that she would go and tell him to his face that he was free to cut her throat as he had her uncle's, but she was not afraid of him and she would not tremble or run away

Do you know where you have come?' I asked them

'Yes s *bada*"

'Do you know ?'

'No

'Well then, here he is I said pointing to the person sitting next to me Are you now satisfied that he is just an ordinary human being like you and me and not a monster with a tail and horns?

They laughed joining

'And do you know these girls?' I asked

'No

'Well then, one of them pointing to the elder of the two has had her uncle murdered at Gopaire Bag She has come to tell you that you are free to cut her throat too But she would neither tremble nor run away

The little girl nodded her head as I spoke these words and laughed an uneasy dry laugh

In the month of May there were a series of dacoities by one of the gangs organized by this person Finally they came to Karatkhal denuded a deserted *bada* of all the ripe cocoa-nuts on the trees and held a picnic on unripe ones leaving behind a trenchful of drained *dabs* Our reply was to organize night watches I gathered together all the men women and children of Karatkhal in front of their turned Thakurghar, where they daily held *Ramadhun kirtan*. "Now tell me how many from among you are prepared to join in the night watch? Almost all the women raised their hands Three from among the men abstained. I suggested and my suggestion was acclaimed with loud laughter, that those who were not prepared or unwilling to join in the night watch be made to take charge of the children and other household duties and free the womenfolk for the night duty

I then asked the women if they were ready to set out on their night rounds

'Yes, but in your company, they replied

"Now that is not fair," I admonished them You said you had faith in God.'

"Yes, that we have but we have known you and we have faith that your resourcefulness will find an answer for every emergency You will not let us perish'

'I now know what sort of faith you have in me from the proof you have just given of your faith in God I tell you, you are living in a fool's paradise if you think that I shall be able to save your life under any circumstance. Why I cannot save even my own The only ingenuity I possess is that I have faith that if death comes in the performance of one's duty, it is the best thing for us Even that faith has yet to be tested. Now tell me, after what

I have told you — and I am sure take it to be the literal truth if you have faith in me — how many of you are prepared to come out with me knowing my limitations ?

In reply one after another the hands began to drop till only seven remained "We shall face death in your company" they said "To tell you the truth one of them added, ' we are not afraid of death but we may be dishonoured" I told them that no one could take away the honour of a woman who was not afraid to die Purity was a woman's best shield and protection It should arm her with the strength to go forth and face danger not cause her to run away from it. In the final analysis it was again a question of a living faith in God which alone could give one the courage to die without fear anger or retaliation in one's heart The argument went home

I selected one out of the seven and told her to go to the adjoining village alone ' If you are really ready to face death in my company, surely, you should be ready to face the possibility of danger at my order Take *Ramanama* if fear grips the heart I suggested

She hesitated for a moment, then took a deep breath and uttered with a groan two words only ' Hey Bhagwan ' (हे भगवान्) and set forth with clenched fists in the darkness and the mud Her name was K One after another the rest of the seven followed suit Thereafter they regularly joined in the night watch and I do not remember a single occasion when I knocked at the door of any one of them in the small or long hours of the night and they hesitated or failed to respond.

The finale came not long afterwards One day while K was alone in her *supari bagan* (betel-nut garden) answering the call of nature, A a notorious miscreant of the locality who had been prowling about their house for a number of days, came up and stood before her making indecent gestures, whereupon she hastily got up and took shelter in her house, where she narrated the whole story to her father The matter was reported to me I sent word to the miscreant, whom I had had to tackle more than once before in connection with some other offences that unless speedy redress was forthcoming it would be a serious matter The miscreant thereupon came to me full of apologies and wanted to have a 'hearing' I told him that he had done me personally no wrong If he was sincere in his repentance he ought to give satisfaction to the complainant. Since his was an offence against a woman he must appear before a *darbar* composed of women and take the verdict at their hands All would depend upon his making a clean breast of the matter At the same time the case was reported to the Union Board President's Panchayat. They fixed the hearing for four o clock in the afternoon The time for women's *darbar* was 2 p m There is a joke amongst us that clocks in the Noakhali space-time world have only three hours—morning-noon and evening So both the appointments were reduced to the common denominator (afternoon) and both the Union Board President's Panchayat and the Women's Court assembled at 6 p m Naturally, men had to wait. The women's court was held first.

It was a great day For the first time in the history of the locality a miscreant was going to be tried for an offence against a women by a court composed wholly of women Coming after the August happenings it seemed almost incredible And so, in spite of deep mud, owing to the previous night's heavy rain and inundate *khals* requiring wading through waist-deep water over one hundred women and girls came from four villages singing *Ramadhun* No men were allowed to be present I and my colleague, and interpreter were present by grace In introducing the case I told them that I expected them to be firm and fearless but forgiving Their object should not be to humiliate or to punish but to reform The complainant than narrated her experience Faced by that tribunal and the strong feeling against him, the accused began to waver and quibble I then left the meeting leaving him to be tackled by the women after giving the warning that to excuse himself would be to accuse himself The women had a very straight talk with him and succeeded in putting the fear of God into him. Within fifteen minutes I was called back and he made a full clean confession which was duly recorded on the spot. In his statement he addressed the complainant as ' mother , asked her forgiveness and offered to take any punishment that might be given to him

In view of his past record during and before the riots some women were inclined to be sceptical about his repentance and wanted an exemplary punishment to be given to him but they ultimately decided to see the verdict of the Union Board President's Panchayat first

He was then produced before the Panchayat of local Muslims including the President of the Union Board They gave a very severe sentence which in view of his voluntary confession and surrender was commuted at my instance into execution of a bond of Rs 100 for good conduct in future and a public apology to the woman complainant, which was done with due ceremony according to the traditional local custom

The women were satisfied and almost began to evince a motherly interest in the reform of the accused whom they told that if he asked forgiveness of God from his heart as he had done of them God would surely help him reform his character and keep on to the right path.

In pointing out the moral of the incident to the women's gathering I recalled the promise that if they took *Ramanama* from their hearts and not merely from their lips, in future it would not be they who would have to tremble before the *goondas*, it would be the latter who would tremble before them and how it had come true to the extent that they had genuinely taken to that *mantra* There has been no major incident of this character in our four villages since Later, as a token of the new spirit and as a symbol of their equality with men, the women and girls adopted coats as the uniform to be worn at all functions

New Delhi, 12-1-'48 PYARELAL

(*Concluded*)

GANDHIJI'S POST PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House New Delhi 27 1-48

MUSLIMS AND PRAYER GATHERING

Gandhiji began his post-prayer address on Tuesday evening with asking how many Muslims were present and expressed his disappointment as only one hand went up The other day he had advised that each Hindu or Sikh should bring at least one Muslim friend and he expected that they would do that much

URS AT MEHRAULI

Gandhiji next described his morning visit to the *Dargah Sharif* at Mehrauli The *urs* had attracted a large concourse of Muslims and what gladdened Gandhiji was to find an equal number of Hindus and Sikhs. Due to some wild and misleading rumours however the attendance of Muslims was thinner than in the previous years It was a matter of shame that man should have to be afraid of man. Gandhiji was also distressed to see the costly marble trellis damaged It was no answer to say that similar or worse things had happened in Pakistan. Had we fallen so low as to stoop to such acts of vandalism? Granting that such incidents had occurred on a larger scale in Pakistan it would be improper to institute comparisons in evil doing Even if the whole world did wrong should we do likewise? If today Gandhiji took to evil courses would it not distress them? For him it would be worse than death Similarly they had reason to feel ashamed at the damage done to the *Dargah* The friend in charge had related to the audience the history of the shrine and Gandhiji felt that it behoved them all to show to such a holy place the veneration due to it

MORE MURDERS IN N W F P

Gandhiji then referred to the news of one hundred and thirty innocent Hindus and Sikhs having been killed at the Parachinar refugee camp in Peshawar by raiders from tribal areas Anger at such events would be understandable but nevertheless wrong Gandhiji had warned the congregation at the fair that if there was any secret wish for retaliation it would be a breach of the solemn pact entered into in their name It was up to the Dominion Governments to take appropriate action in such matters but so far as the public was concerned they should remain unmoved

HARIJANS AT AJMER

Gandhiji had learnt from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on her return from Ajmer that the Harijans there lived amidst great squalor and filth He wondered at the apathy of the Hindus and the authorities Here in Delhi too the Harijan *bastis* were filthy enough but what the Rajkumari saw in Ajmer beat all record That Harijans were employed in dirty work was no excuse for neglecting them The scandal should be stopped without delay

MIRPUR VICTIMS

Finally, Gandhiji spoke of the plight of the men and women carried away by the raiders to Mirpur—a district of Kashmir The captives included young girls who were molested by the raiders and many of whom were reported to have been removed to Pakistan There should be some code of decency even for raiders and abductions could have no place therein He appealed to the [illegible] to right the obvious wrong assuming that a contrary version was given to him Pandit Jawaharlalji himself felt sore at heart and the Union Government was doing what was possible He knew from his study of Islam that it did not condone such acts Government machinery moved slow Dictates of humanity brooked no delay

Birla House, New Delhi, 28-1-48

TO BAHAWALPURI FRIENDS

In his post prayer address on Wednesday evening Gandhiji said that he had received a complaint from some Bahawalpuri friends that they had asked for but failed to get an appointment with him Gandhiji knew that they were in distress and would manage to find time for them If that would comfort them He, however, desired to assure them that everything possible was being done A telegram had been received from the Nawabzadeh that Dr Sushila Nayyar and Mr Leslie Cross had reached Bahawalpur They must wait and watch further developments

PEACE IN THE METROPOLIS

By God's grace peace had been restored among the three communities in the Metropolis and this was sure to improve the over all situation

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Gandhiji then referred to another kind of *satyagraha* launched by the Indian community in South Africa. Indians in South Africa were not permitted free entry into the various provinces In defiance of their honour as men and women the *satyagrahis* had marched to Volkurst and thence motored to Johannesburg where they held a meeting This was a courageous step and if the people as a whole became *satyagrahis* in the right spirit victory was sure to crown their efforts In the question of the march the Government had shown a degree of tolerance and not effected any arrests But with the progress of the movement it was feared that arrests would follow So long however as the movement was conducted peacefully, there was no reason for the Government to resort to persecution Why should Whites consider it *infra dig* to talk matters over with non Whites? Gandhiji suggested that the authorities should contact the *satyagraha* leaders and satisfy their reasonable demands Today India and Pakistan just become new Dominions, were entitled to expect friendly treatment from sister Dominions of the Commonwealth But if the South African Government still treated Indians as inferiors on the score of colour he had no hesitation in declaring that they would be putting themselves in the wrong It was unthinkable that Dominions should quarrel among themselves

MUSLIMS IN MYSORE

The other day Gandhiji had received a telegram from Muslims that his fast had produced no effect in Mysore He had had a telegram from the Home Minister of the State that he had been misinformed The fast had produced a deep impression and helped to ease the tension There had been some trouble but it was confined to certain localities of Bangalore city and was immediately controlled without police firing or *lathi* charge The rest of the State had been and was free from communal trouble

Gandhiji had also a telegram from a Muslim on behalf of Muslims thanking him for his reference to

their woes in the prayer [illegible] that the Government had now been [illegible] and issued a clear statement on the happenings which want to prove the innocence of the Muslims The telegram also said that the Moslems had always been loyal to the State and the country and their reckless exasperation should be stopped. Gandhiji advised Muslim friends and others not to indulge in exaggerations, but if anything to understate their grievances From his long experience he could say that that was the way for all communities to live in mutual harmony

A WORD TO DONORS

In conclusion Gandhiji had a word of advice for those who sent him money through unregistered post for Harijan and other work He recalled that once his father had sent him a precious stone by ordinary post and then in his anxiety had to wire and enquire as to its safe arrival Similarly a friend had now sent him over Rs 1 000 in an ordinary envelope. If the letter had been tampered with it would have meant so much loss to the Harijan cause as well as to the donor Safe receipt of such donations testified to the honesty of the Post Office staff and Gandhiji warmly congratulated them and appealed to all departments to maintain a high standard of integrity in their dealings with the public At the same time he cautioned prospective donors against taking unnecessary risks and exposing the services to temptation and advised that all such moneys should be sent by money order or through an insured envelope deducting the remittance charges from the donations if necessary

Birla House New Delhi 29-1-'48

DEPUTATION TO BAHAWALPUR

In his post-prayer address on Thursday evening Gandhiji first explained how Dr Sushila Nayyar happened to proceed to Bahawalpur in company with Mr Leslie Cross of the Friends Unit The latter God's good man and a friend to all, had volunteered for this task When Shrimati Sushilabeho heard about it, she asked if she could accompany him She had been associated with the Friends' Unit while working in Noakhali She was of Gujarat in the Punjab and her family which was noted for friendship with Muslims had sustained grievous losses there but her mind was not poisoned She knew the local languages and was not afraid to go Gandhiji consulted Mr Cross who welcomed her offer Gandhiji was being asked which of the two was the principal He was proud to own Mr Cross as a valued friend and Shrimati Sushila as his daughter Both had mutual regard and both went in a spirit of service to study the position and report to him on return In selfless service there was no distinction If there could be any naturally, Mr Cross was the principal

THEIR SERVANT

Gandhiji next spoke of a deputation of about forty refugees from Bannu who had called on him in the afternoon. Poor men, they were in an afflicted state and he prized their *darshan*. As he had other engagements, they were good enough at his request to have their statements recorded by Shri Brijkrishna One of them, however, exclaimed that they owed their miseries to him and angrily asked him to leave them alone and retire to the Himalayas Gandhiji asked him at whose bidding he should go Some we[illegible] a few want to the [illegible] of abusing [illegible] eulogized his efforts The only course [illegible] to him was to follow the dictates of God who spoke to men in the inmost chamber of the heart There were women too in the company He regarded them as his brothers or sisters. God was our one true friend. We were entirely in His hands He would not care to go and enjoy the peace of the mountains but would be content with what peace he could extract from the surrounding turmoil He therefore preferred to stay in their midst adding that if they all want to the Himalayas, he might follow them as their servant

BREAD LABOUR

Proceeding Gandhiji referred to the complaints brought to him that the refugees though provided with food shelter and clothing, were averse to any work. If a man was in distress, the key to his happiness lay in labour God did not create man to eat drink and make merry The *Gita* taught that one should perform *yagna* (bread labour) and partake of the fruits of that labour Millionaires who ate without work were parasites Even they should eat by the sweat of their brow or should go without food The only permissible exception was the disabled for whom society provided There was a variety of work for the refugees to do such as maintaining sanitation including cleaning of latrines spinning and other crafts They should learn to make the best of the situation in which they found themselves

KISANS

Gandhiji then spoke about peasants If he had his say our Governor-General and our Premier would be drawn from the *kisans* In his childhood he had learnt in the school books that the *kisans* were heirs to the kingdom of the earth This applied to those who laboured on the land and ate from what they produced Such *kisans* to be worthy of high offices might be illiterate provided they had robust common sense, great personal bravery, unimpeachable integrity and patriotism above suspicion. As real producers of wealth they were verily the masters while we had enslaved them It had been suggested to Gandhiji that the higher secretariat posts should also be manned by *kisans* He would endorse this suggestion provided they were suitable and had knowledge of the work expected of them When *kisans* of this type were forthcoming, he would publicly ask Ministers and others to make room for them

FOOD SHORTAGE IN MADRAS

In conclusion Gandhiji referred to the food situation in Madras. Emissaries on behalf of the Madras Government had approached Shri Jairamdas to arrange for food supplies to that Province Gandhiji felt sorry at this attitude He wished to impress on the people of Madras that they could find enough food within their own province in the shape of groundnuts, cocoa nuts and a variety of other edibles They had enough fish which the majority ate Why should they then need to go out with a begging bowl? It would not do for them to insist on rice — and polished rice at that, which was bereft of all nutritive value — or obligingly to accept wheat With rice flour they could mix groundnuts or cocoa nut powder and thus keep the

[illegible] What they [illegible] celebrated [illegible] He knew the Ma[illegible] well and had in South Africa in his ranks men drawn from all the linguistic areas of the province Whilst on march their daily ration consisted only of a pound and a half of bread and an ounce of sugar But wherever they encamped for the night they astonished him by singing and cooking eddibles picked from the grasses on the valdt How could such resourceful people ever feel helpless? It is true we were all labourers In honest labour lay our salvation and the satisfaction of all vital needs

HE LIVES

' When is Gandhiji coming to us? asked the wife of the Multan Deputy Commissioner whom I met at about 4 p m on the 30th ultimo She and several others had made render enquiries about his health. His recent fasts and the miracles worked by them at Calcutta and Delhi had touched the heart of Muslims in Pakistan as elsewhere It was gratifying to see the erstwhile Enemy No. 1 of Islam ', looked upon as the friend of the Muslims both in India and Pakistan. In my mind I rehearse how pleased Bapu would be when he would hear my report. And suddenly at about 6-15 in rushed the Commissioner's wife greatly agitated " What is the world coming to ? " she cried " I hear Gandhiji has been shot dead ' I turned cold and began to shiver " No no, it is only a rumour " said someone else ' We shall ring up Delhi and find out the truth " But I was reluctant to wait True or false, I wanted to get back to Lahore and from there to Delhi as early as possible The Deputy Commissioner lent us his car and we motored down to Lahore during the night There was beautiful moonlight and ineffable peace all around as the car sped along the lonely road at top speed I kept on saying to myself ' No the rumour must be false Bapu is not dead He is alive, he is alive.' And from within the heart echoed back, ' Bapu is alive,' and I felt reassured

We reached Lahore at 6 a m and before long the illusion that I had nursed the whole night fell to pieces. A friend came to sympathize Little did he realize the agony caused by his words meant to give comfort ! A little later Panditji's familiar voice at the radio full of the poignancy of intense grief left no room for hoping against hope We had been orphaned

I paced up and down impatiently for the aeroplane that was to take me to Delhi. It was supposed to come at 9 a m. It came a little after 9-30 a m. Sorrow was writ large on the face of everyone — Muslim or Hindu — including the aerodrome officials They were most considerate They would have willingly sent for a special plane from Peshawar, they said but that would not save any time They, however, did everything to expedite the departure of the plane when it arrived and the pilot brought the plane from Lahore to Delhi in about one hour and twenty minutes

I rushed from the aerodrome to Birla House in a car leaving the luggage to Mr Cross with whom Gandhiji had [illegible] me to Bahawalpur I was still in a semi-dazed condition Mian Iftikharuddin came with me Every one of us is responsible for Gandhiji's murder he said in the car with tears in his eyes Had not we all some time or another condoned violence and harbonred some tinge of communalism in the secret recesses of our hearts? I began to examine myself Some talk irresponsibly others act, I cogitated within myself ' What the mad man who had brought Hinduism to shame, had done was only the natural corollary to what almost all of us are some time or other guilty of And I thought of our women Even they had not escaped the virus How was Gandhiji to pull us out of this all engulfing bog? He had fasted And now had come the climax He was crucified and by one of his own children !

We reached Birla House The car entered by the back door There was a huge crowd even on that side I rushed through it like mad pushing and elbowing my way to the spot where stood the *palki* ready to start Someone helped me to climb up There was the Sardar sitting near the feet of his dead master sad and serene He drew me up There lay our dearest Bapu face only uncovered, radiating peace in death as in life I could not see the pallor of death but I fancied I saw on it the same old smile of welcome Distracted I involuntarily pressed my face on to his chest expecting the usual affectionate pat on the back and the cheek Beside me stood Abha and Manu Someone called out Now you must get down Pandit Nehru helped us all to get down He stood near the head with his grief-stricken face The procession started

We reached the cremation ground said a short prayer and then they started placing faggots of sandal wood on the dead body We all made our last *pranam* My heart cried out, " Bapu forgive, forgive all our failings all our faults and failures " I drew away from the funeral platform and sat down I could see no more I kept repeating to myself the *Gita* verses

सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुक्तम् हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।
अजानता महिमानं तवेदं मया प्रमादात् प्रणयेन वापि ॥ १ ॥
यच्चावहासार्थमसत्कृतोऽसि विहारशय्यासनभोजनेषु ।
एकोऽथवाप्यच्युत तत्समक्षम् तत् क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ॥ २ ॥
पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।
न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमप्रभाव ॥३॥
तस्मात् प्रणम्य प्रणिधाय कायम् प्रसादये त्वामहमीशमीड्यम् ।
पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्यु प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि देव सोढुम् ॥४॥

The crowd pressed in on us The Sardar pulled Abha and Manu out of the crush somehow We got into a military truck and saw the flames from a distance

Sitting at night in front of his portrait I fell into a muse

' The light has gone out and there is darkness all around ' Pandit Nehru had said in his radio announcement, but had immediately corrected himself by adding No the light shines and will continue to shine thousands of years hence ' Bapu

is alive and will live for ever even like Christ and Buddha They all taught the law of love, but Bapu demonstrated to the world that *ahimsa* is not for the recluse only it is the law of society

In the Aga Khan's palace someone once remarked that his followers the constructive workers as a rule, did not possess that *tejas*, that personality which alone could enable them to carry his message in the living form to the masses His reply was, "Yes, they do seem rather helpless today but the fault is mine In everything they look to me for guidance I am afraid it cannot be otherwise during my lifetime But I cherish the hope that they will blossom forth when I am no more and what they have been silently imbibing all along will then bear fruit" After a short silence he added 'Which of Christ s disciples had given proof of great ability during his lifetime? God gave them the strength to propagate Christ s teachings only after he was gone All these thoughts keep whirling in my mind as I sit before his portrait which rests where he used to sit and work May God give us the strength to live up to the teachings of the Great Master, at whose feet we had come together and sat due to some *punya* of our previous births Tears rush to the eyes at the thought that never more shall we hear that loving, soothing voice never more shall we feel that magic touch of his pat, which always made one feel strong and lightened one's burden whether physical or mental But we must force back our tears We must not allow our emotion to be depleted by them The agony that we all feel at our loss must be transmuted into action We followed him with halting footsteps during his lifetime Let us all pray that we may be able to do so now with firmness and determination A friend sent me a few impromptu lines of his composition yesterday From it I cull the following

"You he called friends hold it in heart with dread,
And you, the strangers who may read these lines,
His only tools are now your hands and feet,
Consider what you touch and where you tread!

Within my heart I hear an echo say, "No, he is not dead He lives and watches our fumbling efforts with the same, old, sweet, sad smile

New Delhi, 3-2-'48 S N

NOTE

I am receiving a large number of letters from readers of the *Harijan* and as there is some confusion with regard to my permanent address I herewith give it in full

Ashram
Pasbulok,
P O Rishikesh District Dehradun
U P.

Correspondents may kindly write to this address in future

Kisan Ashram is a separate institution in district Saharanpur

MIRA

"LET NOT YOUR HEART BE TROUBLED"

Humanly speaking a tragedy overtook the world when on the 30th January Gandhiji was translated to the bosom of the Father It is difficult to bring consolation to those still in the flesh as it is hard to realize that the things unseen are more real than the things seen The words uttered by Jesus two thousand years ago when a similar incident was about to take place ring in our ears Jesus was crucified by the machinations of the leaders of a section of his own people as he was an unrelenting critic of their ways and customs The words spoken when he was about to be tortured to death, have a special significance for us today

'Peace I leave with you Let not your heart be troubled If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I go unto the Father

"Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more, but ye see me He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me and I will love him and will manifest myself to him and my Father will love him'

"Herein is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples

'If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father s commandments, and abide in His love. This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends'

"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you and that your joy might be full

Yea the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me

"Because, I have said these things unto you sorrow hath filled your heart'

"Verily, verily, I say unto you that ye shall weep and lament but the world shall rejoice, and ye shall be sorrowful but your sorrow will be turned into joy, and your joy no man taketh from you

The Comforter whom the Father will send you—the Spirit of Truth—he will guide you into all truth

'The Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me and have believed that I came out from God, I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world, again I leave the world and go to the Father'

'Behold, the hour cometh yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own and shall leave me alone, and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me

"These things I have spoken unto you that in me ye might have peace In the world ye shall have tribulation but be of good cheer I have overcome the world"

Gandhiji having shaken off his mortal coil, representing all limitations of time and space has

[illegible] the Universal Spirit May those of us who truly love him be given the grace and strength to follow in the trail blazoned forth by his life and actions

If we dedicate our lives to the attainment of Gandhiji's ideals we shall have much hard work if peace is to be brought to this world torn by communal dissensions economic greed and ambition for power in an atmosphere surcharged with hatred and suspicion But nothing is impossible for those who lay their trust in Him who is Almighty Shall we wipe away our tears and gird our loins and face the task before us with unrelenting faith in God and man to carry on the good work started by our immortal leader — Bapu?

Maganwadi
Wardha
31-1-48 J C KUMARAPPA

THE DAY BEFORE

[Shri K G Mashruwala received on the 2nd instant a post card written by Gandhiji himself on the 29th January that is the day before his death It refers to a letter written by Shri Mashruwala to one of Gandhiji's assistants to acknowledge receipt of a communication from him The reply therefore by Gandhiji himself has come to him as an agreeable surprise and a precious memento The following is a free translation of the post card — *ED*]

29-1-48 N D

"My dear Kishorlal,

"I have been devoting today my time after the prayer in writing letters. You did well in sending here the news of the death of Shankaranji's daughter I have sent him a letter The report of my going there (i e Sevagram) must be regarded still as indefinite I have suggested that I should stay there from the 3rd to the 12th If it could be said that I "did in Delhi it might not be necessary to be here for keeping my pledge This depends upon what view my colleagues here take Perhaps it may be possible to decide tomorrow The purpose of my visit is to consider whether it is possible to unite together all the separate institutions of the Constructive Programme and to observe the anniversary day of Jamnalal I have been gaining strength satisfactorily Both the kidney and the liver got involved this time According to my view, it showed weakness of faith in *Ramanama*

"Blessings to both of you"

[Notes

Shri Shankaranji is a teacher in the Hindustani Talim Sangh Sevagram

The verb "did is in reference to the pledge "Do or Die which he took on reaching Delhi

The other person referred to in "blessings to both is Shrimati Gomatibehn Mashruwala]

GANDHIJI'S DELHI DIARY

The Navajivan Office is shortly publishing *The Delhi Diary* of Gandhiji containing his prayer speeches during his last stay in Free India's Capital The book will be issued in three languages English, Gujarati and Hindustani

Ahmedabad 3-2-48 J DESAI

OUR DUTY

Far into the dim distant future as time flies on and centuries merge into millennia the echoes of the supreme sacrifice and Gandhiji will rebound from the ever receding walls of eternity No one whom history knows was in life so faultless a man No man could by his death pay homage to nobler principles We are too close to the mountain to measure its height Remote posterity will correctly assess the true greatness of the soul which has departed so suddenly from this earth

A diamond has many facets So had Gandhiji But though manifold were his activities for the service of mankind one high purpose inspired them all. That high purpose was to live in tune with the law of humanity the law of love known as *ahimsa* Man has to outgrow the instincts and passions of the beast To the extent he does he is himself The evolution of man in the moral sphere is alone true evolution And so Gandhiji moulded himself from hour to hour through sixty long and strenuous years and outgrew the elemental emotions man has inherited from his brute ancestry He practised and through that practice preached the basic human virtue of love for all that lives

This is also the fundamental teaching of the Hindu religion in which he was born Because he dared to live according to this teaching of the Hindu religion, he was assassinated by the hand of a Hindu and in the name of Hindu interests But the Hindu assassin was really the representative, the instrument of a mental attitude which stood for the negation of the principle for which Gandhiji lived and laboured It stood for hatred and intolerance It denied to others the right to hold and propagate a contrary opinion They could do so only at the peril of life The appearance of this monster of intolerance is a warning to India Her future is doomed her very soul is in danger Hatred can only breed hatred. It is an unerring boomerang Hindu society is committing suicide.

Bapu has passed away. And yet even as the pen scribbles this the mind retorts that Bapu can never die He belongs to the galaxy of the immortals His living influence will shape the lives of millions and the face of things in India All who should be have to be true to him His tasks must be ours feebly though we may be able to shoulder them May God give us the faith and the strength to do our duty

JAIRAMDAS

CONTENTS

		PAGE
OUT OF THE ASHES	RAJENDRAPRASAD	17
SACRED MOMENTS II	PYARELAL	18
GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES		20
HE LIVES	S N	22
LET NOT YOUR HEART BE TROUBLED	J C KUMARAPPA	23
THE DAY BEFORE		24
OUR DUTY	JAIRAMDAS	24

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14sh or $ 3 9

Bapu

Reg. No. B 3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor PYARELAL

3072

VOL. XII No 3 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY FEBRUARY 15 1948 TWO ANNAS

NO GOING BACK

If Shrimati Sarojinidevi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cannot find words adequate enough to satisfy the passion of their souls in paying their homage and tribute of appreciation how can I?

India is writhing in agony like the *krauncha* whose mate was struck by the cruel hunter's arrow over Valmiki's head. His passion, when he saw the tragedy found expression in words whose rhythm and form gave the rhythm and form to the story of Shri Ramji May our history—the future of India—be attuned to the lamentation that burst forth on this tragic occasion when our beloved Bapu fell for the cause of love and truth May we do nothing that will disturb the peace of that soul For surely his spirit watches over us although the body has been returned to the elements

The *Harijan* was Bapu's voice And when his body has been cremated to the elements, the *Harijan* cannot go on* Any attempt to continue it must take a different shape

The Harijan cause has been placed on such solid foundation and the battle has been so completely won that there need be no fear or anxiety on account of Bapu's death in regard to the future of the Harijans as such They will share with us the grief and the anxieties of the nation But they may depend on it that India can never go back upon the teachings of Gandhiji.

New Delhi 4-2-48 C R

TWO RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee has passed two resolutions one recording its sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and the other for the launching of a national memorial fund Mahatma Gandhi's assassination is not an isolated act done on the spur of the moment by an unhinged person without any previous preparation or background It is the result of the communal poison which has been propagated for years in the country and which within recent times assumed country-wide proportion and gained adherents even in circles which were previously immune The division of the country and the tragic and barbarous happenings which preceded and succeeded that division have served to further embitter the feelings and rouse passions Mahatma Gandhi, with his unfailing vision saw that if life was to be worth living in this country then this poison should be eradicated and that irrespective of what happened elsewhere He, accordingly, pitched the whole might of his great personality against it and staked his life by undertaking an unlimited fast so that Muslims could live with honour and security in India He felt that the only way to ensure the same kind of life with honour and safety to non-Muslims in Pakistan was to ensure it for Muslims in India The effect of his fast was miraculous and led to a change which was perceptible in the attitude of non-Muslims towards Muslims generally, but it evidently roused the wrath of people of the type of the person who murdered him as they held that any conciliation was not only not possible but really harmful to the best interests of the country The assassin planned to do away with Gandhiji and thus to end the efforts at communal peace and harmony The revulsion of feeling which has manifested itself since the murder has demonstrated that the people at large were with Gandhiji.

Mahatma Gandhi has been experimenting all his life with truth and non-violence and led the country to *Swarajya* with the help of these his fundamentals The communal tangle he attempted to solve in the same way and the first indispensable step in that direction was the abjuration of violence in any shape or form for solving this problem. Communal harmony is the next step and he was working with all his strength for this His death has placed a special responsibility on all survivers of fulfilling his last wish. The Working Committee has accordingly called upon all and, particularly Congressmen and the organization to initiate and carry on an intensive drive against communalism The Congress organization is under double obligation it has to fulfil Gandhiji's wish it has also, it being its own policy all through its long career to live up to its own professions But the Congress organization can achieve this only if it is itself free from communal virus and is strong and pure enough to undertake this campaign It is common knowledge that Congressmen are not of one mind that even where they do not differ in essential matters parties have sprung up amongst them based on loyalty to personalities and on considerations of personal preferment. The Congress organization has to purge itself of all this weakness and recover and reestablish some of the idealism which actuated its workers in the earlier days of the non-co-operation movement. Gandhiji gave the call then and he received wide response That call was given by him when he was alive By his death he has given the call once again and we have once more to think out each for himself as to what he should do to respond to this

* The question is under consideration — P

call. It is a call for rededication to the cause, a call for service and sacrifice, a call to make the freedom that we have won true and genuine freedom for all

The second resolution of the Working Committee deals with the national memorial fund It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi did not believe in memorials of brick and stone or of steel and cement As the Working Committee has pointed out his imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of men and women and are the most fitting memorial to him as they will continue to inspire mankind generally Nevertheless it is necessary to have a memorial which will give expression in concrete form to the high ideals of truth and non-violence which he preached and lived up to in his own life Gandhiji looked upon his constructive activities as giving concrete form to his high ideals He aimed at a society and a way of life in which there will be no oppression or injustice or exploitation of one individual class or group by another, in which every one will not only be free to give the fullest expression to his personality but will also have the means and the opportunity of doing so, in which there will be no squalor and poverty but there will also be no subservience to material wealth and the luxury that it brings The Working Committee has therefore, decided that the memorial fund will be utilized largely for furthering the manifold constructive activities in which Gandhiji was interested and in collecting, preserving and publishing his writings and teachings as also collecting and preserving things connected with him

We find from newspapers that movements are afoot all over the country for raising some kind of memorial or other One of the things which seem to find favour at many places is to have a statue of Gandhiji put up It should not be forgotten that Gandhiji would have been the last person to approve of any such memorial to himself Besides it is not easy to get a really good statue made The number of artists who can really produce a good piece of art is small and when there will be a simultaneous demand for a large number of statues from many places there can be little doubt that many of these statues will be of indifferent quality if not positively bad, and apart from Mahatma Gandhi's own feeling in matters like this there is no use wasting money over what may turn out to be an ugly imitation in stone or bronze of what Gandhiji's body was in life. While local feeling for local memorials will have to be respected it should not be forgotten that dispersal of energy and funds on objects of local or parochial interest may have the effect of detracting from truly national memorial which the nation ought to erect to its Father and Saviour I have no intention of throwing cold water on local enthusiasm but we shall be doing little service if we did to perpetuate Gandhiji's [illegible] it is it he would not have liked [illegible]

The Working Committee has authorized me to take [illegible] including the appointment of a [illegible] committee in order to manage these funds I am appointing the provisional committee [illegible] will set up the organization that will appoint trustees and the managing committee for managing the fund and deciding as to how it should be utilized The names of the banks which will receive donations on behalf of the committee are going to be published No one who is not duly authorized should make collections for the fund A country-wide organization will soon be set up for the purpose In the meantime all donations may be deposited with any of the authorized banks and intimation sent to me or donations may be sent to me direct The Working Committee expects that every one will pay at least ten days income

New Delhi, 10-2-48 RAJENDRA PRASAD

GANDHIJI'S MEMORIAL

Shri Natandas Gandhi has been Khadi mad for years He never argued with Gandhiji about anything What Gandhiji said went straight to Natandasbhai's heart and he wore away his soul to put it into practice He developed Khadi work in Kathiawad in a remarkable way Later when Gandhiji introduced the yarn clause in the purchase of Khadi, it was a shock to Natandasbhai but just for a while It meant curtailing Khadi production in Kathiawad As soon as he got over the first shock he set about to promote spinning. It was he who mooted the idea of utilizing the occasion of Gandhiji's birthday for promotion of spinning and Khadi In a letter he writes

'Bapu is gone *Ramanama!* was his consolation in life The same *Ramanama* will console the nation

"There can be no mourning over him no speech-making and as for his memorial he placed the spinning wheel before the country as the symbol of non-violence Let those who did not understand its significance during his life time do so now

'The country collected one crore of rupees for Kasturba's memorial Let us raise one crore of spinners as Bapu's memorial

'His one guide and support in life was the *Gita* Let us all study the *Gita* during this year and make it the guide and support of our lives'

Shri Natandas Gandhi's suggestion is worthy of adoption. Not only would it fill the hungry and clothe the naked — a thing so dear to Gandhiji's *Daridranarayan* heart the spinning wheel, as Gandhiji so often told sorrowing friends is a sedative beyond compare for grief

New Delhi, 7-2-48 PYARELAL

FROM YERAVDA MANDIR
[Ashram Observances]
By
Gandhiji
Being a translation of the Gujarati *Mangal Prabhat*
Price *Eight Annas* Postage etc *Two Annas*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

THE PASSING AWAY OF THE MASTER

When the heart is heavy with indescribable sorrow and the whole soul is on fire on account of the terrible calamity that has so unexpectedly visited us all it is exceedingly difficult to collect one's thoughts and say or write anything Innumerable are the sweet and sacred memories of beloved Bapu that come crowding in at this moment I confine myself here only to one of them which is most relevant to the misfortune we so deeply mourn

It was the beginning of September 1933 Bapu was then convalescing at *Parnakuti* in Poona from the effects of his last fast embarked upon in Yeravda Prison by way of protest against the Government's refusal to accord him the necessary facilities for carrying on his anti-untouchability campaign from inside the jail Within five days of his fast his condition grew so bad that he had to be removed to Sassoon Hospital Poona and two days later, when it was realized that further detention might prove fatal the Government ordered his release unconditionally on August 23 1933 and he was brought over to *Parnakuti*

I happened to be then in Poona in charge of the *Harijan* by Bapu s orders as the editor had gone on leave Naturally I had the great good fortune to be with Bapu after his release for the entire period of his convalescence in *Parnakuti* He had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment in consequence of his defiance of the Government's restraint order This unexpected, premature release, therefore raised a moral problem for him He didn t quite know what to do till the termination of the period of his sentence

One evening I was all alone with Bapu He was taking a stroll in the terrace garden of *Parnakuti* He appeared to be immersed in deep thought then The faint glow of the setting sun was still on the flowers and trees of the garden which had as a result taken on a new colour and charm Suddenly he broke the silence and said

Anand, what do you think I should do in my present predicament? This time I did not expect to be released I thought I would be allowed to die In fact I had fully prepared myself for such an eventuality so much so that I had even given away my little personal things to the nurses and the other attendants in the hospital only a day previous to my release I do not know how my death by fasting would have been regarded by people

Why it would have been a most glorious death, Bapu ' I answered

"Nonsense I said Bapu. 'You consider that a glorious death dying by fasting? I don t Where is the glory in it? But do you know it is written in my horoscope that I have to die a heroic death?"

But Bapu even this death by fasting is a heroic one To allow oneself deliberately to die by inches is not an easy thing It means courage of the highest order said I

'No I do not think so My death is to come about either on the gallows or by shooting And that indeed would be a truly heroic death, not the one by fasting in bed

I was [illegible] to [illegible] something when Mirabehn joined us [illegible] the talk, therefore, came abruptly to a [illegible]

So on January 30 when the radio announced to the world the stunning news of Bapu's death by shooting my mind instantaneously went back to that prophetic utterance of his, and though striken with grief at the sudden and tragic passing away of the Master, I must confess I felt a little assuaged by the thought that he at last met the kind of death he regarded as "truly heroic" though viewed from a different angle it is verily a matter of eternal shame and disgrace for us all that one of his own children should have dared to strike down the noblest, the purest and the greatest soul of all time

Poona, 3-2 '48 ANAND T HINGORANI

THE ONLY WORTHY OFFERING

Bapu! What offering can I who was not worthy to touch the latchet of your shoes, pay at your shrine in this the hour of your greatest triumph?

For you the veil has been lifted You always spoke of Death as a friend and told us not to fear him You taught us many things us your erring children. You showed us the way of life by walking yourself along the narrow rugged path which the saints who have gone before you have trod. You showed us how to love where there was hate. You taught us that Truth is God You demonstrated that perfect freedom lay in His service.

It was so easy to struggle along by your side when you were with us Your faith, your love, your courage and your strength upheld us We laid all our burdens on you and you bore them willingly You forgave us much because you loved us greatly

Now God, in His infinite wisdom, has called you to His bosom and we, weak mortals as we are, feel helpless and orphaned Without you our hearts ache our eyes are blinded with tears, fear possesses our minds, our faith is weakened for you have left us at a time when we feel we needed you most The hour of your greatest triumph is the hour of our greatest defeat for it was one of our brothers, one of your own erring children that strayed from the path and brought shame to our land.

But weakness and fear were never in your vocabulary You knew them not You were an unremitting fighter against the forces of evil. Those forces of evil — for what are hate and violence except twin daughters of evil? — are stalking the land today and we stand in danger of losing our souls The political freedom you won for us was just the first step towards building the *Ram Rajya* of your dreams

And so we too in spite of human frailty, in spite of the gloom that today envelops us must shake off all fear and continue the struggle with the matchless weapons of truth and love Only thus will we be fit to be called your children Only thus would you have had us act Only thus will we be able to get sustenance from the power of your atoning love

May the music of your dear voice still be heard by us from out of the Great Silence, may the

fragrant memory of [illegible] and deeds and thoughts when [illegible] on earth still refresh and inspire us [illegible] overshadow us perpetually may the [illegible] of your illumined soul still light the path for us and may your unseen presence ever be near us to lead us gently over the rough places and sustain us This is my prayer

To dedicate ourselves anew to such service as you tried to train us for is the only offering that we who believe in your way of life may dare to offer you.

2-2-'48 A K

HARIJAN

February 15 1948

BAPU

Nineteen-sixteen. Over thirtytwo years ago That was when I first saw Bapu, and an age has gone by since then Inevitably one looks back and memories crowd in What a strange period this has been in India's history and the story with all its ups and downs and triumphs and defeats has the quality of a ballad and a romance Even our trivial lives were touched by a halo of romance because we lived through this period and were actors, in greater or lesser degree in the great drama of India.

This period has been full of wars and upheavals and stirring events all over the world Yet events in India stand out in distinctive outline because they were on an entirely different plane. If a person studied this period without knowing much of Bapu he would wonder how and why all this happened in India It is difficult to explain it it is even difficult to understand by the cold light of reason why each one of us behaved as he or she did It sometimes happens that an individual or even a nation is swept away by some gust of emotion or feeling into a particular type of action sometimes noble action more often ignoble action But that passion and feeling pass and the individual soon returns to his normal levels of action and inaction

The surprising thing about India during this period was not only that the country as a whole functioned on a high plane, but also that it functioned more or less continuously for a lengthy period on that plane That indeed was a remarkable achievement It cannot easily be explained or understood unless one looks upon the astonishing personality that moulded this period Like a colossus he stands astride half a century of India's history, a colossus not of the body but of the mind and spirit

We mourn for Bapu and feel orphaned. Looking back at his magnificent life what is there to mourn for? Surely to very very few human beings in history could it have been given to find so much fulfilment in their own lives He was sad for our failures and unhappy at not having raised India to greater heights That sadness and unhappiness are easy to understand [illegible] who dares say that his life was a failure? Wherever he touched he [illegible] into something rare [illegible] and precious Wherever he did yielded [illegible] results though [illegible] chips not as great as he [illegible] for One carried away the impression that he could not really fail in anything that he attempted Accordi[illegible] to the teachings of the Gita he laboured dispassionately without attachment to results and so results came to him

During his long life full of hard work and activity and novel adventures out of the common rut, there is hardly any jarring note anywhere All his manifold activities became progressively a symphony and every word he spoke and every gesture that he made fitted into this and so unconsciously he became the perfect artist for he had learnt the art of living though the way of life he had adopted was very different from the world's way It became apparent that the pursuit of truth and goodness leads among other things to this artistry in life

As he grew older his body seemed to be just a vehicle for the mighty spirit within him Almost one forgot the body as one listened to him or looked at him and so where he sat became a temple and where he trod was hallowed ground

Even in his death there was a magnificence and complete artistry It was from every point of view a fitting climax to the man and to the life he had lived Indeed it heightened the lesson of his life He died in the fullness of his powers and as he would no doubt have liked to die at the moment of prayer He died a martyr to the cause of unity to which he had always been devoted and for which he had worked unceasingly more specially during the past year or more. He died suddenly as all men should wish to die There was no fading away of the body or a long illness or the forgetfulness of the mind that comes with age Why then should we grieve for him? Our memories of him will be of the Master whose step was light to the end whose smile was infectious and whose eyes were full of laughter We shall associate no failing powers with him of body or mind He lived and he died at the top of his strength and powers leaving a picture in our minds and in the mind of the age that we live in that can never fade away

That picture will not fade But he did something much more than that, for he entered into the very stuff of our minds and spirits and changed them and moulded them The Gandhi generation will pass away, but that stuff will remain and will effect each succeeding generation, for it has become a part of India's spirit. Just when we were growing poor in spirit in this country, Bapu came to enrich us and make us strong and the strength he gave us was not for a moment or a day or a year but it was something added on to our national inheritance

Bapu has done a giant's work for India and the world and even for our poor selves and he has done it astonishingly well And now it is our turn not to fail him or his memory but to carry on the work to the best of our ability and to fulfil the pledges we have so often taken

New Delhi 5-2-48 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE FATEFUL FRIDAY

Unto each man his handiwork or a coal his crown
The just Fate gives
Whose takes the world's life on him and his own lives loan
He dying so lives
Whose bears the whole heaviness of the wrong of world's weight
And puts it by
It is well with him suffering though he face man's fate
How should he die?
'Seeing death has no part in him any more, no power
Upon his head
He has bought his eternity with a little hour
And is not dead.
'For an hour if ye look for him he is no more found
For one hour's space
Thus ye lift up your eyes to him and behold him crowned,
A deathless face
On the mountains of memory by the world's well-springs
In all men's eyes
Where the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies

A C SWINBURNE

The whole of the 29th had been so cram-full with work that at the end of the day he felt utterly fagged out My head is reeling And yet I must finish this,' he remarked to Abha pointing to the draft constitution for the Congress which he had undertaken to prepare and then, 'I am afraid I shall have to keep late hours

Ultimately when he rose at 9-15 p m to retire to bed one of the girls reminded him that he had not taken his usual exercise ' All right, since you tell me I shall do it, he remarked and proceeded to perform thrice the exercise of raising the body as in parallel bars gymnastics on the shoulders of the two girls.

WORK AS USUAL

After getting into bed he generally allowed his feet and limbs to be shampooed by his attendants — more for their sake than for his own. Mentally he had long made himself indifferent to it though I know his system needed these little attentions It also provided a little opportunity for light chat and jokes after the day's crushing burdens Even with his jokes he joined instructions On Thursday night he started conversing with a lady inmate of the Ashram who had come on a casual visit He admonished her for her indifferent health and remarked that if *Ramanama* had been enthroned in her heart, she would not have fallen ill ' But that needs faith,' he added.

The same evening after the prayer, a member of the congregation had come running after him asking for an autograph since he was going to Wardha on the 2nd ' Who says that? asked Gandhiji. "Papers have it," replied the importunate autograph hunter. Gandhiji laughed. "I too have seen that about Gandhi ' he remarked "but who that Gandhi is I do not know "

Speaking to another Ashram inmate he repeated the sentiment he had expressed in his post-prayer address. I must find peace in the midst of turmoil, light in the midst of darkness, hope in despair" Reference to the ' walking sticks" in the course of conversation later drew the remark, 'I allow girls to become my walking sticks- but really I have no need I have long accustomed myself not to depend for [illegible] on anybody Girls come to me as to their father and surround me I like that But really, I am utterly indifferent And so the small talk proceeded till it was rounded in sleep

On the fateful 30th morning he woke up as usual at 3-30 for the *Pratassmaram* prayer After the prayer he sat down to work and then laid himself down a second time for a doze of sleep

At 8o'clock was his massage time Passing through my room he handed me the draft of the new constitution for the Congress — his last will and testament to the nation — which he had partly prepared on the previous night and asked me to ' thoroughly " revise it ' Fill in any gaps in thought that there might be," he added ' I wrote it under a heavy strain,"

Passing out of the room at the end of the massage, he inquired if I had finished the revision and further asked me to prepare a note on how to meet the threatened food crisis in Madras in the light of my experience and experiment in Noakhali. ' The Food Ministry is feeling nervous But I maintain that a province like Madras that is blessed by nature with cocoa-nut and palm, groundnut and banana in such plenty not to mention roots and tubers of various kinds, need not starve if only the people know how to husband their resources in food." I promised to prepare the note as desired He then proceeded to his bath. When he emerged from it, he appeared much refreshed. The strain of the previous night had vanished and he was full of his usual sunlit humour He twitted the Ashram girls for having weak constitutions When someone told him that had missed the train because no conveyance was available, his prompt retort was, " Why did she not walk? It was no empty retort either For I remember how once in one of his tours in Andhra Desh, he had actually asked me to get ready to walk with him with our papers and light kit to the next station 13 miles off, because the motor cars had run out of petrol.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

At 9-30 he had his morning meal after going through his daily exercise in Bengali writing — a practice which he had invariably followed ever since disbanding his party, he went bare-footed to Shrirampur to bury himself in East Bengal villages in pursuance of his Do or Die' vow He was still at his meal which consisted of goat's milk, cooked and raw vegetables, oranges and a decoction of ginger, sour lemons and *ghrita kumari* when I took to him the draft of the constitution with my revisions He went through the additions and alterations point by point with his characteristic thoroughness and removed an error in calculation that had crept in in regard to the number of Panchayat leaders

I then gave him detailed report of my visit to Dr Rajendra prasad to whom he had sent me the previous day to enquire about his health as he was not keeping well and the latest information about the situation in East Bengal which Dr Shyama Prasad Mukharjee had given me when I saw him

on the evening before. This led to a discussion on Noakhali. I put before him the case for orderly evacuation but his view was emphatic and clear. Just as we, workers had to 'Do or Die', even so had we to prepare our people to "Do or Die" for the vindication of their self-respect, honour and right of religious freedom. "May be in the end only a few will be left. But there is no other way of evolving strength out of weakness. Are not ranks decimated in the war of weapons too? How can it be otherwise under non-violence then?" He proceeded, "What you are doing is the way. You have shed the fear of death and established yourself in the hearts and affections of the people. To love and diligence must be joined knowledge. This you have done. If you alone do your part fully and well, you will cover the whole lot. You know, I need you here. The burden is so heavy. And there is a lot I would like to share with the world which I cannot do now that you are away. But I have steeled myself to it. The work you are doing is more important." He then showed how to deal with miscreants in the event of the Government failing to discharge its duty.

His Final Concern

After his mid-day nap he saw Shri Sudhir Ghosh. The latter, among other things read out to him a cutting from the *London Times* and extracts from a letter from an English friend showing how some people were assiduously trying to drive the wedge between Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel by traducing the latter as a communalist while pretending to praise the former. Gandhiji remarked that he was aware of the move and was deeply exercised over it. He had already dealt with it, he said in one of his post-prayer speeches which had been published in the *Harijan*. But he felt that something more needed to be done. He was thinking what he should do.

The whole day was a ceaseless round of interviews. There were the Delhi Maulanas. They gave their consent to his going to Wardha. He told them that he would be absent for a short while only and would be returning most probably on the 14th after observing the late Seth Jamnalalji's death anniversary at Wardha on the 11th, unless, he added, God willed it otherwise and something unforeseen happened.

There was one more point on which I had to consult him. Bapu may I not take to Noakhali, if only for a period to facilitate my work among the Muslim women? I asked him. 'I shall approach for the necessary leave.' By all means, he replied — the last words I was to hear from him.

At 4-30 p.m. Abha brought the evening meal, his last meal on earth which was practically the same as the morning one. The last meeting was with the Sardar. Among the things discussed was the vile propaganda against the Sardar to disrupt the unity of the Cabinet. He was clearly of opinion that any breach in the ranks would be disastrous at this critical stage in the country's history. He told the Sardar that he would make it the subject of his post-prayer speech that evening. Panditji would be seeing him after the prayer. he would discuss it with him too. He added that if it became necessary, he would even postpone his going to Wardha on the 2nd and not leave Delhi till he had finally laid the spectre of attempted disunity between the two.

To Prayer

And so the conversation proceeded, poor Abha still not daring to interrupt. Knowing the great importance he attached to punctuality particularly at prayer she ultimately, in desperation picked up his watch and held it before him as a signal that it was getting late for the prayer. "I must tear myself away now" he remarked as he rose to visit the bath-room before proceeding to the prayer ground. On the way he laughed and exchanged repartees and jokes with Abha and Manu his walking sticks that evening, till they came to the footsteps leading to the raised platform where the evening prayer was held.

In the forenoon when Abha had brought him raw carrot juice he had twitted her saying 'So you are serving me cattle fare.' Ba used to call it horse fare she had replied. Is it not grand of me,' he rejoined, to relish what no one else would care for and laughed.

"Bapu your watch must be feeling very neglected. You would not look at it" remarked Abha.

Why should I since you are my time-keepers? he retorted. But you do not look at the time-keepers" rejoined one of them. Bapu again laughed. The last remark he uttered as he cleared the footsteps was 'I am late by ten minutes. I hate being late. I like to be at the place of prayer exactly at the stroke of five.' Here the conversation stopped, there being a tacit compact with the sticks that all jokes and conversation must cease—nothing but thoughts of prayer must fill the mind—as soon as the precincts of the prayer ground were reached.

"Rama! Rama!"

As he passed through the cordoned lane through the prayer congregation, he took his hands off the shoulders of the two girls to answer the *namaskars* of the prayer congregation. All of a sudden someone from the crowd roughly elbowed his way into the cordon from the right. Little Manu thinking that he was coming forward to touch his feet remonstrated saying something about it being already late for the prayer and tried to stop the intruder by holding his hand. He violently jerked her off, causing the *Ashram Bhajanawali* and Bapu's spittoon and *mala*, which she was carrying in her hands, to fall down. As she stooped down to pick up the scattered things he planted himself in front of Bapu at less than point blank range—so close indeed that one of the ejected shells was afterwards found caught among the folds of Bapu's clothes. Three shots rang out in quick succession from the seven-chambered automatic pistol, the first shot entering the abdomen on the right side

two and a half inches above the umbilicus and three and a half inches to the right of the mid line the second penetrating the seventh intercostal space one inch to the right of the mid line and the third on the right side of the chest one inch above the nipple and four inches from the mid line The first and the second shots passed right through and came out at the back. The third remained embedded in the lung At the first shot the foot that was in motion when he was hit, came down He still stood on his legs when the second shot rang out and then collapsed The last words he uttered were ' Rama Rama The face turned ashen grey A spreading crimson spot appeared on the white clothes. The hands which had been raised in *namaskar* to the gathering slowly came down one arm falling in its natural place on Abha's neck. The limp body softly sank down. Then only did dazed Manu and Abha realize what had happened

I had just returned from the city where I had gone to complete my preparations for departure to Noakhali on the next day I had hardly reached the avenue of stone arches that lead to the prayer ground, when Shri Chandwani came running from the opposite direction. Telephone for a doctor he shouted, "Bapu has been shot ' I stood petrified as in a nightmare Mechanically I got someone to ring up the doctor

THE END

Everybody felt staggered Dr Raj Sabharwal who came behind him, placed his head gently on her lap as the quivering body lay prone before her, eyes half shut The assassin was grappled by the Birla House *mali* Others joined and overpowered the miscreant after a short scuffle The still limp body was carried inside by friends and laid on the mattress where he used to sit and work. But before anything could be done, the clock had ceased to tick A teaspoonful of honey and hot water that was administered after he was brought in was hardly swallowed Death had been almost instantaneous.

Dr Sushila was away at Bahawalpur, where Bapu had sent her on a mission of mercy Dr Bhargava, who had been sent for came and rummaged frantically Dr Sushila's emergency medicine chest for adrenalin I pleaded with him to save his labours, for Gandhiji had so often charged us not to allow any prohibited drugs to be administered to him even to save his life As years rolled by, he had tended more and more to rely on *Ramanama* alone as the cure-all for himself and for others Only the other day during his fast, he had clinched his remarks about the limitations of science by asking "What else is the meaning of शुद्धिं स्थिरां भजत of which the *gita* speaks—the one sustaining principle on which the creation rests ? ' To Shree Ghana shyamdasji he had remarked with a sigh speaking of his faith in the all-healing power of *Ramanama* " If I cannot make it good in my life, it will go down with my death As it turned out, there was no adrenalin in the emergency chest the only phial of synthetic adrenalin which Dr Sushila [illegible] at Kazirkhil [illegible] Kokhal He [illegible] a little for it

First to arrive [illegible] Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel He sat down by his side, felt the pulse and fancied it was still beating feebly Dr Jivraj Mehta came a few minutes later, examined the pulse and the eye reflexes and ruefully shook his head. The girls burst into sobbing but presently pulled themselves together and began to chant *Ramanama* By the side of the lifeless body sat the Sardar with his wan, haggard face set like granite. Next came Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and burying his face among Bapu's clothes began to sob like a child. Shri Devadas and Dr Rajendra prasad followed Then came others—Shri Jairamdas, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Acharya Kripalani—the surviving remnants of the old guard When Lord Mountbatten arrived a little later, the crush outside had become so great that he was able to get in only with difficulty The dour warrior that he is without wasting a moment he took Panditji and Maulanasaheb Azad aside into another room and began to apply his statesman's mind to the immediate problems arising out of the great tragedy A suggestion was made for embalming the body and keeping it in state at least for a period But Gandhiji's own views on the matter were so clear and emphatic that it became my imperative and sacred duty to intervene. I told them how uncompromising his opposition had been to making a fetish of the physical body after death. He had more than once told me, "If you let this happen to me even in death I shall chide you. I want my cremation to take place without any ado wherever I die Dr Rajendraprasad, Shri Jairamdas and Dr Jivraj Mehta supported my plea and so the idea of embalming was dropped For the rest of the night the sweet chanting of the *Gita* and *Sukhamani Saheb* filled the room while surging, grief-maddened crowds pressed in on all sides of the room for *darshan* Ultimately the body had to be taken upstairs and placed on a balcony of Birla Bhawan for general view

ADIEU !

In the small hours of the morning the body was bathed according to the Hindu rites and then laid down in the middle of the room covered with flowers The members of the Diplomatic Corps came later in the morning and paid silent homage to him laying their wreaths at his feet

" There is nothing I would love more than to meet a shower of bullets with a smile on my face,' he had remarked only a couple of days before the end And God seemed to have granted him the boon.

At 11 o clock the body was placed on the hier after we had all made our final *pranams* Ramdas Gandhi had by that time arrived from Nagpur by air The last to arrive just as the hier was about to start was Dr Sushila, disconsolate at the thought of not being by Bapu's side in his last hour but thankful that Providence had brought her back not too late for the last *darshan*

Why this punishment? she cried again in anguish that night "It is no punishment Shri Devdas tried to console her It was a proud privilege to be executing his last mission — the last he was to entrust to anybody" It was characteristic of Bapu. He expected more and still more from those whom he had given much

As I gazed at his still, sad face full of infinite peace and forgiveness and tolerant compassion the entire vista of twentyeight long years of the closest, unbroken association from the time when, as a college lad, full of dazzling dreams and undimmed hopes I had come to him and sat at his feet flashed across the mind's eye And what crowded years at that!

I pondered over the meaning of what had happened. I felt dazed and then slowly the enigma began to resolve itself The other day when he spoke about even one man doing his part fully and well, what did he precisely mean — I had wondered His death has provided the answer Previously when he fasted he asked others to watch and pray

Children must romp and play while the father is in their midst, he used to say they will do all the things I am doing when I am gone" His death has pointed the way which many have to tread if the flames that threaten to envelop the country today are to be put out and the independence which he won for us is to be enjoyed by those for whom it was meant

New Delhi 4-2-48 PYARELAL

HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

[The following is the draft constitution for the Congress referred to in the article, *The Fateful Friday* which by the circumstances of Gandhiji's death has become his last will and testament to the nation — PYARELAL]

Though split into two, India having attained political Independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress in its present shape and form i e as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns The struggle for the ascendency of civil over military power is bound to take place in India s progress towards its democratic goal It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies For these and other similar reasons the A I C C resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with power to alter them as occasion may demand

Every Panchayat of five adult men or women being villagers or village-minded shall form a unit

Two such contiguous Panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves

When there are one hundred such Panchyats, the fifty first grade leaders shall elect from among themselves a second grade leader and so on the first grade leaders meanwhile working under the second grade leader Parallel groups of two hundred Panchayats shall continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India each succeeding group of Panchayats electing second grade leader after the manner of the first. All second grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and severally for their respective areas The second grade leaders may elect whenever they deem necessary from among themselves a chief who will, during pleasure, regulate and command all the groups

(As the final formation of provinces or districts is still in a state of flux no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into Provincial or District Councils and jurisdiction over the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master the whole of India.)

1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of Khadi made from self-spun yarn or certified by the A. I. S. A. and must be a teetotaller If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family and must be a believer in the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race creed or sex

2 He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these

4 He shall keep a record of his work from day to day

5 He shall organize the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts

6. He shall educate the village folk in sanitation and hygiene and take all measures for prevention of ill health and disease among them

7 He shall organize the education of the village folk from birth to death along the lines of *Nayee Talim*, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh

8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters roll are duly entered therein

9 He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification, to acquire it for getting the right of franchise

10 For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies

1. A I S A
2. A. I. V I A
3 Hindustani Talimi Sangh
4 Harijan Sevak Sangh
5 Goseva Sangh

FINANCE

The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man s pice

New Delhi 29-1-48 M K. G

ASHRAM BHAJANAWALI

[*Revised Edition in Hindustani*]

With Gandhiji s Foreword

Price *As Eight* Postage etc *As Two*

LEST WE FORGET

[This is a series of selections from Bapu's writings Only the year of publication is given in Vikram Samvat=A C +56 or 57 years V G D]

I

DEATH AND IMMORTALITY

(a)

Death is at any time blessed but it is twice blessed for a warrior who dies for his cause, i e truth Death is no fiend, he is the truest of friends He delivers us from agony He helps us against ourselves He ever gives us new chances new hopes He is like sleep a sweet restorer Yet it is customary to mourn when a friend dies The custom has no operation when the death is that of a martyr (1983)

(b)

God knows what work to take out of me He will not permit me to live a moment longer than He needs me for His work (1994)

(c)

Death which is an eternal verity is revolution as birth and after is slow and steady evolution- Death is as necessary for man's growth as life itself (1978)

(d)

What a comforting thought it is to think of death, whenever it comes as a wise plan in the economy of nature ? If we could realize this law of our being and be prepared for death as a welcome friend and deliverer, we should cease to engage in the frantic struggle for life. We shall cease to want to live at the cost of other lives and in contempt of all considerations of humanity (1983)

(e)

Life and death are but phases of the same thing the reverse and obverse of the same coin In fact tribulation and death seem to me to present a phase far richer than happiness or life What is life worth without trials and tribulation which are the salt of life ? What is the Ramayana but a record of the trials, privations and penances of Rama and Sita ? I want you all to treasure death and suffering more than life and to appreciate their cleansing and purifying character (1986)

(f)

The progress achieved fills me with hope, but even if I depart from this body before the hope is fulfilled, I would not think that I had failed. For I believe in rebirth as much as I believe in the existence of my present body I therefore know that even a little effort is not wasted

(g)

I believe in the immortality of the soul I would like to give you the analogy of the ocean. The ocean is composed of drops of water each drop is an entity and yet it is part of the whole, the one and the many In this ocean of life we are little drops My doctrine means that I must identify myself with life with everything that lives that I must share the majesty of life in the presence of God The sum-total of this life is God (1935)

A LETTER OF CONSOLATION

[After my morning prayer I suddenly remembered that I had preserved a copy of a letter which Mahatma ji wrote to an afflicted father from the Yeravda Central Prison The year 1930 was the period when Gandhiji wrote his celebrated *Mangal Prabhat* notes on the Ashram vows or ideals, which give us the quintessence of the philosophy which guided him throughout his life I take the liberty of sharing that letter with my fellow beings.

7-2-'48 —KAKA KALELKER]

Dear Friend,

Your touching letter of the 28th ultimo has been given to me My sympathy goes out to you in your affliction and I should be glad indeed if this letter brings you any comfort

In my opinion you are in no way to blame. Having got the lady doctor you were quite right in trusting her I do not believe in constant change of doctors and *hakims* We must trust those whom we get to tell us when they need assistance or are in doubt as to their diagnosis Sometimes it may be found that the trust was misplaced But these are risks and chances of life which we must take always I hope, therefore that you will not worry yourself over what you consider was your negligence This much you know yourself that you did not wilfully neglect anything More no man can do

Now for the answers to your questions

1 No *prayashchitta* is needed because in my opinion there was no carelessness on your part

2 No one can give rest to another soul Her rest will come from herself

3 It is impossible to say what would have happened if other assistance had been procured. In spite of the ablest expert help kings have to die.

4 There ought not to be much sorrow or fuss over an inevitable event. Death is the lot of every created thing, nor need it be considered as a calamity Death is, in reality a deliverance

5 What the soul does after discarding a body is in each case a matter for surmise but it is a certainty that the soul does not perish with the body Let us trust the laws of God or nature for the rest.

6 States before birth and after death are invisible as the *Gita* affirms and experience confirms But we can infer from our present state that the condition after death is at least likely to be a second though modified edition of the present

7 We the survivors can certainly help the departed dear ones by weaving into our own lives all that was good in them For if they know anything of what happens here they must be consoled by the knowledge that we are treasuring their memories by adopting what was best in them

19-11-'30 Yours sincerely

Y Central Prison M. K. GANDHI

One question has been omitted by oversight God is never powerless But His laws are immutable We do not know them Nor do we know His will at a given moment Therefore, we adopt within bounds, such remedies as may commend themselves to us Prayer is to the God within It does not provoke God to change His will, but it enables us to know His will which is everything

M K G

"I SPEAK AS AN ORPHAN"

I speak as an orphan impelled to share in this special and direct way my grief and thoughts with fellow-orphans The darkness that has descended upon us draws no distinctions and I know that it is not my exclusive experience to feel suddenly blinded both physically and metaphorically since the evening of Friday last

God alone knows how deeply I loved him as a son can love a father and he loved me as a father can love a son I remember still the caress of a quick kiss he gave me on the head when at the age of about 20 I was leaving him to go to Banaras where I was supposed to undertake special studies Strangely enough I cannot recall clearly any earlier occasion when he kissed me.

During the past few months that he was in Delhi it was the privilege of my three-year old boy to be lovingly fondled by Bapu I was a complete bank number and once recently he told me that he missed Gopu more than me whenever we failed to turn up at Birla House The little urchin now draws renewed tears from our eyes when he pouts his lips in imitation of the way his grandfather greeted him. And yet Gandhiji's interest in the narrow domestic circle was of the meagrest and I had long ceased to look upon him as my father in any possessive sense He was to me a saint as much as to any of you who listen to me and I feel and see the void exactly as you do

I therefore view the disaster with the detachment of one living in the North Pole and having ties neither of blood nor of race with the Great One of whom I lose we are as yet but dimly aware

The heartfelt messages of condolence which many members of the family and I are receiving are a great solace to us. But in their formal aspect they are almost out of place Normally we reciprocate greetings I must in this case reciprocate in full measure all the words of comfort and sympathy that are being poured on us

THE VIGIL

When I got there nearly 30 minutes after he expired, his body was still warm His skin was always tender and smooth to the touch and naturally beautiful As I gently pressed the arm with both my hands, there seemed nothing the matter But there was no pulse He lay in his usual sleeping posture on his low bed, his head resting on Abha's lap Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru sat near him in silence and many others sobbed as they tried to chant hymns I was late I pleaded in Father's ear for pardon, but in vain So often had he forgiven my little lapses in the past that I fondly hoped he would relent this last time and give me just one look. But his lips were tightly sealed and his eyes closed in eternal repose There was a calm determination about the expression which seemed to say firmly but without reproach to a habitual unpunctual son I shall not be disturbed now

We kept vigil the whole of that night So serene was the face and so mellow the halo of divine light that surrounded the body that it seemed almost sacrilegious to grieve or to fear death—' the incomparable friend whom Bapu beckoned, as it would now appear from the statement with which he commenced his fast on January 13

AS IN LIFE

The most unbearably poignant moment for all of us was when we unwrapped the shawls which covered him and in which he had proceeded to the prayer meeting and when we removed the clothes to bathe the body in fulfilment of the religious rite. Always tidy to perfection in his simply dress he was even more so that day The outer shawl had on it the dust and the tiny blades of grass from the lawn of the prayer ground where he had been struck down We folded it gently as it was, taking care not to shake off the dust or the grass The empty shell of one of the bullets was found in the folds of the shawl which shows that the shots were fired at less than point blank range The little piece of linen with which he covered the chest and shoulders had huge patches of the blood that had flowed When all the clothes were off save the classic loin cloth and he was in view as the 'naked fakir that we all knew we could contain ourselves no longer Those knees those hands with the fingers in characteristic pose, those feet were all there intact How difficult it was to resist suggestions to have the body embalmed! Hindu sentiment would not allow it and Bapu would never forgive us if we agreed

RAMA ! RAMA !

I have been asked by many in spite of the detailed and accurate reports which have appeared in the Press whether death was instantaneous Gandhiji left his room that day at 5-10 p m to wend his way to the prayer meeting on the lawn. His usual faithful attendants were by his side on whom he leaned as he walked — Abha to the left and Manu to the right As the party ascended the garden steps he remarked that he was late He had been talking with Sardar Patel till after 5 and had proceeded to the prayer without the usual one minute relaxation Just then the man came forward from somewhere and approached him Manu tried to ward him off, thinking that he like others wanted to prostrate himself or to touch Gandhiji's feet He put himself loose and fired, thrice All the bullets hit Gandhiji on and below the chest on the right side As he dropped Abha too fell and just managed to hold his head in her lap They heard Gandhiji say "Rama Rama! As men and women beat their foreheads in frenzy the last breath escaped his lips It must have been five minutes before he could be carried back into the house Then darkness fell

THE FINAL JOURNEY

As we sat in the tragic room round Father that night I prayerfully but childishly hoped that the flesh would triumph over the three ghastly bullet wounds and that life would somehow return before sunrise then as time went inexorably on and nothing on earth would disturb his slumber I began to wish that the

sun would never rise [illegible] had to come in and we started to decorate the body for the final journey I asked for the chest to be left bare No soldier ever had a finer chest than Bapu Then we sat round him chanting the hymns and scriptural texts that he liked most The crowds kept coming the whole night and in the early morning he made his last collection for the Harijan fund as coins and notes mixed with flowers were showered by people filing past The Diplomatic Corps with their ladies and staff did reverent obeisance It was far from formal They were saying goodbye to one they had met before and knew so well

THE LAST MEETING

The previous night I had had one of those rarest of rare experiences, that of being alone with Bapu for a moment It was my customary call at 9 30 He was in bed but was just finishing giving instructions to one of the inmates of the *ashram* about catching an early train to Wardha I stepped in and was greeted by "what news? That was his way always of reminding me that I was a news paperman It carried a caution well understood by me Hardly ever did he keep any thing from me He always gave me the quintessence of anything I asked about. Sometimes he did it on his own. But generally he disclosed things to me when I wished to know, on the supposition that I would ask only if absolutely necessary and that too for a purpose which had nothing to do with news in the newspaper sense He treated me in these matters as he would himself I naturally had no news to give So I asked "How does the ship of State fare? I am sure, he said, "the little differences will vanish" "But, he added "things may have to await my return from Wardha That won't be long The Government is composed of patriots and no one will do anything that is in conflict with the interests of the country I am sure that they must hold together at all costs and they will There is no difference of substance"

There was more conversation on the same lines and I would have invited the usual crowd even at that hour had I tarried So preparing to leave I said "Bapu will you sleep now? "No, there is no hurry You may talk for some time longer if you like As I have just said the permission to continue conversation could not be renewed the next day

A few days earlier when taking my leave at night, I said I was taking Pyarelal to dine with me "Oh yes of course But do you ever think of inviting me?" he said laughing heartily, as he always did.

A PLEA FOR SANITY

Yesterday the wife of a close friend of mine who takes little interest in public affairs and is a model of gentleness and compassion sought a special brief interview with me She said "I have come to beg you to see that the man is not hanged That will be too light a punishment He should be starved and left to meet a painful death She was more angry than serious Another person said We can't torture him We are civilized. But I would like to see him live to carry the load of the sin on his conscience. I curse the man as I would be a brother or a son For that was the relationship he bore to Bapu. I have called him a fool And what a dangerous fool he has been! If [illegible] tion of knaves But they [illegible] Remember that a fool is capable of anything in the line of folly and so we must beware of them as we are of thieves The R S S was once a movement which evoked my admiration Physical culture drill early rising and a disciplined living was its basis when it commenced But some adventurers came into the picture. Some saw in it personal salvation and political opportunity Deterioration set in Shocking things began to be said by some of the leaders first in private then even publicly At last some one started harbouring the darkest thoughts

But let us not lose our perspective There are people in the Hindu Mahasabha and in the R S S who would have given their lives to save Gandhiji had they known And this obviously applies to the vast majority of them There is no more than a handful of individuals who are guilty of this crime Nor should we confuse Maharashtra with a few Maharashtrians who have lurking accomplices elsewhere I do not trust myself to speak tonight about the gang The motivating force in their case is a combination of consent disgruntlement and that most potent human impulse—jealousy

NO REVENGE

It is said that some of them celebrated the event by eating sweets That was too senile for words Consequences do not matter to them and there are no objectives The few notorious newspapers at their back never suffered from inhibitions The Government will know how to deal with the miscreants, both those on the surface and underground They are so low and far between that there is hardly anything the people in general can do about them They must be the charge and responsibility of our Government

Revenge in any shape or form is out of the question Can it bring Bapu back? Would he like us to be lost in a blood feud? No

It may appear in retrospect that we failed to protect him But was it at all possible to ensure complete protection, Bapu being what he was? What protection did he have in his life of 78 years excepting that of God? And was he not always exposed to risk? In our grief and impatience with ourselves let us not hurl charges of dereliction of duty at those who like us, are eating their hearts out over the calamity

I do not agree that the future is dark Who but a prophet can speak with soundness of the future? The present is admittedly dark. But the future should be bright if we work for the ideals for which Bapu lived and died I am therefore not gloomy Bapu would be entitled to call us greedy if we wished him to live in our midst for ever We are now thrown on our own resources and must depend on our own enterprise I would not waste time or occasion in fruitless sorrow over God's will. Bapu himself is in bliss We no longer have his physical presence But his spirit will guide and help us In his daily discourses of the past four months we have a set of balanced instructions which say almost everything that he would have had to say We can if we wish quarrel and fall out But, on the other hand with a little effort at cohesion we may dissipate the dark clouds to find round the corner a glorious dawn

6-2-48 DEVDAS GANDHI

"IS BAPU ALIVE?"

Bapu pointing to the sky asked me if I had read one of the novels of Dickens where a child pointing to the sky asked his mother if he could go there He said in the same way he wanted to go on a journey to the sky The three bullets fired at him by an Indian enabled him to realize his wish Bapu was at his height when he was in the midst of suffering and grim sorrow—In accepting these bullets he rendered them harmless—Bapu cannot die!

I remember at Mahabalashwar one evening when discussing religion he had said that in the same way as one had to belong to a nation in order to be international, one had to belong to a religion in order to appreciate other religions Bapu was a Hindu in that sense—he proved it in recent months and he died in the service of all religions

Let each one ask within himself if Bapu is alive or not. Those who are not sure of the answer can stand by and watch those that know the answer There is work to be done, so with a stout heart let us not wait We are on our trial — Bapu cannot die!

New Delhi 4-2-'48 J P P

WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

I

The Working Committee place on record their sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi The foul deed is indicative of the communal poison which has been sedulously propagated for years in this country and has recently caused reactions and gained adherents even in circles which were immune before It was against the spread of this poison and to establish peace and harmony that Gandhiji pitched the whole might of his great personality and risked his life by undertaking an unlimited fast shortly before his tragic murder That fast was terminated on the sixth day when pledges were given to assure that Muslims could live with honour and security in India

The Working Committee feel that the communal poison must be eradicated if the nation has to live grow and prosper The world wide reactions to Mahatma Gandhi's death places on India a special responsibility of fulfilling his last wish It is therefore, necessary to make a supreme effort for establishing communal harmony and thus achieve as a result of his death what was not fully achieved during his life time

The Working Committee call upon all Congressmen and organizations to initiate and carry on an intensive drive against communalism by removing causes of friction, by securing to all minorities equal rights of citizenship and by organizing fraternization among members of all communities. More than any outward demonstration is required a change in the mental attitude of the people at large It should be clearly understood and realized that the only way to establish peace and goodwill is to show it in spite of provocation and in spite of even justifiable resentment against the actions of others

FIGHT AGAINST VIOLENCE

The Working Committee ask the Government to take note of forces of hatred and violence acting in the open or in the dark to disrupt the roots of social life and take action to counteract them It is also necessary that confidence should be created in the people that the State is ready and prepared to preserve and protect all its citizens irrespective of caste and creed and to meet all emergencies all private armies or like formations should be forbidden and organizations based on religion for political ends discouraged

To become an effective instrument for carrying out the heavy and responsible duty which devolves upon the Congress it should set its own house in order and the Committee call upon Congressmen to purify the organization even at the risk of shrinkage of the extent of its membership. It should be remembered that during his last days Gandhiji was distressed by the fall in the standard of conduct of Congressmen which he expressed in unambiguous language at the time of his last fast It is up to every worker of the Congress to exercise introspection and help the great organization which has been built up during the course of years at tremendous sacrifice and to recover and reestablish the standard which Gandhiji had set before it The possession of power should make Congressmen sober and humble they should realize their responsibility and turn themselves into fit servants of the people

II

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

Mahatma Gandhi's imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. Succeeding generations will look up to them and find inspiration from them No more fitting memorial can be raised to his memory which can never fade away Nevertheless there is a duty cast upon all his countrymen as well as others, to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly.

The Working Committee are, therefore, of opinion that a National Memorial Fund be started with the object of carrying on these constructive activities on an all India basis This fund may also be used to collect, preserve and publish his writings and teachings in various languages and to maintain a museum where articles connected with Gandhiji may be preserved. The main purpose of the fund will however, be to further the manifold constructive activities in which Gandhiji was interested and such other activities of a like nature which give concrete shape to his ideas

The Committee appeal to the people of India to contribute to this National Memorial Fund and suggest that each individual should give at least two days income to it The method of utilizing this Fund will be decided subsequently by a representative meeting of those interested in it who will also choose trustees and a Managing Committee The major part of the fund will as a rule be kept apart for use in the provinces or States where it is collected, and donors may earmark their contributions for specific items in the constructive programme Details as to the use and management of the Fund will be decided by the Managing Committee subsequently

Meanwhile the Working Committee authorise the President of the Congress to take all preliminary steps, including the appointment of a provisional committee in order to launch this fund The President will also appoint a provisional secretary of the fund and will indicate the banks which will receive contributions

"THE LIGHT HAS GONE OUT"

[The following is the text of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's broadcast speech announcing Gandhiji's death on the evening of the 30th January 1948 —P.]

Friends and comrades the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere and I do not quite know what to tell you and how to say it. Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him the Father of the Nation is no more. Perhaps I am wrong to say that. Nevertheless, we will not see him again as we have seen him for these many years. We will not run to him for advice and seek solace from him and that is a terrible blow not to me only but to millions and millions in this country. And it is a little difficult to soften the blow by any advice that I or anyone else can give you.

The light has gone out I said and yet I was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illuminated this country for these many years will illumine this country for many, more years and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented the living truth and the eternal man was with us with his eternal truth reminding us of the right path drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.

All this has happened. There is so much more to do. There was so much more for him to do. We could never think that he was unnecessary or that he has done his task. But now particularly, when we are faced with so many difficulties his not being with us is a blow most terrible to bear.

FACE THE POISON

A mad man has put an end to his life for I can only call him mad who did it and yet there has been enough of poison spread in this country during the past years and months and this poison has had effect on people's minds. We must lose this poison. We must root out this poison and we must face all the perils that encompass us and lose them not madly or badly but rather in the way that our beloved teacher taught us to face them. The first thing to remember now is that no one of us dare misbehave because we are angry. We have to behave like strong determined people, determined to face all the perils that surround us, determined to carry out the mandate that our great teacher and our great leader has given us, remembering always that if as I believe his spirit looks upon us and sees us nothing would displease him so much as to see that we have indulged in unseemly behaviour or in violence.

So we must not do that. But that does not mean that we should be weak but rather that we should be strength. I mean unity face all the troubles that are in front of us. Unity I said we must hold together and all our petty troubles and difficulties and conflicts must be ended in the face of this great disaster.

That a great disaster is a symbol to us to remember of the big things of life and to forget the small things. We have thought too much of the small things. Now this time has come again as in his death he has reminded us of the big things of life the living truth, and if we remember that then it will be well with us and well with India.

NO EMBALMING

It was proposed by some friends that Mahatmaji's body should be embalmed for a few days to enable millions of people to pay their last homage to him. But it was his wish repeatedly expressed that no such thing should happen that this should not be done that he was entirely opposed to any embalming of his body and so we decided that we must follow his wishes in this matter. Very far much others might have wished otherwise. So the cremation will take place tomorrow in Delhi City by the side of the Jumna river. The place and route will be announced by radio and the Press.

FASTING AND PRAYER

People in Delhi who wish to pay their last homage should gather along this route. I will not advise too many of them to come to Birla House but rather to gather on both sides of this long route from Birla House to the Jumna river. I trust that they will remain there in silence without making any demonstrations. That is the best way and the most fitting way to pay homage to this great soul. Also, tomorrow should be a day of fasting and prayer for all of us. Those who live elsewhere out of Delhi and in other parts of India will no doubt also take such part as they can in this last homage. For them also let this be a day of fasting and prayer. At the appointed time for cremation that is 4 p.m. tomorrow afternoon people should go to the river or to the sea and offer prayers there.

THEY HAVE BECOME ONE

For me there were only two God and Bapu. And now they have become one!

When I heard the news something deep deep down within me opened — the door to the imprisoned soul — and Bapu's spirit entered there. From that moment a new sense of the eternal abides with me.

Though Bapu's beloved physical presence is no longer with us yet his sacred spirit is even nearer. Sometimes Bapu had said to me "When this body is no more there will not be separation but I shall be nearer to you. The body is a hindrance." I listened in faith. Now I know through experience the divine truth of those words.

Did Bapu know what was coming? One evening in December, shortly before I left Delhi for Rishikesh I said to him "Bapu in March when the cow-sheds are built and the work is organized, is there just a possibility that you might find time to come for the opening ceremony and give your blessings to the poor suffering Indian cow?" "Don't think of my coming" Bapu replied — and then as if half speaking to himself, he added, "What is the good of counting on a corpse?" The words were so terrible that I repeated them to nobody, but put them away silently in my heart, with a prayer to God. The Fast came and went, and I hoped the meaning of the reference had passed with it. But the reference was prophetic and the prophecy has been fulfilled.

That fateful evening as I sat upright and motionless in meditation, I felt a shudder of anguish passing round the whole world. Again the blood of an *Avatar* had flowed for the salvation of

[illegible] and [illegible] with the weight [illegible]

[illegible] the Sin which [illegible] age and which [illegible] God's beloved can stem [illegible] Heaven and Earth to fulfil [illegible] Bapu has left us Bapu lived and [illegible] for us all — every man woman and child He [illegible] working unceasingly and died a martyr's death that we might be turned from the evil path of hatred, greed violence and untruth If we are to atone for our sins and serve Bapu's sacred cause communalism in every form must go and many other things as well Black marketing corruption favouritism jealousies revilings and a host of other dark manifestations of untruth and violence These must be tackled with a firm will and unfaltering hand Bapu was full of love and gentleness but in his fight with evil he was relentless

Bapu could fight the evil without because he had mastered the evil within—May God so purify us that we may become worthy of the mighty task before us

Pashulok, 7-2-48 MIRA

AGES HENCE

Pandit Nehru whom once Gandhiji described as his heir while addressing himself with the speaker in the Constituent Assembly on Feb 2 1948, made a moving reference to Gandhiji's death The verbatim authorized text is given below —P I

FEELING OF SHAME

Sir, may I associate myself with what you have said? It is customary in this House to pay some tribute to the eminent departed to say some words of praise and condolence I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or for any others of this House to say much on this occasion for I have a sense of utter shame both as an individual and as the head of the Government of India that we should have failed to protect the treasure that we possessed It is our failure as it has been our failure in the past many months to give protection to many an innocent man woman and child, it may be that the burden and that task was too great for us or for any government nevertheless it is failure And today the fact that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because we could not give him adequate protection is shame for all of us It is shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed and done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age

CYNOSURE OF THE WORLD

We praise people in well chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, measure he was no doubt the common clay that all of us are made of? He came lived a fairly long span of life and has passed away No words of praise of ours in this House are needed for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in his history And during these two or three days since his death he has had the homage of the world what can we add to that? How can we praise him? — how can we who have been the children of his and perhaps more intimately children of his than the children of his body for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit unworthy as we were?

HIS EVERLASTING MONUMENT

A glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark Yet he would not have us feel this way After all that glory that we saw for all these years that man with the divine fire changed us also — and such as we are we have been moulded by him during these years and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened and made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned And so if we praise him our words seem rather small and if we praise him to some extent we praise ourselves Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them but the man of divine fire managed in his life time to become enmeshed in millions and millions of hearts so that all of us become somewhat of the stuff that he was made of though to an infinitely lesser degree He spread out over India not in palaces only, or in select places or in assemblies but in every hamlet and hut of the lowly and those who suffer He lives in the hearts of millions and he will live for immemorial ages

WORTHY OFFERING

What then can we say about him except to feel humble on this occasion? To praise him we are not worthy — to praise him where we could not follow adequately and sufficiently It is almost doing him an injustice just to pass him by with words when he demanded work and labour and sacrifice from us to a large measure he made this country during the last thirty years or more attain to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere He succeeded in that Yet ultimately things happened which no doubt made him suffer tremendously though his tender face never lost the smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone. Yet he must have suffered— suffered for the failing of this generation whom he had trained suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us: And ultimately the hand of a child of his — for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian — a hand of that child of his struck him down.

IN AGES TO COME

Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period that we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures — we are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened and what has not happened All we know is that there was a glory and that it is no more all we know is that for the moment there is darkness not so dark certainly because when we look into our hearts we still find the living flame which he lighted there And if those living flames exist there will not be darkness in this land and we shall be able with our effort, praying him and following his path to illumine this land again small as we are, but still with the fire that he instilled into us He was perhaps the

greatest symbol of India of the past, and may I say of India of the future that we could have had? We stood on the perilous edge of the present between that past and the future to be and we face all manner of perils and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us when we see ideals go overboard, when we see the great things that we talked about somehow pass into empty words and life taking a different course Yet I do believe that perhaps this period will pass soon enough

GREATER IN DEATH

Great as this man of God was in his life he has been greater in his death and I have not a shadow of a doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life We mourn him, we shall always mourn him, because we are human and cannot forget our valued Master But I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest went away — only a firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So he would chide us if we merely mourn That is a poor way of doing homage to him The only way is to express our determination, to pledge ourselves anew, to conduct ourselves as and to dedicate ourselves to the great task which he undertook and which he accomplished to such a large extent So we have to work we have to labour, we have to sacrifice and thus prove, to some extent at least, worthy followers of his

EVIL OF HATRED AND VIOLENCE

It is clear, as you said, Sir, that this happening, this tragedy is not merely the isolated act of a mad man This comes out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years and more especially in the past few months That atmosphere envelops us and surrounds us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us we have to face this atmosphere to combat it, to struggle against it and root out the evil of hatred and violence

So far as this Government is concerned, I trust they will spare no means, spare no effort to tackle it, because if we do not do that, if we, in our weakness or for any other reason that we may consider adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence to stop this spreading of hatred by word of mouth or writing or act, then indeed we are not worthy of being in this Government we are not certainly worthy of being his followers and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed, so that on this occasion or any other when we think of this great Master who has gone let us always think of him in terms of work and labour and sacrifice, in terms of fighting evil wherever we see it in terms of holding to the truth as he put it before us, and if we do so however unworthy we may be we shall at least have done our duty and paid proper homage to his spirit.

OUR PROUD HERITAGE

He has gone, and all over India there is a feeling of having been left desolate and forlorn. All of us sense that feeling and I do not know when we shall be able to get rid of it, and yet together with that feeling there is also a feeling of proud thanks-giving that it has been given to [illegible] to be associated with this mighty [illegible] to some centuries and may be millions [illegible] people will think of this generation when [illegible] trended and will think of us who [illegible] will also follow his path and probably [illegible] ground where his feet had been Let us [illegible] worthy of him Let us always be so

THE URS AT MEHRAULI

Gandhiji's visit to the *urs* at Mehrauli on Wednesday the 24th January was redolent of old days Famed in history as the ancient capital of Prithviraj, Mehrauli is a small unostentatious village situated amidst idyllic surroundings, seven miles to the south of Delhi It is the seat of the Dargah Sharif of Khwaja Syed Qutbuddin Bhukhtiar — a shrine, ranking in holiness and sanctity second only to the world famous Dargah of Khwaja Mohayuddin Chishty at Ajmer A great religious fair — *urs* — used to be held here every year which was attended nor only by the Muslims from all over India but by the Hindus too thus reflecting in its own way the catholicity and religious tolerance for which Sufism stands During the recent disturbances like many other places, Mehrauli too fell a victim to communal frenzy It witnessed many a heart-breaking occurrence and the Dargah Sharif itself did not escape the violence of sacrilegious hands the marks of which it still bears. Owing to disturbed conditions it was feared that the annual *urs* might not be held this year But as a result of Gandhiji's efforts who had made holding of the *urs* as before one of the conditions for breaking his fast all the obstacles were successfully overcome and the *urs* was held with due ceremony on the fixed date *Sanatani* Hindus and militant Sikhs vied with each other in extending goodwill to the Muslims They fraternized with them offering them flowers and opening free tea-stalls It was a sight too to see Hindu and Sikh volunteers standing shoulder to shoulder with Muslim volunteers in a common endeavour for social service The local administration had, in response to Muslim request, made arrangements for running a special bus service to carry the prospective visitors to the *urs* and an all out effort was made to clean up the Dargah Sharif itself and its precincts repairs being effected so far and wherever it was possible.

Never before since the palmy days of the Khilafat struggle was such a vast, fraternal crowd of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs seen in the capital city Hundreds of Hindu women too were present and the general atmosphere was one of returning confidence and trust. Gandhiji was taken right into the *sanctum sanctorum* and though women are, as a rule rigidly excluded from the innermost shrine obviously an exception was made in the case of girl inmates of the Ashram who accompanied Gandhiji, and the party were requested to recite the *Quranic* verses that are daily recited at Gandhiji's evening prayer Gandhiji was deeply moved at the sight of the wanton damage to the lovely marble screens enclosing the inner shrines and later in the evening

made a feeling reference to it in his post prayer address

In a brief address Khwaja Hilal Qutbi who claims to be a lineal descendant of Khwaja Syed Qutbuddin Bukhtiar of the Dargah Sharif described how under the benevolent teachings of Sufism Delhi rulers became votaries of universal toleration and egalitarianism for which Sufism stands and we had the unique phenomenon of the founding of a slave dynasty Sufism teaches that the measure of a man's love of God is given by his love and service of His creation At a time when India had become a cockpit of warring races, cultures, and creeds, Sufism held aloft the banner of an eclecticism that rose superior to the common prejudices based on race creed or colour Shamsuddin Altamash was a disciple of Khwaja Saheb Qutbuddin His religious preceptor had enjoined on him in the name of Islam that on the Judgment Day God would demand to know if he had meted out even-handed justice to all his Hindu and Muslim subjects and promoted their welfare alike because the kingdom he ruled over was not his own for enjoyment but a sacred trust from God If he betrayed that trust in any way or was guilty of unfair dealings, God would call him to account for it He was charged to keep before him Hazrat Omar's saying that if the leg of a goat by the bank of the river Nile was wantonly broken he would be answerable for it to God Ma'ni Saheb, who is himself Sajjadua Nashin of Ajmer Sharif Dargah while expressing gratitude to Gandhiji for his efforts which made the holding of the urs possible hoped that it would mark the restoration of the era of communal goodwill and harmony to the capital city and enable thousands of Muslims who had had to flee, to return to their homes in the near future

Gandhiji who had hardly imagined that he would be required to deliver an address on that occasion was deeply touched by the spectacle before him He had come there on pilgrimage not to make speeches he said Ever since he had heard that it might not be possible to hold the urs at Mehrauli as in previous years, he had been deeply distressed over it It, therefore gave supreme satisfaction that the citizens of Delhi had risen to the occasion and given a lie to those fears If the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Delhi thoroughly cleansed their hearts and made up their minds never again to allow fratricidal strife to raise its head India and Pakistan united in a brotherly bond would together command the respect and regard of the world instead of becoming the butt of the world's ridicule. One could understand division of patrimony as between blood brothers But did it mean that thereafter they must become enemies? His reply was, no If they did the world would set them down as fools He would go even further and call them uncivilized. When he broke his fast they had pledged themselves to live together in amity and peace—like blood brothers They should now renew and confirm that pledge All religions were at bottom one though they differed in detail and outward form, even like the leaves on a tree Each leaf has a separate and distinct existence but they are all sprung from and are organically related to the trunk. Again, no two leaves are alike Yet they never quarrel among themselves Instead they dance to the same breeze and emit a sweet symphony together 'I want you to take a vow that you will never again listen to the voice of Satan and abandon the way of brotherliness and peace Personally I have never known what it is to be communal To unite all sections and communities that people this vast land of ours has been my dream ever since my early childhood and till that dream is realized my spirit can know no rest' He warned them against being carried off their feet by the news of the attack on the Parachinar refugee camp by the trans-border tribals They must regard it as a test of their faith It had shocked him But they must not allow even such incidents to rekindle in their hearts the sentiment of retaliation or revenge They should instead proclaim to themselves and all concerned that they were out not to demand blood for blood—that was the way to suicide—but to confront with love even the murderer 'It might appear difficult" concluded Gandhiji 'But I do not think so Thatsis why when I broke my fast I remarked that if only the people of Delhi thoroughly purified their hearts and kept the same pure, Delhi could solve the problem of India If on the other hand, they did things which they did not mean, only to prolong the life of an old man like myself they would verily encompass my death while deluding themselves into the belief that they were saving my life"

New Delhi, 9 2 48 PYARELAL

CONTENTS

		PAGE
NO GOING BACK	C. R.	25
TWO RESOLUTIONS	RAJENDRA PRASAD	25
GANDHIJI'S MEMORIAL	PYARELAL	26
THE PASSING AWAY OF THE MASTER	ANAND T HINGORANI	27
THE ONLY WORTHY OFFERING	A K	27
BAPU	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	28
THE FATEFUL FRIDAY	PYARELAL	29
HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT	M K GANDHI	32
LEST WE FORGET	M K GANDHI	33
A LETTER OF CONSOLATION	M K GANDHI	33
I SPEAK AS AN ORPHAN	DEVDAS GANDHI	34
IS BAPU ALIVE ? '	J F P	36
WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS		36
THE LIGHT HAS GONE OUT"	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	37
THEY HAVE BECOME ONE	MIRA	37
AGES HENCE	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	38
THE URS AT MEHRAULI	PYARELAL	39

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs. 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs. 8 or 14sh. or $ 3.9

His Final Resting Place

Reg. No. B 3052

HARIJAN

Editor PYARELAL

VOL XII No 4 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22 1948 TWO ANNAS

HARIJAN

Harijan was Bapu's voice It was the mirror of his soul It became his "weekly letter" to friends all over the world and a compendium of his orders of the day to co-workers For himself it was an exercise and discipline in non-violent thinking and truthful expression And since silence he regarded as the highest form of speech *Harijan* became the vehicle of his silence too, and very often served causes by its silence no less than by its writing

Harijan was not a journal in the commonly accepted sense of the word Writing for writing's sake Bapu always deprecated. Abstract or academic dissertations never issued from his pen. In fact thinking unrelated to immediate duty before one he held to be waste of energy a disease of the mind Writing with him was always an adjunct to action. It carried behind it a lifetime of endeavour and experiment in quest of truth through the practice of non-violence

My association with *Harijan* as editor was only an extension and a necessary corollary of my association with him The privilege consisted in gathering the ripe wisdom that dropped from his lips and to interpret it and his actions, with appropriate commentary and research wherever necessary As a rule nothing was ever published without his previous scrutiny or possibility of a subsequent check up

It is clear, therefore, that as Rajaji pointed out last week, with Bapu gone *Harijan* cannot continue in its present form any longer In consultation with friends and revered elders I have, therefore, decided to suspend its publication in its present form till its ultimate future can be decided In *His Last Will and Testament* to the nation, which appeared in the last week's *Harijan* Gandhiji gave us a plan for giving concrete expression to organized non-violence on a national scale Resurrected *Harijan* may well become the mouthpiece and organ of that plan.

That still leaves unsettled the question whether there will be need, in the new set up, for English *Harijan* Bapu himself as time went by, attached more and more importance to Indian language editions of *Harijan* as was evidenced by his increasing insistence on doing his original writing in Hindustani and Gujarati which was translated into English for the *Harijan* English in his case was necessary to convey his message to the world outside and to reach the hearts of our alien administrators That phase of our national struggle is now over Non-violent India can now convey Bapu's message to the world only by translating it into action here For that English is not only unnecessary but can even be a hindrance We must speak our tongue to be true to ourselves

New Delhi, 16-2-48 PYARELAL

TO SUBSCRIBERS AND AGENTS

Subscribers and agents will please note from the article *Harijan* by Shri Pyarelalji that the publication of the *Harijan* and its Gujarati and Hindus ani editions, viz the *Harijanbandhu* and the *Harijansevak* is suspended for the time being Decision regarding resumption of publication or otherwise will be taken at Wardha next month As disposal of balances of subscriptions and Agent's deposits depends on that decision, it will be announced in due course

20-2-48 J DESAI

THE DAY BEFORE

[Last week we published a letter written by Gandhiji to Shri Mashruwala on the 28th of January 1948, the day before he departed from this earth Gandhiji had mentioned in the letter that he had written the same day to Shri Shankaran of the Hindustani Talim Sangh to comfort him in his grief The letter is originally in Hindustani and is reproduced here in English Of pertinent interest is Gandhiji's view of death as expounded by him to Shri Shankaran while offering consolation to him Mg ED]

New Delhi
January 29 1948

Brother Shankaran,

Chi Kishorlal gave me news of the death of your daughter Sulochana I had no idea at all of it. What can I write to you? What comfort could I give? Death is a true friend It is only our ignorance that causes us grief Sulochana's spirit was yesterday is today and will remain tomorrow The body of course, must die Sulochana has gone taking her failings with her leaving the good in her behind Let us not forget that (or her) Be even more true in the discharge of your duty

With Blessings

BAPU

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

With a Foreword by *Gandhiji* wherein he says 'The selections made by the author show the thoroughness with which he had gone into the subject Those who are interested in my writings will not fail to appreciate the author's labours'

Price *Rupees Four* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

A SACRED INJUNCTION

The following is the text of a statement that has been issued to the Press jointly by Shri Ramdas Gandhi Shri Devdas Gandhi and Shri Pyarelal

With the ceremony at the Triveni Sangam at 1 55 p m on February 12 concluded the fortnight s ritual prescribed by Hindu custom Hundreds of thousands witnessed grief stricken and in solemn silence saw the final parting Those of us who were near could see the little bones rapidly flow away as the urn was turned over and the contents allowed to drop and disappear beyond recall in the bosom of the great river They were the bones collected with due ritual on February 2 from the pyre after it had burned for fourteen hours' and had been left undisturbed for another twentyseven hours

The prescribed form of cremation always leaves a small residue of bones, which are later carefully gathered and ritually consigned to any one of the celebrated sacred rivers In the Indian languages these bones always mixed as they are with flower petals and incense, are described as flowers The ashes, as distinct from such bones as it is possible to separate, are also collected, particularly in the case of great persons, and consigned to a flowing river

GANDHIJI'S OWN INJUNCTION

Anxious thought was given by some of those who had been intimately connected with Gandhiji through out his life to suggestions that a few of his bones be preserved The illustration of the relics of the Buddha was quoted by friends who pressed the idea upon us

Some of Gandhiji s closest associates asked to be permitted personally to possess a part of the bones or even a single small piece Every one, however, was good enough to leave the matter to our final decision We sought the advice of associates and friends held in high esteem by the people. Opinion was naturally divided but the preponderant view inclined towards the conservative Hindu procedure Calm reflection led us to the same conclusion But the decisive factor with us was Gandhiji s own oft repeated injunction in the matter We could not possibly reconcile ourselves to a departure from what we knew was a specific wish of his which he trusted those of his kith and kin who survived him to carry out in letter and spirit We have not therefore, permitted any part of the bones to be kept by any one.

RELICS PRESERVED

Let those who may feel disappointed know that there will never be any dearth of relics For instance, special care is being taken to preserve, for as long as they will last the clothes, bearing huge patches of blood which Bapu wore when the three bullets riddled him

The ashes, which were also collected, were, as is known to all, distributed to the provinces and consigned to the various other celebrated rivers in the country A portion of those ashes are still in our custody and their disposal awaits consultation with the country s leaders and other elders. As was announced [illegible] portions may be sent abroad to [illegible] adjacent to India from where [illegible] have expressed a strong desire to have them

We are [illegible] full of anguish over the appalling [illegible] and the circumstances attending it to be in a position to think upon the future. Our philosophy [illegible] is not that of despair but of optimism, hope [illegible]

[illegible]

We and some of [illegible] associated with us have been receiving [illegible] of sympathy from all parts of India and the world including Pakistan. Similar messages have been addressed to the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress President Dr Rajendra Prasad Gandhiji s life long friend and friend Mr G D Birla Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and to other leaders The senders of many of those messages have asked for their sympathies to be conveyed to us and to these recognized as belonging to Gandhiji s large family circle which transcends ties of blood In the name, therefore, of all those we wish to take this opportunity to express publicly our heart-felt gratitude to the countless persons whose spontaneous messages of love and fellow feeling have done so much to lighten the burden of our sorrow

New Delhi 15-2-48

THE FRUITS OF HATRED

[The following article by Sidney Shalett condensed from *Collier s* in the *Reader s Digest* of September, 1946 gives us a further glimpse of the chamber of horrors which mankind must enter if not love but hatred continues to be the ruling factor in human affairs —V G D.]

Suppose that on December 5, 1958 a man dies in a New York hospital after a short, violent illness, during which he becomes delirious with pneumonia, breaks out with ugly sores and coughs up blood In the post-mortem doctors diagnose his ailment as plague—the 'Black Death' of the fourteenth century They are puzzled because there hasn't been a case of plague in the U S A for many years

Suppose also that this incident coincides with an apparently unrelated event in a fast moving international situation The convoys of the new Axis have just flown home after unsatisfactory meetings with the U S Secretary of State. Some observers are warning that war may come any moment in the form of a cataclysmic robot-atom attack

Later that day another man dies of plague in New York, and alarmed doctors all over the city begin reporting cases which they suddenly realize have all the symptoms of Black Death Six men die of it the next day and deaths are reported in Miami and Detroit.

Suddenly the nation seems in the grip of an unbelievable series of epidemics What the Pittsburgh health authorities had thought an ordinary

food-poisoning wave is diagnosed as an epidemic of dread and rare botulism Workers at the new underground atomic research laboratories and arsenals in the New Mexican desert begin dropping from Cholera, Tularemia and Psittacosis. In the Texas cow country rinderpest breaks out among the cattle — the first such cases in North America

The foregoing is an imaginative picture of what might happen if there is a third World War. The first blow would have been struck not with the atom bomb but with BW — biological warfare.

Saboteurs would already have done their work at water and milk supplies Soon enemy planes, balloons and rockets, spraying mists of germs over cities, are combined with poison gas attacks and bombings Even bomb fragments are tainted If a bullet or a fragment scratches a man, he is likely to die from disease

The picture is perhaps far-fetched But it is possible on the basis of scientific knowledge not twelve years hence but *today*

Biological warfare is officially defined as "the employment of bacteria fungi viruses rickettsiae (certain organisms usually lice or tick-borne) and toxic agents derived from living organisms to produce death or disease in man animals or growing plants.' Some authorities particularly civilian officials view germ warfare as a horrible and inhuman thing, which should not be used Major General Alden H Waitt Chief of U S Chemical Warfare Service, is spokesman for another school of thought He says "It is neither consistent nor intelligent to talk about the horrors of biological warfare and then condone atomic warfare. I am entirely out of sympathy with talk about the humanity or inhumanity of a weapon. The thing that really is inhuman is war itself"

Most authorities agree that BW is a very real and significant menace, that it is something which small 'have-not' nations could cook up clandestinely, using university laboratories and even breweries and distilleries as secret factories

BW experiments in which Britain, Canada and the U S A co-operated as a means of better understanding defensive measures, were conducted during the war in great secrecy Lately reports have been released from which the following picture emerges

In considering offensive use of disease by artificial means, it is elementary that scientists would select the most virulent strains of the most damaging agents and enhance their virulence by 'unnatural mixtures' Typhoid for instance which usually is contracted through food or water can be given both extra staying and spreading quality by dissemination through artificial mist, this way you merely have to breathe the germ The dread anaerobe which normally spreads botulism through food can be made more deadly if conveyed through an open wound or the lungs, therefore why not put it on a bullet or spread it by mist?

All BW agents do not produce agony or quick death In conducting biological warfare therefore a nation theoretically could tailor its tactics to fit its purpose It could, if it wished select an agent which would disable a population temporarily, such as dysentry or the staphylococcic agents which produce the type of poisoning commonly miscalled ptomaine In this event, an invading army might find the defending soldiers and civilians physically too weak to resist but not in danger of dying Or the BW strategists could select diseases producing more protracted but non-fatal results such as undulant fever

Finally, if truly vicious and positive results were desired, one could attack with the killers' — cholera plague, botulism or psittacosis As one authority pointed out, you can brew concoctions with germs '1000 times more deadly' than poison gases, you can't see them smell them taste them or detect them except by cultures, and by the time you get suspicious and make a culture half your population might be dead

In December 1943 the U S Office of Strategic Services reported to the Chiefs of Staff that the Germans were believed to be considering attacking the British Isles with rocket-borne BW agents That report got the Allies into bacteriological research with both feet.

Chemical Warfare Service, through its Special Profits Division' established 4 BW installations by the summer of 1944 The germ detectives also got together with the Air Forces in Utah to carry out realistic experiments with simulated' germ bombs Clusters of aerosol (mist) bombs, loaded with harmless but stain-producing organisms, which would spread exactly in the manner of virulent substances were dropped The organisms left their trail as they spread and researches could trace the results.

Paradoxically enough as usually is the case when man dabbles in new ways of increasing the horrors of war, civilization already has benefited from some of the discoveries of BW The scientists amassed knowledge about the spread of influenza that has contributed greatly to development of a promising flu vaccine

A highly effective botulinus toxoid was developed, and out knowledge of cures for anthrax, brucellosis, psittacosis, tularemia and other diseases was advanced. In the plant field, through learning how to wipe out an enemy s growing food supplies some valuable weed-killers were discovered And in the animal field, a new method of large scale production of a vaccine that absolutely controls rinderpest — the costly cattle plague — will alone pay for the whole deal.

The cost of BW research in this war, it is estimated, was under 50 million dollars BW, compared with other weapons — the two-thousand-million dollar atomic bomb for example — is relatively inexpensive.

That also is the great danger of BW in the hands of a poor have-not nation, which could not afford an atomic-bomb project

HARIJAN

February 22 1948

HIS FINAL RESTING PLACE

What remained of the mortal remains of Bapu was consigned to the sacred waters of the Triveni according to the Hindu rites The decision was taken not without much deliberation, heart-searching and consultation with revered friends who by virtue of their erudition in matters religious and spiritual devotion to Bapu and his ideals and above all by their saintly lives and character had a right to speak on the matter with authority In doing so we knew, we would be doing counter to the most cherished sentiments of many We realized too that no individual by virtue of blood or any other personal tie had any special right over him He had long since ceased to belong to his family Home he had none or rather one might say the whole world was his home and mankind his family If anyone had a special claim upon him it was the disinherited ones of the earth — the oppressed the lowliest and the lost What could not be shared with even 'unto this last' he held of little account and not worth having He would not have liked his *asthis* to lie under costly mausoleums If at all he would have liked them to rest in the hut of some poor unnamed, pure-hearted Harijan—disdained by the world but loved of Rama—his (Bapu's) Rama who always dwells among those whom the world rejects but whom He rejects not when they turn to Him Such a one it was clear could not be found by searching And it was as well For Bapu hated making a fetish of the perishable body whether dead or alive

When therefore suggestions and requests began to pour in for the preservation of Bapu's *asthis* some of us felt ourselves in a great dilemma Among those who made the suggestions were some whom we revered next only to Bapu whom Bapu himself would have liked to deny nothing and whose word is almost law to us The sole question that we set before ourselves was what would Bapu himself have to say if he were there? And the reply came emphatic and clear He belonged to no particular class or community or even country He belonged to the whole world and we know he aspired to serve and identify himself with God's entire creation The only custodian of his last physical remains therefore could be the elements And what place could serve better as his final resting place than the immaculate bosom of the great sacred rivers of India? So sacred Triveni was chosen among other places, where rest too Kasturba's remains and remains of the countless, voiceless millions whose joys and sorrows he had made his own and to whose service his life was dedicated

The immersion was made total—no portion whatever being kept We have the habit of seeking an easy soothing balm for our conscience by erecting temples to the memory of those whom we deny in our daily lives Let not that be Bapu's fate Those who are anxious to have a portion in him have now to have it on equal terms with the millions by adopting his way of life and by identifying themselves with the cause of *Daridranarayana* of which he became a living symbol

New Delhi 13-2-'48 PYARELAL

SOME HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS

When people were nervous at the prospect of a famine in and round about the place where I was working in Noakhali I gathered them together and gave them the assurance that none of them *need* die of starvation even though famine might sweep over the whole of Bengal or for that matter India—if they did what they were told If any had to starve in spite of it, I would share my meal with them.

The plan succeeded in as much as it helped to restore confidence and arrested panic by removing the feeling of helplessness and desperation The threatened food scarcity — as often happens — did not after all turn out to be as severe as was feared An identical or analogous plan, I feel confident could be tried to meet the food crisis that threatens Madras today

Cocoa-nut and *Tal* palm and banana are the wealth of South India. Our entire sea-board up to a depth of 40 miles is covered with jungles of these precious trees and constitutes nature's inexhaustible larder *Tal* and palm give life-sustaining sweet juice, rich in minerals and anti-beriberi vitamin *B* complex. When cooked over fire, it gives sugar In Bihar alone the number of palm trees is computed to be over one crore Out of these 25 lakhs used to be tapped for toddy while the remaining 75 lakhs were left altogether untapped Imagine the amount of employment it would bring to the poor and the acreage it would set free from sugarcane to grow more food if these trees were properly utilized instead of crores being sunk in erecting costly sugar plants

Then take cocoa-nut. It is claimed to be nature's complete food. An English friend the wife of a Punjab civilian used often to describe to Gandhiji how she had found that she could keep fit living on two whole cocoa-nuts alone per day Some of our friends in Noakhali told us how they had managed to survive by adding two cocoa-nuts to a handful of rice and green vegetable during the worst of the 1943 food crisis We made a further experiment. In Noakhali cocoa-nut was to be found in plenty The bulk of it used to be sold in the weekly bazaar at the rate of 7 to 12 cocoa-nuts for a rupee Part was used as *dahs* to provide hospitality to chance visitors We had started expressing oil from ripe green cocoa-nuts as a home occupation in answer to the cry of hungry children who starved although they were willing to work The kernel of

green cocoa-nuts was shreded by means of a scraper with serrated edge The scrapings were then kneaded with a little water and the 'milk' expressed by straining through a piece of cloth What remained was the cake — *chhoba* We dried it by sunning Previously it used to be thrown away By boiling the 'milk', oil separated out and formed a solid mass when left overnight in cold weather The remaining liquid on being further cooked yielded "cheese" or "butter" (*machha*) — a sweet delicious substance — very nourishing and very appetizing

The oil-cake and cheese (*chhoba* and *machha*) — bye-products of cocoa-nut oil between them represent the entire nourishing content of the cocoa-nut less the oil which is found to be in excess of human requirement in the natural state An ounce of it was found on experiment to be equal to nourishing content to 2 ozs of rice Dehydrated and salted *machha* and *chhoba* can be kept over long periods without deteriotation Preserved with a little sugar or palm *gur* it becomes a delicate sweet Cocoa-nut shell can take a high polish, the finished product rivalling in brilliance and beauty, tortoise shell. It can be turned into a number of artistic things Coir string and rope have a universal use Homemade fresh oil of green cocoa-nuts is a fragrant delicacy and an appetizing article of food. The annual crop of cocoa-nut in the Madras Presidency may be roughly set down at 1,228-5 million nos. This should yield 1 00 000 tons of *machha* and *chhoba* cake equivalent to 32,000 million calories of food value If the bye-products of homemade cocoa-nut oil — shell and coir are fully utilized not only can homemade fresh oil be had at a competitive price but thousands of maunds of food, rich in sugar, protein and mineral salts can be had for nothing for the poorest of the poor

Equal in importance if not more, is the groundnut crop The annual yield for Madras Presidency is 16 84,000 tons Out of this 7 03 800 tons is exported 4 75 000 tons is used for expressing oil 2 85 000 tons of oil-cake that is annually produced in Madras is used either as fertilizer or cattle feed If care is taken to maintain conditions of absolute cleanliness and purity during the various processes of oil extraction and skin is removed from the kernels before oil is expressed the cake can provide thousands of maunds of concentrated high protein value food. Once during the Second Round Table Conference in London when I was trying to obtain for Gandhiji almond butter I found that groundnut cake alone or in combination was being sold as almond butter' The calorie value per ounce of groundnut cake is 235 cals

What is true of groundnut oil-cake is in varying degrees true of gingelly and linseed cake, too We tried both in the Ashram and found that they answered all right

The trouble with the groundnut in its natural state is that it contains too much fat The fat can either be separated by extracting the oil in the *ghani* by the indigenous process or by one of the several chemical processes in vogue defatted kernels in appearance and appetizing value being just like they are in nature

Banana and jack fruit are nature's sealed food. Ripe or unripe banana has high nutritive value Ripe banana and ripe jack fruit pulp can be dried as figs. Unripe banana can be dried and ground into flour to make *chapatis* Jack fruit seed too can be stored. It is rich and appetizing food

The total annual yield of bananas for Madras is 11 19 000 tons. In Noakhali we found that while rice sold at as 14 per seer, sweet potatoes sold at as 2 per seer Considering that the calorie value of sweet potato is about one third that of rice still it could be used to provide food calories at 42% the price of rice We devised a famine fare consisting of 2 *chhataks* of rice one of *chhoba machha* 4 *chhataks* of sweet potatoes 6 *chhataks* of green vegetables — mostly growing wild like *kochu lati sampla* pumpkin and greens all cooked into *khichri* It answered well Madras has banana and jack fruit and yams, elephant's foot (*sooran* and *zamikand*) and other tubers Banana can be to Madras probably what sweet potato was to Noakhali Yams and other tubers can easily be sliced and preserved by dehydration A mixed fare of rice one part, tubers and bananas two parts, cocoa-nut or groundnut whole or as oil-cake one part, green vegetables three parts can easily provide a life-sustaining meal at a fraction of the cost entailed when rice alone is used

To these must be added supplementing individual food stocks by everybody growing seasonal vegetables for him or herself in backyard kitchen gardens or in spare spaces, e g dried-up river beds embankments of tanks and so on. Ground space can further be economized by thoughtful expedients I have actually seen pumpkin and tomatoe creepers planted on the banks or inner slopes of tanks and *bhals* bamboo frames being erected over the surface of water for the creeper to spread Tanks and ponds which can be put to no other use can be used to cultivate *singhara* and white lotus Both are very prolific and need no labour in cultivation The fruit of the former and stem of the latter are both excellent food.

New Delhi 7-2-48 PYARELAL

Correction

In the article *The Fateful Friday* in the *Harijan* of 15th February page 30, column two line seventeen from bottom in the sentence *All of a sudden someone from the crowd roughly elbowed his way into the cordon from the right* should read *someone from the left* etc

On page 31 column 2 in the same number drop words Dr Rajendraprasad at the end of line fifteen and before Shri Jairamdas in line thirty-six respectively

BAPU AS A SCHOOLMASTER

When I joined Bapu towards the end of December, one of his first questions was whether I knew Hindi As I replied in the negative, he said that knowledge of Hindi would enhance my usefulness and to my great surprise he set out to teach me Hindi himself I felt flattered but was it fair, I asked myself to add this to the many burdens and responsibilities he was carrying? If he could at all spare a few minutes daily for me, why should I not use them to seek his light on my life's many problems and paradoxes? After all I could learn Hindi from anyone else just as well—perhaps better for as he taught or spoke to me, his radiant face and earnest manner often attracted my attention more than his words

But there was no arguing with Bapu and I soon found that a schoolmaster's role interested him During the first fortnight he gave me a lesson with religious regularity To the merriment of all of us he would often greet me on my arrival with the words ' Hindi, Hindi ' He wished me to devote my spare time even at home to Hindi and said that in due course he would want me to render an account of how I spent my time outside my working hours Bapu " I said "my hours here are long in all conscience and when I go home, I want sometimes the satisfaction of doing nothing" Then, in an accommodating spirit, he exempted me from home task though for my own pleasure and profit I sometimes kept reading out his soul-stirring prayer speeches to family gatherings at home.

No mistake escaped his scrutiny In a few days I proudly displayed my first Hindi letter addressed to Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru hoping that it would draw a compliment from him for teacher and pupil alike but he was not a man to be pleased with anything short of perfection He pointed out a bad mistake in the first line addressing her as बेन instead of बेन Slow and sure he said, was better than quick and uncertain I remarked that I was an erring child and he a strict schoolmaster

Bapu laid inordinate emphasis on my handwriting, maybe, because his own was none too good. He would give minute instructions as to how to improve it For instance, he would say that I must draw an angle of 45° to the curve of ग. He wanted me to emulate the printed words and write as well When I pleaded my inability, he said that no amount of difficulties should deter us from striving for an ideal He recalled the instances of Lucy in the Second English Reader who tried again and again till she reached her goal, and of Demosthenes who once a stammerer, practised the art of speech with pebbles in his mouth, before the rivers and in the end distinguished himself as the greatest orator of his age. I claimed that my hand-writing was at least better than his which I likened to Chinese figures Yes I thought, but that was the only distinction between them and his hand-writing!

These Hindi lessons with Bapu were a source of unmixed delight to me, and as I found, of some relaxation to him Always conducted in good humour they served to establish a close personal link between us. Even when he embarked on his fast he wished to continue his tuition work For once however I was adamant and said, ' Bapu, you must now conserve every ounce of your energy Pandit Sunderlal has agreed to officiate for you ' But he does not know how to teach ' said Bapu with a faint smile. The Pandit intervened with the apt remark that he would learn to teach and Bapu then obligingly consented insisting that he must have reports on my progress from time to time Even on the fifth day of his fast when his condition was causing anxiety, he asked me how I had been progressing and looked happy when I said that I was doing well

How wonderful and homely Bapu was! The greatest man of the age had descended to the level of a Hindi tutor to an insignificant child. Verily, nothing was too big—nothing too small for Bapu

New Delhi, 16-2-48 P B CHANDWANI

THE MASTER AT WORK

On the morning of the 29th January I reached my place of work in Birla House—a little late and afraid of Bapu's displeasure had myself and straightaway started the day's work as if nothing had happened At 2-30 p m Bapu saw his engagement list and said that I could bring an American lady press correspondent whose name was down for an interview at the time She introduced herself as the "Torturer"—a title Bapu had banteringly conferred on her earlier in Bengal She discussed with him the doctrine of trusteeship. Bapu had once said that the rich should be trustees for the poor How did he define a trustee? A trustee is one who discharges the obligations of his trust faithfully and in the best interests of his wards' replied Bapu. Did he know of any industrialist who lived up to that ideal? No though some were striving in that direction, his host, Shri G D Birla, for instance I hope he is not deceiving me. If I saw him do so, I would not live under his roof" Did he still cherish the wish and hope to live the full span of life? He had lost that wish, he said in view of the prevailing darkness He was, however groping for light. If things took a turn for the better and the people responded to his call and co-operated to usher in a new era of peace and amity, he would again wish—indeed he would be "commanded" to wish to live the full span

' Would you advise America to give up the manufacture of atom bombs?' she finally asked "Most certainly,' replied Gandhiji As things are, the war ended disastrously and the victors are vanquished by jealousy and lust for power Already a third war is being canvassed, which may prove even more disastrous *Ahimsa* is a mightier weapon by far than the atom bomb Even if the people of Hiroshima could have died in their thousands with prayer and goodwill in their hearts the situation would have been transformed as if by a miracle.'

At this stage Bapu saw that his interviewer Miss Margaret's time was up but she cleverly

presented some portraits taken by her for his autograph and thus stole a couple of minutes more to complete her string of questions.

Then came the turn of another American lady, the General Secretary of the World Headquarters of the Y W C A. in Switzerland She asked Bapu what America with her interest in India and her wellbeing could do for India Gandhiji said that American visitors should endeavour to see India through Indian spectacles They could go round and offer friendly and constructive criticism but to describe its dirty spots as India would be a caricature Here Bapu recalled the instance of Emily Kinnaird who had invited herself to be G s guest in Bombay She was content with the vegetarian food and modest comforts she could get and always insisted on walking with him to the prayer ground. Till the moment of her death she continued to write long and delightful letters to Bapu pouring out her heart and spirit

Asked what foreign missions could do in the new set-up for Indian Christians or Christian Indians as they would now like to be called Bapu replied that the best course would be to leave them to their own resources, to help them settle down as sons of the soil.

Later I saw a deputation of the blind having just finished their interview with Bapu They were refugees from Pakistan and among them I recognized my dear old friend Shri Bodhraj, the Head Master of the Government Blind School at Lahore I spoke to them and saw them visibly moved and comforted by Bapu's sympathy To him verily all are alike, if anything he is partial to the poor and the blind

The evening prayer over, I sat down as was my wont, to collect my points and record the post-prayer speech in English Somehow this process took an unconscionably long time on Thursday and Bapu complained that it was getting late for him It was past 8 p. m when I started preparing the fair copy for Bapu. He went to the bath-room where, sitting on the commode, he read a few pages as they were ready On his return I marked that he had not only touched up the draft but numbered the pages Such close attention to details only enhanced his greatness — in fact nothing was too big and nothing too small for him. While I was still completing the fair copy Shumati Rameshwari Nehru, after a few minutes with him, came up to my table and I rose to greet her and exchange a few words with her Bapu cared me for it and said that I had no pity on him. "Bapu," I replied "you know I am myself anxious to go home without wasting a minute ' "But you have already wasted more than a minute,' rejoined Bapu ' You should not allow yourself to be thus interrupted in your work." Walking home at that late hour at night, I felt that working under Bapu the discipline was stricter than I had ever known or might be able to endure

On the ill-fated Friday, however, as I sat not far from him, doing my work and stealing occasional glances at him, I was so buoyed up by his kingly presence that I rebuked myself for my occasional peevishness. Earlier he had told me that he would teach me many new things, a *bhangi's* work among them This lesson seemed intolerably disagreeable for me to learn and as the plan of a visit to Sevagram began to mature I fought shy of accompanying him But today he seemed so grand and majestic — indeed so handsome — that a look at him conquered me and I strove to reconcile myself to the prospect of being initiated into the noble art of scavanging at Sevagram.

My daily work involved going through a pile of newspapers to give him in a few minutes at his convenience the gist of things that really mattered So on Friday he vouchsafed to me just four minutes for this purpose and I hurried through the job, giving him also the substance of a few Sindhi letters addressed to him. Other matters simultaneously claimed his attention and I was wondering whether he was at all listening to me To my surprise, however, when Dr Choithram Gidwani led a Sindhi deputation at 2-30 p m Bapu was able to recall almost word by word the contents of one letter as related to him It seemed to be a feat of memory, which men half his age would envy

The deputation narrated the woes of Sindhis and spoke of the vexatious restrictions imposed by the Government on their evacuation . Bapu said in an exceedingly tender voice that all this had distressed him beyond measure. Outwardly he seemed light and happy but his heart was smitten with grief at the wave of insanity which was sweeping over the land. Either this must end or he must perish. Superficial critics have accused Gandhiji of partiality towards the Muslims and even of indifference to the lot of the Hindu and Sikh refugees But his approach to such problems and his ways of life and thought are unique In fact with his all-embracing, broad vision and intense humanity he has so identified himself with his fellowmen as to feel our sufferings and carry our burdens as his own

At this interview he also referred, in a lighter vein, to the advice offered to him by a refugee to retire to the Himalayas Chuckling with laughter he observed that nothing would be better in one sense he would develop into a double *Mahatma* and attract larger crowds But what he wanted was not vain glory or ease but such comfort and strength as he could extract out of the prevailing darkness and misery

We went to the prayer ground soon after 5 p m. The tragedy that followed in a few minutes has been graphically described in Shri Pyarelalji's *The Fateful Friday* The next day as I touched the holy feet at the pyre, I prayed to make us all worthy of our beloved Master and to give us the purity of purpose and strength of will to carry out his mission on earth And with every spurt of the sacred flames I prayed again and again that while consuming his mortal remains they might also burn out all the impurities and any lingering ill-will from our hearts

New Delhi, 9-2-'48 P B CHANDWANI

LEST WE FORGET

II

DEATH AND REBIRTH

(a)

Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands Only then can we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any other nation

(b)

The self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the self-sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others

(c)

I hope there will be non-violent non-co-operators enough in India of whom it will be written 'They suffered bullets without anger and with prayer on their lips even for the ignorant murderer'

(d)

I am not aching for martyrdom but if it comes in my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be the supreme duty in the defence of the faith of love, I shall have earned it

(e)

I do not want to be reborn But if I have to be reborn I should be born an untouchable so that I may share their sorrows sufferings and the affronts levelled at them in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition

III

MY STATUE!'

(a)

I MUST DISSENT EMPHATICALLY FROM ANY PROPOSAL TO SPEND ANY MONEY ON PREPARING A STATUE OF ME ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN PEOPLE DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH FOOD AND CLOTHING IN BOMBAY THE BEAUTIFUL INSANITATION REIGNS. THERE IS SO MUCH OVERCROWDING THAT POOR PEOPLE ARE PACKED LIKE SARDINES WISE USE OF TEN LAKHS OF RUPEES WILL CONSIST IN ITS BEING SPENT ON SOME PUBLIC UTILITY THAT WOULD BE THE BEST STATUE

(*Harijan*, XI-34 p 329, 21 September 1947)

(b)

It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever Let us erect for the only Lokasangra of India an *imperishable monument* by weaving into our own lives his bravery, his simplicity his wonderful industry and his love of his country (1976)

[The italics are mine V G D]

NO MORE SORROWING

Friends from far and near who have been close associates and workers of Gandhiji in the various constructive measures which were part of his life's mission have been writing to me letters of extreme pathos and sorrow They seem to feel bewildered and helpless at the sudden tragedy which seems to have overwhelmed them While I sincerely appreciate the depth of their feeling and the extent of their dejection, I should like to ask them to face the blow in the manner in which Gandhiji's teachings and his own attitude towards personal and national misfortunes in the past beckon to us If they viewed the matter in this light they would find that any prolonged nursing of sorrow or continued feeling of demoralization is entirely out of place

The nation has seen through the thirteen days of the mourning with exemplary discipline and sustained concentration This is as was to be expected At the same time, the end of the period of mourning unmistakably signifies to us the crying need of settling down immediately to the many constructive tasks which Gandhiji had made his own, and which it is our sacred obligation to continue since no longer under his personal guidance but still under the inspiration of his teachings and the wise counsel which he always gave us, when he was living The path of duty therefore, lies in ceasing to reflect over our loss or to nurse our grief but to undertake with renewed vigour and enthusiasm the completion of the constructive work which Gandhiji has left unfulfilled but which I am confident, he would have liked us to pursue with single minded devotion and undivided attention I hope therefore, that these kind friends would heed my advice and take up anew the threads of the work where they left completely overpowered by the shattering blow which they had to bear

I also deplore with all the emphasis at my command the many attempts that are being made to raise temples or erect memorials which would savour of idolatry I am sure nothing would have displeased Gandhiji more than these attempts He has often expressed his views on such matters in no uncertain terms I would therefore request those who contemplate taking any of these steps or embarking on any similar undertakings to desist from carrying out their intentions. The surest and most pleasing memorial to Gandhiji is to follow his immutable teachings and to devote oneself to the constructive ideas which he preached and practised It is only thus that we can really enshrine Gandhiji in our hearts and after all where we shall all like him to be, always.

14-2-'48 VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BOOKS BY GANDHIJI	Price	Postage etc.
The Story of My Experiments with Truth	6 0 0	0 13 0
Satyagraha in South Africa	4 8 0	0 12 0
From Yeravda Mandir	0 8 0	0 2 0
Hind Swaraj	0 8 0	0 2 0
Women and Social Injustice	3 0 0	0 7 0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government (1942-44)	2 8 0	0 7 0
Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence	2 0 0	0 6 0
The Nation's Voice	3 0 0	0 6 0
Non-violance in Peace and War	7 0 0	0 11 0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
HARIJAN	PYARELAL	41
TO SUBSCRIBERS AND AGENTS	J DESAI	41
THE DAY BEFORE		41
A SACRED INJUNCTION		42
THE FRUITS OF HATRED	V G D	42
HIS FINAL RESTING PLACE	PYARELAL	44
SOME HELPFUL SUGGESTIONS	PYARELAL	44
BAPU AS A SCHOOLMASTER	P B CHANDWANI	46
THE MASTER AT WORK	P B CHANDWANI	46
LEST WE FORGET	M K GANDHI	48
NO MORE SORROWING	VALLABHBHAI PATEL	48

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates —INLAND One year Rs. 6 Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3.

With Trust in God

Reg. No. 3092

HARIJAN

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 5 AHMEDABAD SUNDAY APRIL 4 1948 TWO ANNAS

A COURAGEOUS DECISION

It was with a heavy heart that we agreed to suspend the publication of the *Harijan* It was no easy decision to discontinue after Gandhiji s death a paper which had for years been the vehicle of his thoughts and through which he had preached incessantly his unique message of truth love and non-violence But for reasons stated in these columns at that time there was no other alternative pending the decision of the constructive workers conference that was to meet at Wardha. In that conference it was decided that all those who derived inspiration from Gandhiji and shared his ideals should unite themselves into a fellowship of service — *Sarvodaya Samaj* — and strive collectively to represent what he stood for The resumption of the publication of the Harijan Weeklies is a natural corollary to that decision. There have been numerous requests from all parts of the world from sympathisers and admirers of Gandhiji and his ideals to be kept in touch with the course of his various activities in India It would have been wrong to disappoint that very natural desire on their part The world has a right to know how Gandhiji s countrymen and particularly those who shared his faith are trying to acquit themselves of the responsibility that has devolved upon them after Gandhiji's death. The various workers in the field too, need a vehicle for co-ordinating their efforts and exchanging notes of their respective experiences The resuscitated Harijan Weeklies will be a mirror of our shortcomings and failures, no less than of our strivings

The resumption of the Harijan Weeklies has been rendered possible only by the courageous decision of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala to offer his services to the cause of the *Harijan* inspite of the handicap of his ill-health In him, as in Vinoba Bhave, we have a seeker after truth who has not only made a lifelong study of Gandhiji's ideals but has incessantly striven to translate those ideals into his life He has a gnawing sense of his limitations In deciding to resume publication of the Harijan Weeklies the Trustees have relied on the goodwill and active co-operation of their countrymen in general and the readers of the Harijan Weeklies in particular I have faith that it will be forthcoming in ample measure

New Delhi, 31-3-48

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

AN URGENT NEED

[The following message from Shri Mangaldas Pakvasa has been received for this number of the *Harijan*

— MG ED.]

I am asked to give a message for the *Harijan* What message can a humble follower of Bapu give? I have no doubt in my mind that the renewed publication of the *Harijan* under the guidance of able persons saturated with the spirit of Bapu s philosophy will continue to serve the urgent need of the present times The world today is on the brink of a new war of destruction of property and annihilation of mankind It almost seems impossible that the world powers will accept Gandhian principles of truth and non-violence and abjure war The people of this sub-continent of Asia at least should listen to his message of brotherly love and peace and goodwill amongst the various creeds, classes and communities Bapu strove for unity Let not anybody do anything which might tend to produce disunity or disharmony amongst our people May God give wisdom and strength to our people to follow the road indicated by Bapu Though the message of the Prophet of Peace was for the whole world in any event let us prove worthy of his heritage

Nagpur 27-3-48 MANGALDAS PAKVASA

POLICY TOWARDS MINORITIES

The Press reports an Indo-Pakistan joint statement as follows

' The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met to take the opportunity of their meeting on March 19 to reiterate simply and clearly the policies of their respective Governments towards the minority communities in their respective territories Both the Governments hope and trust that the minority communities will remain in their homes Indeed they are anxious to do so They intend to do their utmost to help members of the minority communities to stay They are convinced that this is in the best interests of all concerned

This does not mean that they intend to put any obstacle in the way of those who of their own will decide to migrate from one Dominion to the other

The statement is good. But what will reassure the common man of the minority communities involved is that the officers loyally carry out the policy announced the local majority communities heartily respond to it, and also that the leaders and advisers of the minorities concerned are clean in

their heart towards the Dominion in which they live. This is possible only if every one keeps God as witness, instead of power politics and greed

Wardha, 25-3-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

THE SEVAGRAM RESOLUTIONS

[The following six resolutions were passed by the Conference of constructive workers which met at Sevagram on the 13th 14th and 15th of March 1948 Dr Rajendraprasad President of the Congress presided over the Conference

— MG ED]

1. Gandhiji's Death

It is impossible to estimate the loss which the various constructive Sanghs have suffered by the passing away in New Delhi on January 30th 1948 of Gandhiji who was the very soul of those Sanghs None can measure the harm done not only to our country but to the whole humanity by the man who committed the foul deed of taking his life and by those behind him They have blackened the name of both Hindu religion and the Hindu community

All thoughtful people must seriously realize that the dark savage mentality which led to the assassination of a great man indeed, the world s noblest and most pure hearted, one who was a friend of all mankind and father of his people and who went about fearlessly and trustingly everywhere—was the result of wrong education and narrow communal ideas which foster hostility and discrimination between man and man

No resolution can wipe out this blot on mankind or undo the harm or diminish the sorrow of the people who were like members of Gandhiji s own family The only way is to educate the people to follow the principles and ideas of Gandhiji to popularize his Constructive Programme to promote friendliness and co operation between nations religions and communities and to work for banishment of violent methods of war tyranny and killing

The Conference urges the people and those who revere Gandhiji and work on his principles in political social and economic fields that in their grief they should take counsel together to determine how they should carry on the work started by him and fulfil his mission

2. Sarvodaya Samaj

Those believing in Gandhiji s principles have decided to form a brotherhood which will be a vast organization

NAME This organization will be known as the Sarvodaya Samaj

AIM To strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for development both for individuals as well as groups

MEANS The following means will be used to achieve this objective

(1) Communal unity (friendship between followers of different faiths and between community and community) (2) Removal of untouchability (3) Abolition of caste (4) Prohibition (5) Khadi and other village industries (6) Village Sanitation (7) Nai Talim (8) Equality of rights and status for both men and women (9) Health and cleanliness (10) Development of Indian languages (11) Removal of narrow provincialism (12) Propagation of Hindustani as the national language (13) Economic equality (14) Development of agriculture (15) Organization of labour (16) Welfare of the aborigines (17) Organization of students (18) Care of lepers (19) Relief work for destitutes (20) Cow protection (21) Naturopathy and (22) Other similar activities

Whoever adheres to the above mentioned principles and tries to work them out will be eligible for membership of the Samaj Prospective members should intimate the Secretary of the Samaj of their acceptance of the principles as well as the methods and supply him with their names and addresses which will be registered To provide an opportunity for contact among the members a meeting will be held on January 30 every year at an agreed place

This Samaj will be an advisory body and not an executive organization

This Conference empowers the President and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala to appoint a committee to promote the work of the Sarvodaya Samaj They should fix the number of members of the committee

NOTE Shri Rajendraprasad President and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, have accordingly nominated the following persons for the committee

Shri B S Dhotre Convenor
Sushilabehn Pai
Dhirendra Mazumder
M Satyanarayana
Ramdev Thakur
A Vedaratnam Pillai
Manmohan Chaudhary
Tirumeppa Nayak
Bebalbhai Mehta
Mahesh Datta Misra
Kashinath Trivedi
Shreemannarayan Agrawal

with powers to co opt others upto five more. The function of the committee will be to maintain a Register of Sevaks of the Samaj to fix the place for the first annual *mela* which will be held on the 30th of January next year and to make such arrangement as may be necessary for it and generally to act as a liaison between the Samaj and its members and otherwise to implement the resolution of the Conference relating to establishing of the Sarvodaya Samaj The committee will have power to fill up vacancies which may occur and also to appoint any office bearers if they may consider it necessary

3. Co-ordination of Sanghs

This Conference recommends that the existing Constructive Organizations should prepare a scheme for unification and form a joint committee as early as possible. Shri J C Kumarappa is requested to take action in this matter

4. Establishment of Centres

This Conference recommends to the members of the committee proposed under Resolution No 3 and to those who have faith in Gandhiji s ideology that they should establish small centres at various places to carry on constructive work.

5. Communal Problem

This Conference of constructive workers deplores the present atmosphere in the country The spread of communal hatred and the tendency among people not to distinguish between proper and improper means to relieve their ends are endangering the future of the country This Conference strongly appeals to every Indian to make it his primary duty to fight this danger Everyone should strive his utmost to free the country from communal hatred and should resolve that to achieve one s end it is necessary to use only pure and proper means In other words it is essential to follow the principles of truth and non violence

This Conference appeals to all Constructive Organizations to enjoin on their workers to take up the task of eradicating the poison of communalism following the ideals of truth and non-violence

It is in this connection necessary that every Constructive Organization and every worker with the help of the Congress and the Government should as far as possible assist in the mental and material rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees of all communities. It should be their endeavour to see that people following different religious ones again live peacefully and amicably together in full security of their lives property honour and religion

6. Shanti Seva Dal

The real cause of Gandhiji s martyrdom is the widespread feeling of narrow communalism which must be fought to remove the blot staining India s reputation To achieve this object it is necessary that the people of the country particularly the youth, should be organized without any communal distinction on the basis of truth non violence and good conduct This organization should be in the form of a Peace Service *(Santi Seva Dal)* which should strive to create an atmosphere of harmony in the country, give relief to riot sufferers help refugees and organize singing parties in both towns and villages

SOME BOOKS WORTH STUDY

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY *

OR

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH

By *M K Gandhi*

Price *Rs 6-0-0* Postage etc *0-12-0*

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—

Its Meaning and Place (New Edition)

By *M K Gandhi*

Price *Re 0-6-0* Postage etc *0-2-0*

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—

Some Suggestions

By *Babu Rajendraprasad*

Price *Rs 0-8-0* Postage etc. *0-2-0*

TO WOMEN

By *Amrit Kaur*

(With a Foreword by Pyarelal)

Price *0-6-0* Postage etc *0 2-0*

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

(With a Foreward by Gandhiji)

Price *4-0-0* Postage etc *0-10-0*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

THE NATIONAL WEEK

Dr Rajendraprasad Congress President has issued the following appeal in connection with observance of forthcoming National Week

The country has been observing the National Week from 6th to 13th April every year for nearly thirty years now It was within this Week that Mahatma Gandhi started his large scale countrywide movement for the assertion of the right and self respect of the people of this country and for the achievement of freedom We had to go through several Satyagraha Movements under his leadership before freedom was achieved Whenever we were not engaged in satyagraha the Week was utilized for furthering and intensifying work in connection with some items or other of the constructive programme. The Week has a particular and different significance now It should be a week of remembrance and of rededication Mahatmaji s passing away gives added significance to its observance It has therefore to be observed with solemnity but enthusiasm All Congress organizations and others are requested to devote it this year to two things There should be a countrywide drive in favour of reestablishment of communal peace and harmony This can be done by propaganda and instruction among the members of different communities particularly Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and the removing of local cause of grievances which lead to trouble

The Week should also be devoted to collection for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund The Central Committee has already appointed Provincial and State Committees which it is hoped will before the Week commences have appointed whatever necessary local committees as also authorized agents for making collection The Central Committee has appealed to all to contribute at least two days earnings to the fund Steps should be taken to collect these contributions from individuals all over the country Payments should be made only to authorized collectors and only on grant of receipt Collectors and committees are required to deposit the collections from day to day in one or another of the banks which have been authorized and whose names have been published It is feared that it may not be possible for the workers engaged in collections to reach all those who are willing to pay within the Week The period therefore may be prolonged and we may have a National Fortnight instead of a National Week for intensified work Collection will not of course end within this period but it is hoped that the National Week will give an auspicious start to it

TO SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are aware of the circumstances under which the publication of the *Harijan* papers was temporarily suspended It has now been decided to resume publication from the date on which they will receive this number

To make up for the gap left by the period of suspension we have decided to extend the period of subscriptions by a month Thus subscriptions which expire by the end of February, 1949 will now be deemed to expire by the end of March, 1949 and so on

1-4-'48 J DESAI

HARIJAN

April 4 1948

WITH TRUST IN GOD

My Trust in God is the only strength on which I accept the responsibility of editing the *Harijan* papers The external circumstances are not favourable to me—the greatest handicap being my continuously failing health. Besides, I am a poor linguist and a slow writer and with English I feel least at home If the English edition was at all to be re-started, Pyarelalji should have continued to edit it But rightly, he wishes to devote the best part of his energy and time to the service, which he was engaged in when Gandhiji was alive, and to the collection of material for Gandhiji's biography He is, therefore unable to shoulder this responsibility in addition, though he will continue to contribute to these weeklies which are more his than any one else's Efforts in other directions having failed the Navajivan Trust has pressed me to undertake the burden in spite of my limitations

The question has been put and quite relevantly whether an English edition need be issued at all Gandhiji did not love to write in English for his Indian readers He wrote in English because he had a message to deliver to the non-Indian world also. His command over that language enabled him to do so easily Nevertheless whether one liked it or no the English edition was as popular and necessary in India as the Indian languages editions The fact is that there is a large section of Indian readers, to whom the English edition is the only convenient medium of getting acquainted with the mission for which the *Harijan* stands For the time being, therefore it has been decided to continue the English edition also It will go on only if the subscribers maintain it for it cannot be carried on if it is not self-supporting Advertisements are out of the question

Two factors have encouraged me to undertake this work The first is that though nature is against me I feel that society has always been more kind to me than I have deserved My friends and co-workers in spite of my several temperamental and intellectual drawbacks have borne with me lovingly and patiently and I can expect to get their co-operation I have also the good fortune of enjoying the blessings of my elders and the goodwill of our prominent leaders irrespective of their political religious or other labels I take this as evidence of God's grace But the second and more decisive factor is that the humanitarian cause which Gandhiji espoused and laid down his life for is still unfinished It was undertaken in the name of God and his life was an offering to Him I believe in that cause, and feel that whatever little strength is left in me could not be better utilized than in helping that cause If my body withers away in the performance of this service it will not have withered away in vain I believe that it is not merely political social, economical sectarian or ideological problems that we are confronted with, and solutions based on these considerations alone will not carry us very far Ultimately it is the spiritual and moral rebirth of man that is needed We have dethroned God from out hearts and installed in His place mere knowledge Respect for life truthfulness honesty regard for age and the fair sex honour dignity of labour and various other virtues which ought to be the distinguishing characteristics of all civilization and culture have gone out of vogue There is no act of inhumanity or barbarism which we will refrain from in order to achieve our object If by God we understand the aggregate of these virtues we have run away from Him, and no advancement of learning and no political or economic system will make us happy until we respectfully advance towards Him again. It will be my endeavour to awaken men's conscience in this direction, and so I trust He will help me — though literally I am a broken reed

It will be best to make one thing clear from the very commencement The reader will not take whatever I or other writers of the *Harijan* say to be Gandhism, or an authorized interpretation of Gandhiji If he finds an inconsistency between what will appear under our signatures and what Gandhiji said he should consider each on its merits and accept what appeals to his head and heart I have no authority to interpret him and the reader will bear patiently with me if I do not seem to follow him in every detail. What Shri Vinoba Bhave said the other day about himself, I apply to myself also I have learnt much from Gandhiji — perhaps more from him than others But I also have got much from others It has all become blended and a part of my own being Therefore, what I say may not always be the same as Gandhiji said or might be expected to say It is sufficient if it is in pursuit of Truth love and Peace

Wardha 23-3-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE SEVAGRAM CONFERENCE

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL

Those engaged in various kinds of constructive activities had been feeling for some time the need of a conference where they could exchange ideas and experiences and consider how best they could further carry on the work in the new set up of things It had accordingly been decided in consultation with Gandhiji that the conference should be held at Wardha early in February which he was also to attend. All the arrangements had been made at Sevagram but just two or three days before Gandhiji was to leave Delhi for Sevagram the tragedy occurred and the conference had to be postponed

THE CONFERENCE

After Gandhiji's passing away its necessity became even more urgent and so it was convened for the 13th, 14th and 15th of March Not only some 500 constructive workers from all over the country, but also prominent persons—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur Shri Purushottamdas Daulatram from amongst the members of the Central Government Governors of C P and Orissa Prime Ministers of Bombay Madras and Orissa and other ministers from several other provinces besides leaders like Acharya Kripalani Shri Jaiprakash Narayan and others attended the Conference

TWO PROBLEMS

The Conference had two problems before it Gandhiji had carried on ceaseless activity for over 50 years while in South Africa and in India. He stood for certain principles and a particular way of life He had organized the nationalist forces in the struggle for securing the independence of the country The fight which he gave was not of the type and kind that the world is familiar with It was of a unique character in that it stood for Truth and Non-violence against the physical might of a great power

His teaching was not of the type of a mystic or a saint intended only for those who cut themselves off from the world but was of intensely practical nature which could be adopted by every one in his life Much of what he has said and written has been preserved and is available to us and to posterity There are also many living in this country and elsewhere who have tried to cast their own lives in his mould and who are engaged in various kinds of activities which are considered necessary and helpful to the growth of the kind of life and society which he envisaged. The problems, therefore with which the conference was faced were firstly to consider whether it was necessary and possible to set up an organization that would best serve and continue his line of action and thought and if such an organization was to be set up what its shape and function should be Secondly a number of institutions to implement Gandhiji's constructive programme in its various aspects dealing with different subjects had been started by him and had been carrying on their work The question was how these various institutions and organizations should be continued so that they might further the cause which he had in view

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS

Before the actual Conference met on the 13th a number of prominent workers who have been associated with Gandhiji met and discussed the problems in their different aspects and prepared the programme and the draft resolutions for the consideration of the Conference These preliminary meetings were of great importance in clarifying the ideas and chalking out a practical programme of work As was to be expected the discussions were frank and full and all those who attended the preliminary meetings put forward their view-points for consideration by others The first question was what we could do to encourage the study and practical adoption of Gandhiji's teachings by others Was an organization necessary for this purpose? If so should it be a closely knit and disciplined organization whose members would have to work within it or was it to be an association of men and women who had faith in his [illegible] who tried to their own lives to implement [illegible] without any other bond than that which [illegible] supplied by their common faith and the [illegible] ideals which they all held?

SAINTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

There were difficulties and risks which had to be faced and avoided History is replete with instances of saints, whose followers after their passing away reduced their teachings to dogmas which had to be accepted by all who professed to follow them In course of time these dogmas ceased to have any meaning and professing followers remained contented with the mere form and lost all the spirit of the true teachings of the saint

GANDHIJI'S METHOD

The members of the Conference were anxious to avoid any such contingency

Gandhiji had during many years of public life dealt with and covered a vast field in his speeches and writings and there is hardly a problem which arose in our present day life which has not at some stage or other been dealt with by him Not only questions of public importance but the problems of individuals also had been constantly placed before him and received his attention and solutions from the big problems of the State right down to what we consider to be the minute details of a house-holder's life, as for example set up of his kitchen and the work to be done there and the way in which the latrines should be cleaned, had all received his due attention He was never tired of going into the minutest details and nothing was too small or too insignificant just as nothing was too great or too difficult for him. Naturally, his whole life was a series of experiments and he rightly named his Autobiography as Experiments with Truth As is to be expected in these circumstances, his mind was not static but was growing with experience in life All that one could say or he himself could say, was that whatever he had stated in regard to a particular question was his considered judgment at the time when he made the statement and not necessarily what he would say regarding the same subject at a different time in a different context This is not what is ordinarily called inconsistency but the characteristic of one who has fixed principles by which he judged the problems as they arose and was not afraid to take different views at different times so long as the fundamental principle is not in any way violated He had been approached with a request for writing out something like a comprehensive text-book in which he could give the sketch of how his principles could be applied to practical solutions of the various problems religious, social, political and economic which faced this country and the world at large But he had expressed his inability to do so and stated that he had got only fundamental principles which he applied to practical problems as they arose and could not write out anything like a text-book of general maxims The members of the Conference had to take notice of this and had to be cautious that nothing should

be done out of his faith which would be what he himself had refused or avoided to be in his lifetime, namely producing a text-book of generalizations and dogmas But, more than this there was also the feeling that any organization in course of time would degenerate into a *sampradaya* or a sect and this had to be avoided at all costs

Constructive Programme — Truth in Practice

As stated above Gandhiji was not a mere mystic but an intensely practical man and his teaching was that the principles which he held true and sacred should express themselves in practical form through the life of individuals and of the society, which he envisaged The constructive work which he had undertaken was therefore a practical application of his fundamentals — Truth and Non-violence A little deeper analysis led to a further synthesis and Non-violence became merged into Truth and Truth stood as the one great fundamental thing to which he held fast It was not only in an ethical sense that he professed Truth but Truth to him was God, in Whom he lived and moved and had his being The constructive programme therefore, had no meaning apart from this fundamental and unless it helped in the creation of a society based on Truth it would have no fruition. The various items of the constructive programme were therefore conceived by him as steps in the direction of and leading to the great summit, which had to be achieved and reached by individuals and by society at large Just as there may be various paths leading to the summit which may all come from different directions, but must all converge to the same point so also the different items of the constructive programme were intended to lead to the same summit. It was therefore not only a mere intellectual grasp or philosophic satisfaction which should be obtained as a result of hard thinking and concentration that he aimed at but actual participation in the activities which directly or indirectly would shape life and conduct of individuals and society that he wanted to achieve by the application of his constructive programme The Conference therefore, had to consider how this practical application of his principles could best be brought about

A Loose Organization

Gandhiji did not have much faith in external sanctions and depended more on the inner sanction or what is ordinarily called conscience for regulating men's conduct. If those who profess to understand and follow his teachings had to depend on external sanctions of an organization they would at the very outset be denying to a way their professed principles on the other hand, if there was nor any kind of organization of all those who had tried to follow him in his lifetime and for whom he in his body formed the sole binding force would now that his body had been consumed by fire he left without any tie between them to be tossed by cross currents Therefore, the Conference had to steer a middle course and it decided to have a loose organization where the nexus, which would combine the units would be common faith in his teachings and more or less the common way of life, which he had taught and which each to his own sphere would be trying to live

What is Expected of Members

One of the questions which caused some little discussion was whether there should be any membership of this organization and if so whether any conditions would be attached to it and how membership could be secured. One view was that there should be no list of members because if members had to be enrolled then somebody would have to decide whether a particular applicant was fit to be a member or not and if for some reason or other a particular member had by his action deserved to be excluded from the membership Others, on the other hand felt that there should be some kind of membership however light the burden it carried might be. Ultimately it was decided that any one who had faith in Gandhiji's teachings and ideals and who tried to give expression to them in his or her own life by doing something practically of the nature of what was being attempted by various constructive organizations which had been established or which might be established in future was free to regard himself as a member of this brotherhood It was not to be a membership, as membership ordinarily goes to associations and organizations It was in one sense a looser kind of relationship but in another sense it insisted on a stricter adherence not only in faith but also to actual life to Gandhiji's teachings The adherence would be judged not by external authority but by his or her own conscience. So anyone who judged himself fit had only to send in his name and address to the person who might be authorized to receive them for record The word 'member' or *sadasya* was purposely avoided and the word *sevak* or servant or 'worker used

The Name

So also in the name of the organization the word *Sangh* which implies some sort of organizational compulsion was avoided and the looser expression of *Samaj* which corresponds more to brotherhood than to association, was used The name of the Samaj was also a matter of discussion and the expression Sarvodaya Samaj was ultimately adopted as the best not only because the word *Sarvodaya* had been used by Gandhiji himself to express in a word the concrete result of his teachings but also because it would best serve to keep before the *sevaks* constantly the practical aspect of Gandhiji's teachings Thus the Sarvodaya Samaj has been established to strive as the resolution says towards a society based on Truth and Non violence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation, and full scope for development both for individuals as well as groups. The resolution recounted the various means which are the various aspects of the constructive programme for achieving this objective The resolution declared that whoever adhered to the principles and applied them for himself would be eligible for the membership of the Samaj

The Annual Function

To provide an opportunity for contact among the members it was decided that a *mela* would be

held on January 30th every year at an agreed place This *mela* would be unlike all modern Conferences or Congresses for which extensive and expensive arrangements have to be made by Reception Committees for the lodging and boarding of the delegates This *mela* would be held on the appointed date at the appointed place and those who will come to it will have to make their own arrangements, just as all those who attend the various fairs do The only arrangement which might have to be made by others for them would be such as sanitary arrangements etc, which individuals cannot manage The *sevaks* would meet, exchange ideas share each other's experiences and go back to their respective fields of work with fresh inspiration There might also be papers published which would give the members the benefit of each other's thought and experience

The Committee and Its Function

The President and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala were authorized to appoint a committee to give effect to this resolution It was specially stated at the Conference that this committee should not constitute itself into a body which would give authoritative interpretation of Gandhiji's teachings or act as a sort of court of reference for getting disputes about interpretations settled It should not also organize the Samaj in such a way as to make it a party for political or other purposes or convert it into a sort of religious sect It was accepted unanimously that neither the Samaj nor this committee would do any such thing Its function would be to keep a register of *sevaks* to take such steps as might be considered necessary for the annual *mela* and to act as a sort of liaison between members who will be spread all over In forming the committee care has been taken to select workers who are actually engaged in constructive work of some kind or other and who have been trying to live the life that Gandhiji would have liked us to live, who have kept themselves in the background so that they have not yet come into the limelight and have no adventitious value attached to them but would be acceptable only to the extent they carry conviction

The Sarvodaya Samaj

The Sarvodaya Samaj will not act as an organization it will not undertake any work or programme by itself although all *sevaks* are expected to be doing some thing or other in furtherance of some constructive work While every *sevak* will be free to do work what suits him best — of course consistent with the teachings of Gandhiji — he will not do anything in the name and on behalf of the Samaj It is hoped that men and women who have the faith and the will, will join the Samaj and will freely and of their own accord without any fear or favour carry on in their own lives the teachings of Gandhiji The number of such people all the world over must be very large and it is hoped that the Samaj through its members will be able not only to keep the torch burning but also to spread its light farther and farther

Co-ordination of Constructive Organizations

The second point which came up for consideration was the co-ordination of the various organizations engaged in constructive work like the All India Spinners Association the Gramodyoga Sangh, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh the Goseva Sangh the Hindustani Prachar Sabha etc These different organizations had been started by Gandhiji at different times under the auspices and with the blessings of the Congress and had been concentrating on the particular items with which they were concerned. There are many workers who are interested in more than one such organization It was felt even by Gandhiji that something should be done to bring them closer together and co-ordinate their activities so as to be of assistance to one another Gandhiji during his lifetime was the President of some of these, and even where he was not the president he was the guide and director to each of them Co-ordination of their activities and the appointment of some individuals or the establishment of some organization that could undertake to guide and direct them as Gandhiji had been doing was necessary all the more after his passing away The Conference could not take any decision because each of these was an autonomous organization and the Conference as such could not take any decision which would bind them. The members present who represented them, not formally but in fact were all keen on having some such body set up It was, therefore decided that Shri J C Kumarappa be entrusted with the work of taking such steps as were necessary to bring this about in consultation with these bodies

As the constructive programme is an ever expanding programme there is no limit to the number of organizations which may be considered necessary and the co-ordinating body that would be appointed will, therefore not only confine itself to the existing organizations but will also make provision for other organizations which would come into existance hereafter

Communal Peace — The One Task

The Conference devoted much time to the consideration of these two items But all through its discussions and throughout the period that the members were present they were all feeling that it was absolutely necessary to do some thing to establish the communal peace to which Gandhiji in his last days was almost exclusively devoting all his time and as a result of which he lost his life The communal problem has been there for a long time and throughout his life Gandhiji had given it a most prominent place in his activities But unfortunately in spite of his efforts it has become more and more complicated and his work and even his motive have been distrusted by some group or other The Hindu-Muslim tension as a result of which the country has been divided, leading to the establishment of two States, has become very much aggravated within recent months It is not necessary to go into its history

RESULTS OF PARTITION

Since shortly before and after the partition untold suffering has been caused Thousands of men and women and even children have lost their lives and crores worth of property has been lost and destroyed by loot and arson Millions of Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Musalmans on the other have left their original homes and moved in the midst of immense suffering and disaster to Eastern Punjab or other parts of India and Pakistan respectively The movement has not yet ended and lakhs of Hindus and some Sikhs are left behind in Western Pakistan waiting to be evacuated to India. The number of people who have thus been evacuated from Western Pakistan to India and vice versa is roughly estimated to be five millions on each side Seven or eight lakhs of Hindus are said to have migrated similarly from Eastern Pakistan to West Bengal The misery involved in the uprooting of such immense populations from their original homes and moving them to distant places hundreds of miles away can very well be imagined It is therefore not unnatural that they should have anger and bitterness in their hearts The reports of sufferings of their co-religionists have embittered the feelings of both the Muslims and non-Muslims wherever they are The division of the country accompanied as it has been by these events, has not solved the communal problem but has given it a different turn and also aggravated it in some respects

GANDHIJI'S WAY

It was against this embittered feeling that Gandhiji pitched the whole force of his great personality, and every minute of his time during the last months was devoted to re-establish good brotherly relations between Hindus and Muslims He was trying to solve the most intricate social and psychological problem by the application of his inimitable and unfailing principle of *ahimsa* He believed and preached with irrepressible firmness that if Hindus and Sikhs and others in India could ensure safety to Muslims and restore confidence in them, the Muslims in Pakistan could not fail—in fact could not help—reciprocating on the other side of the border He was therefore insisting that we on this side should treat the Muslims fairly and like brothers irrespective of what was being done on the other side

One evil act cannot justify another evil act a good act is its own justification and does not stand in need of being reciprocated It was this insistence which alienated some from him and the general atmosphere of distrust and hatred which have been generated made it possible for one to contemplate and perpetrate his murder

ERADICATE THE POISON

The Conference felt that the most stressing problem was the eradication of this poison from our social life It can be achieved by men and women of faith and goodwill devoting themselves in their own spheres and in their own lives to it The Conference, therefore insisted that all who had faith in Gandhiji's principles and who professed to follow his teachings should treat this as the most urgent work and devote themselves to it

REHABILITATION OF IMMIGRANTS

It was also felt by the Conference that it would be most difficult to restore sanity in our communal relationship if there were millions of men and women with bitter memories of unspeakable atrocities and unbearable suffering rankling in their hearts and without any satisfactory arrangements for their rehabilitation It was therefore necessary that service should be rendered to all immigrants and sufferers without distinction of caste and creed The problem of their relief and rehabilitation is so vast and tremendous that it is not possible for any non-official organization to tackle it. Even the Government with its utmost will and with its vast resources has found it a most difficult task It is doing its best and using all its resources for this purpose But non official organizations and individuals can help the Government and its machinery and also independently render valuable service to the sufferers in other ways. An appeal was therefore made to the workers present to take up the work of service to the immigrants It is satisfactory to note that as a result of this Shri Vinoba Bhave, with a band of tried and experienced workers, is proceeding to study the problem of relief and see where and in what way the constructive workers can render useful service

SHANTI DALS

Gandhiji had for a long time been considering the desirability and feasibility of raising a band of workers who would devote themselves more or less exclusively to the maintenance of peace amongst people He had on more than one occasion suggested the organization of a Shanti Sena But for some reason or other, this could not be accomplished during his lifetime If the communal tension has to be removed some organization of this sort would be of immense help It was therefore decided at the Conference that efforts should be made to organize 'Shanti Seva Dals It should be understood clearly that the Shanti Seva Dal is nothing like a police force or a body of volunteers whose function may be to suppress riots and disturbances The function of the Seva Dal will be by constant work among the people to create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill so that communal riots and disturbances may not occur at all and if they unfortunately do occur, to throw itself between the fighting forces and thus prevent or at any rate reduce the intensity of the clashes The Seva Dal being without any arms, and thoroughly non violent, will be able to achieve this

RAJENDRAPRASAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
A COURAGEOUS DECISION	VALLABHBHAI PATEL	49
AN URGENT NEED	MANGALDAS PAKVASA	49
POLICY TOWARDS MINORITIES	K. G MASHRUWALA	49
THE SEVAGRAM RESOLUTIONS		50
THE NATIONAL WEEK	RAJENDRAPRASAD	51
WITH TRUST IN GOD	K. G MASHRUWALA	52
THE SEVAGRAM CONFERENCE	RAJENDRAPRASAD	52

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Initiation in Sarvodaya

Reg. No. 3092

HARIJAN

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 6 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY APRIL 11, 1948 TWO ANNAS

THE NIZAM'S STATE

Harrowing tales come from the Nizam's State every day For some months past a small but powerful clique has been committing acts of gross barbarity in various parts of the State and the neighbouring areas The State is unwilling or unable to stop them Unfortunately the ruler his officers and this powerful clique are all Muslims while the oppressed people are Hindus Religious difference is the apparent differentiating factor between the oppressors and the oppressed

For some years past Satan has entered out land in the guise of religion Since August 1946, we have seen him fully enough in his ugliest and most ferocious forms With two difficult fasts Gandhiji succeeded in checking his movements in Calcutta and Delhi Enraged at the obstruction put in his way, Satan revenged himself by taking the life of Gandhiji himself The Muslims both of India and Pakistan gratefully acknowledged his services

But this does not mean that Satan has retired from the Indian stage Restrained in the north and the east he has made his appearance in the land of the Nizam One cannot say what grave forms his acts will assume unless he is boldly restrained

State and political methods of testraining evil are different from the *satyagraha* methods Gandhiji has shown the latter A *satyagrahi* does not think in terms of so-called minorities and majorities He does not pause to judge who was the first or major wrong doer and who the second or minor one He considers only who is in actual danger — actually oppressed at the moment, and contributes all his might to save him This is expected from every *satyagrahi* but more particularly from a *satyagrahi* who belongs to the same society to which the oppressors belong. Thus Gandhiji spent all his energies for the Muslims as against the wrongful acts of the Hindus and Sikhs Similarly respectable Muslims should make strong efforts on behalf of the Hindus Sikhs etc where Muslims are guilty of oppression. The danger itself involved in such an attempt, makes the effort strong and of the nature of *satyagraha*

In my humble opinion thoughtful and respectable Muslims of India and Pakistan, as also of the Nizam's State itself should individually as well as collectively condemn the acts of the Muslim clique which in the name of the Muslim community tyrannizes over the people and run the risk involved in condemning them.

Wardha 28-3-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

WHAT I GOT FROM GANDHIJI

A young American travelling in India to gather knowledge about Gandhiji put me the other day a pertinent question

> 'What did you get most from Gandhiji in the course of your long association with him?

It was a simple and straight question, but it perplexed me and I did not know how I should answer it I had been for about thirty years in close association with him and, certainly, I had learnt countless things from him But I did not know how to make out a list of even a few important items After a few minutes' consideration I said

> I got his heart That is all that I can say in a word He gave me his love and put his trust in me and he did not take back any part of that love and trust whatever happened. Everything else that I might be able to summarize will be sub items of this'

I felt that the answer did not quite satisfy him He expected, perhaps a more detailed list illustrated with incidents and anecdotes But my memory did not help me that way and we parted for the night

Next morning, I told him that one item which I could mention specifically was his advice to us to speak directly to the person, about whom one had in one's mind something unfavourable to him. He said that our people sadly lacked this courage If a person had some suspicion or cause of dissatisfaction towards X he would speak about it to several others but never to X himself On the contrary, he would often receive and talk to X as if he had nothing against him in his mind We had developed the habit of not allowing our true mind to open before the right person We even considered it to be a piece of good manners Really it was weakness of character and Gandhiji desired us to be diligent in overcoming this timidity Gandhiji reminded me I said, of the advice Jesus gave his disciples that if one went to the temple to give an offering, but when about to do so remembered that he had something in his heart against a brother, he should immediately go to the brother and settle with him before the offering was given

I have endeavoured to put this advice into practice Generally the results have been good They would be better if I had developed along with it the habit of not getting a little excited at the time of expressing myself This want of control over my emotions was an obstacle Nevertheless, my experience was that a straight and direct talk and the expression of one's real opinion, even if it hurt for the time being the person spoken to, put

a check on misunderstanding hypocrisy and slander If a person spoke frankly to X himself about what he thought about him, the urge to go on speaking about it to others would disappear or, at least diminish

Wardha 29-3-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT

[In pursuance of the programme fixed at the Sevagram Conference, Shri Vinoba Bhave and party reached Delhi on 30th March 1948 the date on which Gandhiji had died two months ago After the evening prayer at the Rajghat cremation ground Shri Vinoba addressed the gathering in Hindustani The following is a summary of his sermon —*Ed.*]

Gandhiji's life Shri Vinoba said had closed with prayer, and it was in the fitness of things that the speaker should begin his attempt to continue Gandhiji's work with prayer

In a way he said, India had attained Swaraj But the atmosphere of the country had deteriorated since Gandhiji tried to improve it and laid down his life in the attempt. The work was still incomplete During the deliberations at Sevagram it became clear to those who participated in the Conference that the immediate duty of all thoughtful people was to concentrate their effort on the improvement of the atmosphere This had brought him Shri Jamnalal Shrimati Janakidevi Bajaj and others to Delhi

He and his colleagues were there to find out what assistance they could render to the refugees the Government and the Congress in connection with the Refugee Problem He did not know whether anything substantial would come out of their visit but it was for them to do their duty and leave the result to God The clear way, which Gandhiji had shown them, was that they were to go on doing what was right unmindful of the difficulties that lay in the way If life came to an end while they were still at work it would be so far as they were personally concerned, an end of their worries Once life Shri Vinoba said was like water flowing towards the sea Its aim was to reach the sea But if it got fixed up in filling a pit lying along the way it had performed its duty fully even though it did not reach the sea

Necessarily one of the tasks before them was to help what they could to mitigate the sufferings of the refugees But that was not the principal task Happiness and misery were a pair of life's companions Alternately one of them always accompanied it In course of time the refugees would even forget their present miseries and begin to taste the pleasures of life Relief therefore though necessary was not the most important task The principal task was to purify the atmosphere of hatred which had pervaded the country It was not possible to purify that atmosphere with forces of counter and stronger hate Love alone could purify it The power of the State could not bring that Only the people outside the official world could do it The State could help them But the burden lay upon the people themselves

Shri Vinoba said that he wanted to say one thing at once People must banish from their minds the idea of a Hindu Raj If they wanted *dharma* — religion — to spread and prosper they must give up the idea of linking it with power The experiment had been often tried and the result in result had been that it was religion which was the loser The aims and ideals of religion were contrary to those of power Those who sought and taught religious truths renounced power placed themselves outside the influence of worldly pleasure and pain and gave themselves to meditation and self discipline It was this life of austerity and renunciation which spread its lustre on the people and made people pay homage to religions and accept their teachings No political power was needed for propagating religion None had propagated Hinduism throughout the length and breadth of India more successfully and ably than Shankaracharya But he did not do it with the assistance of Power He had said that true knowledge was the only means of propagating the principles of religion and it was to be imparted by appeal to reason If the appeal to reason did not succeed once it should be made again and again till it did. Knowledge alone could remove the darkness of ignorance It was well known that the *Gayatri* — the prince of the *mantras* in Hinduism — was a prayer to God for the gift of reason.

One of the great beliefs of Hinduism Shri Vinoba said was the theory of rebirth Was it possible, he asked to compel a person to accept the belief by enacting a law to that effect and to banish or imprison him if he refused to do so? He knew on the one hand several Hindus who did not accept this doctrine and on the other a few non Hindus who tended to favour it Could the State prevent the former from refusing to believe in rebirth, or the latter from inclining towards it?

The gist of his argument was that religion was a subject of the spirit and it could be spread only by meditation, knowledge, self-discipline and experience

Gandhiji, he said, had left for them an example to follow Gandhiji had objected to safety measures being employed at his prayer meetings He wanted to be left into the hands of God always. but particularly so at the time of prayer To pray under measures of external safety would be self contradictory A prayer ceased to be so if the worshipper instead of surrendering himself completely to God, placed himself into the hands of guards. Let therefore, Hindus, as also followers of other religions give up the idea of associating religion with power Both would suffer thereby

The fundamental principles of the modern world were that every government should recognize the equality of all men, give equal justice to all and regard none as high or low No government that did not recognize those principles could be stable If a stable government was sought religion must not be linked up with power Both would prosper if each kept itself in its own sphere

There was one more subject he would like to speak upon India was a great and ancient country The world had cast its eyes towards her in expectation of a lead. Rumours were afloat about a third world war coming Could India it was asked keep aloof from it? The speaker hoped that the rumours would not come true, at least in the near future But what should India do if a war did break out? In his opinion, India should work with confidence in her mission If she acted right, she could check the war, and save both herself and the world from dire

destruction India should not be carried off her feet by the so called contrary world currents Every country, every person even carried its or his independent atmosphere, which could be kept unsullied in spite of contrary forces Man was not a mere aggregate of material particles He was a spiritual being He could keep himself and even spread round about him an atmosphere of *satyayuga* (righteousness) in the midst of *kaliyuga* (evil) prevailing all round

Although India had considerably degenerated, still the world respected her The respect was due to the fact that in achieving her independence, she had not resorted to means commonly adopted by nations for achieving their political independence If India wanted to retain that respect, she should establish peace and unity in the land The moral power of the Government of India would thereby increase considerably Other countries had considerably advanced in physical power If India wanted to vie with them in physical power she could do so only by placing herself under their control in some manner or another But if she relied upon her moral power, she could fulfil the expectations of the world in spite of the fact that she had only just come to her own

An examination of the tributes paid by the world to Gandhiji after his death disclosed an almost uniform faith that the world could have peace and freedom only by going the way which Gandhiji had shown to India Gandhiji was the first to fulfil Manu's prophecy made two thousand years ago that the thinkers of India would mould the moral character of the world India needed to follow Gandhiji faithfully for the further fulfilment of that prophecy That was the only way to world peace and happiness

THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER

[During the Gandhi mourning period public prayers were held at Gopuri in Wardha where Shri Vinoba Bhave generally addressed the audience a few words after the prayer The following is a free translation of his address on 14 2 '48 Before addressing the meeting he had given a recitation of his Marathi metrical rendering of *Al Fatiha* the first Chapter of the *Quran*

Ed]

Shri Vinoba said that he had often recited that song at prayers The translation had been accepted as correct by Muslim scholars, but some felt that until they heard the Arabic sounds their sentiments were not satisfied A similar feeling was shared by the admirers of Sanskrit The *Gita* (the speaker's Marathi translation of the *Gita*) had become very popular in Maharashtra The villagers had begun to recite it But, he said he know several persons who said that unless it was recited in Sanskrit, they did not get full spiritual satisfaction They did not understand Sanskrit Necessarily therefore, they could not even pronounce it correctly Still, a complex had developed that Sanskrit Arabic and Hebrew were the languages of religion and the mere recital in these languages was meritorious by itself In his opinion it was blind faith and a superstition Except for such *mantras* or incantations which were supposed to be efficacious by reason of mere pronunciation in a particular form, there was little value in mere mechanical recitation of a prayer without the mind dwelling upon its contents and consciously utilizing it for soul-purification through its meaning. He thought that it was even dishonest to desire such merit because, it meant that the reciter wanted merit to accrue to him without being put to the trouble of purifying the mind The desire for cheap merit led to the degeneration of religion

He did not consider that one's mother-tongue was not sufficient for one's spiritual development He could understand the necessity of studying a national language and a provincial language. But that had nothing to do with one's spiritual development The mother-tongue was quite sufficient for that If spiritual knowledge could not be gained except through some such language as Sanskrit Arabic or Hebrew then the masses would always remain miles away from religion Such a notion was a danger both to religion and society

Shri Vinoba, continuing, said that he had often recited the *Ishopanishad* in Marathi before villagers The original *Upanishads* were a closed book even to ordinary students of Sanskrit But the Marathi rendering could be understood by the villagers and he saw that they were moved by it If he had recited it in Sanskrit he alone could have understood its meaning and he would have thus separated himself from the people, as they separated themselves from the masses in railways where a few travelled in the first or second class leaving the third for the common people So he firmly felt that religious books should be available to the public in their own languages If they could have very good translations of the old scripture they should have them Otherwise, the *abhangs* of Tukaram the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas and the songs of Narsinh Mehta and similar other original literature in popular languages should be considered quite sufficient They must give up the superstition that spiritual knowledge was locked up in particular languages only

Not that he was opposed to the study of Sanskrit He had often taught Sanskrit himself and he would say further that those who wanted to study Sanskrit would do well to learn it through the *Gita* the *Upanishads*, etc But that did not mean that it was necessary to know Sanskrit for one's spiritual development. The mother-tongue was a proper and sufficient medium for that purpose

There was a similar superstition, he said with regard to the script also He had known a Kannada gentleman who thought that unless one read the *Gita* printed in the Devanagari script, he could not get the full spiritual benefit of it This was script pride, but, he concluded wherever there was pride, the spirit disappeared

राग सैरवी—ताल कुमाऊी

आरभी देवाची नाम कृपाळु जो करुणाळू[1] —ध्रु.
स्तुति त्या देवाची, प्रभु जो शिकावा,
कृपाळु करुणाळू त्याचा अवघ्या दिनाचा ॥
तुझे करू भक्ति, तुझी च रे वाचना
सरळ मार्गे दाखिव[2] मार्गाचा —
ज्यांवरि तू करितोसि कृपा त्यांचा,
न ज्यांवरि तुझा क्रोध सुरा,
न वा प्रीति जे त्यांचा
म्हण रे देव तो नेक, देव तो निरपेक्षचि,
नसे[3] पिता नसे पुत्र, नसे कोणि हि[3] तत्पन

१ मायाळू, करुणायुक्त. २ नहीं ३ कोनी भी

HARIJAN

April 11 1948

INITIATION IN SARVODAYA

For sometime past it was felt that the various Constructive Organizations which have been working independently of one another all along (with occasional co operation in carrying out particular programmes), had not been able to spread the lustre expected out of a life of non-violence. The reason was that each worked with a narrow organizational outlook The necessity for joint co-ordinated work had arisen and the Constructive Workers Conference passed a resolution recommending such a step As a matter of course this led to thinking in terms of unification. Unification presupposes a change in the personal life of the workers of the various *sanghs* in terms of a unified programme The following seven rules were suggested as the first minimum observances for workers in any form of constructive activity, and the A I S A. duly passed a resolution on these lines

1. Every worker should be a regular spinner
2 He should wear *khadi* which is either self spun or home spun or certified
3 As far as possible he should use village-made things
4 He should endeavour to use cow's milk when at home
5 He should clean latrines or do some village sanitation work personally at least once in a month
6 Wherever a basic school was available he should educate his children in that institution
7 He should try to learn the Devanagari the Urdu and one of the South Indian scripts

Let us consider each of the items one by one

1 This is not intended for making regular spinning a kind of ritual It is put forth as symbolic of keeping firm to the basic principle of life namely that there should be some kind of work, which every individual young or old high or low should do in common Spinning furnishes a visible testimony of what combined work can achieve. It is initiation in *sarvodaya* (common weal) I suggest that the spinner will not think of being shivers made by others but that he will prepare his own shivers by *tanai* and accessory processes on unsized cotton This also is a part of spinning and it does not matter if occasionally he has to spend all his time on the accessory processes and is unable to spin Also he should remember that spinning is not complete until the yarn is duly double twisted

2 There is no objection to a person who spins fine counts giving his own fine *khadi* to another and using the latter's coarse *khadi* himself Rather it is better to practise an operation along with self sufficiency The purchase of certified *khadi* must be confined to supplement the needs It must not become the principal source of providing one self with *khadi*

3 The words as far as possible must not be construed to enable oneself to escape with least observance They are necessary because village made things are numerous The aim is the development of rural-mindedness Clarity of purpose is more important than mere mechanical observance of a specific rule If the purpose is clear the observance gets endowed with a meaning Otherwise it is blind performance and a burden

4 The rule about cow's milk has been purposely diluted to enable workers to go about on their work. It is also meant to indicate that in the insistence on cow's milk there is no hostility towards the buffalo This attitude will even help the buffalo to a certain extent The concentration of effort on the cow is just a present necessity

5 If we want to remove the distinction between the Harijans and the others the untouchability attached to the services usually performed by them must also go The rule suggested above is in recognition of this principle Every person creates nuisance and so every person must also join in cleaning it If the so called upper class people begin to participate in this kind of work with enthusiasm and earnestness, we shall have brought about a very great and necessary social revolution

6 If one thinks that Basic Education is the best type and method of education it would be ridiculous if one gave it to other people's children and deprived one's own from its benefits Indeed it was necessary, therefore, to put down this rule But at times we are apt to overlook the obvious and hence this specific mention was needed

7 I am responsible for the suggestion to learn a Dravidian script in addition to the Devanagari and the Urdu. I believe that we will not succeed in achieving all India unity without this effort The study of the language will necessarily follow the knowledge of the script There are four South Indian languages and three scripts It is sufficient to study any one of these for recognizing the principle underlying the suggestion And if the principle and its importance are understood the task is not very difficult I say from my own experience that the South Indian languages are less difficult for a northerner than the North Indian languages with their chaos in respect of genders are for a southerner But difficulties apart it does not become us to ask the southerners to study Hindustani in the name of unity while we ourselves take no trouble to do anything to help it. It will simply not work The easiest way of studying the script is to get moderately acquainted with the alphabet first and then to read a book of a known text (like the *Gita*) printed in that script to acquire practice in it If all Indian scripts adopt the Tamilian or Lok nagari rule of doing away with special forms of conjunct consonants and continuous to write them in a uniform manner by placing a conjunctive mark on the unvowelled consonant the study of scripts would become a very light task indeed But this is possible only when wisdom dawns upon the writers of the various scripts

The above is a programme of discipline for self-elevation It has been made obligatory on the workers of the various *sanghs* But indeed, it is one for every one of us to accept If the *sevaks* of the Sarvodaya Samaj adopt these rules of conduct the Samaj will spread like sunshine in every direction. The rules are only illustrative A thoughtful *sevak* must make additions to them with an eye to his own moral uplift Only, he must observe two conditions in making the additions First the observance must not be carried as a burden It should guide life like a compass and make its course simpler than before Secondly, the observance should not be made use of for making invidious comparisons between individuals If these conditions are not observed, the rules would defeat their purpose by making the observer narrow-minded and uncharitable Subject to these cautions, I shall say, if any one wants to become a *sevak*, let him discipline himself with appropriate observances VINOBA BHAVE

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

WHAT SHOULD GOD HAVE DONE?

A young *Gramasevak* writes

The assassination of Bapu makes me doubtful about the existence of God. Bapu had left himself entirely into the hands of God neither God nor Nature could save him against blind violence. The mightiest embodiment of non violence broke down physically before it This makes me think and my thinking does not go to make my faith firm in God Why should Bapu fall a victim to this blind force?

There are other letters with similar doubts Questions simpler than those regarding the nature of God are not easy to understand. It is not through intellectual thinking only that all doubts are resolved Intellectual reasoning has to be backed with observation, experiment and experience Age is also a factor in matters depending on experience For instance, one cannot make a boy of eight understand sex questions even if he has been brought up in sensuous surroundings He would begin to understand them more quickly than other boys of his age but still not before the age of twelve or thirteen at the least Much more so higher truths pertaining to the spirit. *Sadhana* i e. self-discipline and age are necessary along with other factors If the questioner thinks it worthwhile pursuing this matter he must not try to get ready-made answers to his queries Let him think hard, lead a disciplined life and get sufficient experience — internal as well as external — of life for a long time Then, possibly, he might find an explanation which will satisfy him at least, if not all.

But I can help him by making his questions clearer to him Really speaking the question raised by him is not whether God exists or not but whether a God of the type of a constitutional monarch of a democratic State exists or not He thinks that millions of people wanted Gandhiji to live A few misguided or evil-minded ones voted for his death Why should God if He exists, not implement the will of the majority? Let God or someone on His behalf explain this clearly or abdicate Since this is the substance of the doubt, well, God is anything except a constitutional monarch of a democratic State He indeed has a Constitution and acts strictly constitutionally, but the Constitution is a good deal unwritten and no one knows it fully

Then his doubt also amounts to this Is God always good or for the good? Why do evil things take place in this world? Here are two presumptions one, that what one thinks to be good or evil must be so and second that if God's Constitution allows freedom of action to do what one regards to be evil, His Constitution must be defective Both the presumptions might be entirely wrong But in making these presumptions what the doubter really wants is a God who will make the doubter's will His and act up to it Men of God, however think otherwise They say, Thy Will is Thine to make it ours So I would advise young friends not to try to understand or judge God by our present knowledge of the world and Him but try to seek Him earnestly, if they have the will to pursue the matter to its end, and at the same time to be good themselves and do good to others, believing in the meanwhile with humility and seeking peace in faith.

Wardha, 24-3-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE EXTENT OF OUR COUNTRY

Do Pakistan and Ceylon cease to be parts of our country because of their political independence from the Indian Union? Do the people of those places cease to be our countrymen?

Politically, before the British became a paramount power in India that is, before 1857 there was hardly a period when there were not more independent States in India than one Generally there was always at least some part howsoever small it might have been, which was absolutely independent

Daman is a part of Portuguese territory The district of Surat, which begins within about five or seven miles from Daman, is in India Portugal is not a member even of the British Commonwealth. Pakistan and Ceylon are Still does any inhabitant of Surat feel that the people of Daman are foreigners? Does a Damanite regard a Surati as a foreigner? Inspite of caste, communal and religious differences, inspite of handicaps due to customs regarding food and drink and touchability, inspite of complete political and administrative independence, there has always been a sentiment that the people of Bengal and Gujarat Kathiawad and Madras — Hindu, Muslim, Parsi or Sikh — in some way constitute a single people It is wrong to say that this sentiment was developed by British rule Shankaracharya of South India established his centres in Kashmir, Orissa and Kathiawad. Vallabhacharya born in the Central Provinces spread his cult round about Mathura Sahajananda of Ayodhya propagated his cult in Gujarat and Gujaran Swami Dayanand did so in the Punjab All this took place long before the British came or during the early days of the British period.

It may be that before British rule our language with regard to the oneness of the nation

was defective and the sentiment was imperfectly developed The language is defective even today An immigrant of Gujarat or U P living in Maharashtra might be heard to say to another that he had not visited his *desh* (country) for two years and that he was living in *pardesh* (another country) A Gujarati may ask another Gujarati which place he belonged to 'in the *desh*' (at home) But this is only defective language He never believes that a Maharashtrian or a Bengali of whatever community is a foreigner in the sense in which an Englishman or a Negro, a Chinese or a Japanese is He simply uses the word *desh* (country) for *prante* (province)

Just as Daman though under Portugal is a part of Gujarat so also, the East and the West Bengals and the East and the West Punjabs, Assam Sind, Baluchistan the N W F Province though under separate and independent political administrations are parts of the same country Political arrangements might change from time to time as circumstances require Religious persuasions might also change Languages also might alter But if we think in a straight manner and do not regard the external differences as basic and artificially try to make them permanent a Baluchi a Sindhi a Punjabi, a Pathan or an East Bengali will not cease to be a fellow countryman of ours in our mind Nor will any inhabitant of those provinces ever think of considering us as foreigners in the same sense in which he would consider a Chinese or a Japanese or a European to be a foreigner An indefinable geographical and cultural unity so binds us together that this whole country extending from the Frontier and Pakistan to Assam and Ceylon is imbedded in our minds as our common fatherland. The parts of both the dominions are *swadesh* Their inhabitants are *deshbandhus* The good of the one is the good of the other, and their misfortunes also common misfortunes Political arrangements are transitory The Qaid-e-Azam or communalist Hindus or Sikhs may not accept this today but some day they will have to do it. It is as much correct to enumerate today, as we did before, as parts of our country —

Punjab, Sind Gujarat Maratha Dravid
Utkal Banga,
Vindhya Himachal Yamuna, Ganga
ullchhal Sindhu taranga

Wardha 31-3-48 K G MASHRUWALA

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9 47 to 30-1-48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

Gandhiji himself has said in one of these prayer speeches that '*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer*' These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM

To those of us who had the privilege of working with Gandhiji every week when the *Harijan* was being edited by him it seems strange to be writing for its columns without submitting the same to the searching gaze of that prince of journalists The care and thought he bestowed on whatever he himself wrote, the eagle eye with which he vetted every word of what even a man like Mahadev Desai wrote his insistence on right expression on the adherence to truth where facts were concerned on the necessity of not using one word more than necessary, his appreciation of a good literary style, his ruthless weeding out of much or wholesale discarding of what one thought was good all these are never-to-be forgotten lessons But the remembrance of them makes one pause and wonder whether any one of our poor efforts can ever come up to the high standard of journalism which was one of Gandhiji's incomparable contributions to public life

The *Harijan* was read over the whole of India and in many countries abroad not only because of the rich food for thought which Gandhiji's writings always gave but also because readers knew that what facts they gleaned there from were cent per cent true And after having read the *Harijan* there was always the satisfaction that one had learnt something that one did not know before And how obvious that something often was

Gandhiji himself became a journalist almost by accident, as it were The need early arose for a paper during his struggle in South Africa and with his usual energy and determination he put his hand to the wheel and writing became an easy thing for him as indeed did everything to which he turned his attention

On Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has fallen a heavy burden and it behoves us all to help him all we can

If the columns of the *Harijan* can continue to remind us of the things which Gandhiji taught us to value if the *Harijan* can by being true to his ideals help us to be true to them it will serve a great purpose

Gandhiji had been greatly distressed of late at the general falling away from truth of the Press He hated the speculation indulged in the matter of appointments which he felt was no concern of journalists He hated fabrication of news he disliked the emphasis often laid on things of little value; he did not understand how any journalist worthy of the name could resort to what are known as 'scoops', he held that even if news that was meant to be secret leaked out to the Press, it was the duty of the Press to withhold publication of it until it was released from authentic sources Gandhiji loathed the indecent advertisements that so often adorn our newspapers and journals He often told me that a journal or paper that could not exist without money from advertisements was not worth reading It was reading matter that weighed with him and nothing else He laid the greatest stress imaginable on the influence for good or evil which the Press could wield

All work in whatever sphere which means primarily of service in Gandhiji's eyes Newspapers and journals can build up a fitting memorial to him in this matter by conforming or trying to conform to the unimpeachable standards of journalism prescribed by our revered and beloved leader

New Delhi 29-3-'48 A K

SARVODAYA SAMAJ

Enquiries are being made regarding the Sarvodaya Samaj and its rules and literature The reader will find in the *Harijan* papers of the 4th April the main resolution which was passed about it at the Sevagram Conference and also an article by Dr Rajendraprasad, explaining its background. The names of the members of the Executive Committee of the Samaj are also given at the end of the resolution. This committee will at its convenience elect its office bearers (if any necessary), and will take such steps as are necessary to carry on its work It should be noticed that Dr Rajendraprasad and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala who were authorized to nominate the above committee have themselves no place in it They are and will remain *sevaks* of the Samaj and in that capacity render whatever help they are capable of giving But for *information* and *particulars* regarding the Samaj the proper person to be addressed is Shri R S Dhotre Convener, Sarvodaya Samaj Bajajwadi Wardha It would be very convenient if on all letters the word 'Sarvodaya Samaj' is specifically mentioned

As a matter of fact there is nothing particular to know about it immediately beyond what appeared in the issue of the *Harijan* above mentioned The name Sarvodaya Samaj may appear new to some But, there is nothing in it which we did not know before The public already has before it the writings and literature of Gandhiji and his Constructive Associations They are expected to continue as before They will be more or less the literature of the Sarvodaya Samaj But even if there was no literature in existence, the main rule for a *sevak* of the Samaj is simply this He must always keep in view the two fundamental principles of Truth and Non violence and, consistently with these by his personal life and acts of service work for increasing the happiness of the people and raising the level of their physical intellectual moral and economic standard of life The various constructive activities mentioned in the resolution are illustrative items indicating the direction in which work could be done These items may be added to according to necessity It is not necessary that a *sevak* should begin and carry on work only under the instructions and guidance of this Committee and wait till they are received. The Committee will try to guide him if it is needed But, even without its help, he can serve the people in his own capacity and according to his own lights, and also help and seek help from others in doing so

The Sarvodaya Samaj is not a political or a religious body Nor is it wedded to any particular 'ism Any person who agrees with its aims and earnestly believes in Truth and Non violence as the only correct conduct can deem himself as a *sevak* of the Samaj, whatever political economic and religious opinions he might hold. Nobody can object to his claim to be such a *sevak* No prestige [illegible] It is only through [illegible] service work that one can aspire to get [illegible] the satisfaction that one gets by [illegible] be a *sevak* of the Samaj and making [illegible] to mould one's personal life and [illegible] in accordance with its principles is itself [illegible] strength It was for fostering the spirit of service and strengthening faith in the moral law that the necessity for an organization like the Sarvodaya Samaj was felt by those who assembled at Sevagram

Wardha, 30-3-'48 SHYAMLAL

[Shri Dhotre having accompanied Shri Vinoba on his Delhi tour, Shri Shyamlal of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund is looking into the Sarvodaya Samaj correspondence on his behalf. As he has received several enquiries in respect of the Samaj, he has issued the above circular at my suggestion

Wardha, 2-4-'48 K. G M]

STORY HOUR

(*Continued from Vol XI No 45 p 462*)

[XXXV is from *Confidence and Courage* (General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches) and XXXVI from *Be Comforted* edited by W E. George (The Lindsey Press) V G D]

XXXV

Well God mend all!'

'Nay by God Dogsld but we must help him to mend it!'

Sir Walter Scott

XXXVI

You remember that lovely French Countess of La Garaye, who rode forth one morning with her gay company to lead the hunt and was brought back an hour later thrown from her horse and crippled for life and then how, after much repining at her lot, she joins her husband in transforming their castle into a home for incurables like herself, until at last a new and solemn happiness blesses their burden-bearing home and their lives become, as the poem says

A tale of noble souls who conquered grief
By dint of tending suffering not their own

Francis Greenwood Peabody

XXXVII

A pigeon was asked the reason why unlike the domestic fowl it could not bring up more than two young ones at a time It replied The young pigeon gets its food from the stomach of its parents while the young of a fowl feed themselves on garbage by the roadside One stomach cannot feed more than two young ones while a dunghill can feed a thousand chickens per day

'If you would live on lawfully acquired food do not have a large family You must know that in this strait and narrow defile lawful food cannot be had in large quantities' *Jami, Op Cit*

Corrections

1 On page 50 (No 5), column 2 at the bottom in place of the sentence ending with the words *constructive work* read coostructive work in accordance with Shri J C Kumarappa's scheme.

2 On page 55 (No 5) column 1 in lines 41-42 for words *so that they* read *and* also at the end of line 42 after *and* add *whose words*

NEW A I S A RESOLUTIONS

The following are a few of the important resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees of the A I S A at its sittings held at Sevagram from 17th to 19th March last

1. The New President

Shri Dharmdas Mirchandani was elected President of the A I S A (vice Gandhiji)

2 New Trustees

Shri Narayandas K Gandhi and Shrimati Ramadevi Chaudhari were co opted as additional life Trustees

3. Khadi Jagat and other periodicals

The A I S A the A I V I A and the Hindustani Talim Sangh were each having its own periodical The Board was of opinion that it was desirable to have a common journal for the three bodies the editor of the *Khadi Jagat* was therefore empowered to do the needful in the matter He should as early as possible hold consultation with the editors of the *Nai Talim*, and the *Gramodyog Patrika* and decide about the form and date of the publication of the amalgamated journal. In case there was a likelihood of delay in amalgamating all the three at once even two may be combined.

(Note In consultation with the Hindustani Talim Sangh it had been decided to merge the *Nai Talim* into the *Khadi Jagat* The question of the *Gramodyog Patrika* was under discussion with Shri I C Kumarappa)

4. Abandonment of the Yarn Condition

The Charkha Sangh felt that the condition (in the proposed new constitution of the Indian National Congress) that a candidate for a Congress Panchayat must be a habitual wearer of *khadi* was a great step in the advance of the *khadi* movement In order therefore to make *khadi* obtainable with less difficulty the Charkha Sangh decided to remove the yarn condition imposed upon certified Khadi Bhandars The remaining conditions being meant for ensuring purity of *khadi* and non exploitation of labour would remain Having done this the A.I S A would hereafter devote all its attention upon self sufficiency work That is to say it will not engage itself in the production and sale of *khadi* as such If for some time it was necessary to facilitate self spinners to obtain their supplementary *khadi* necessities it would try to meet their demand It would take some time for the Charkha Sangh to make these changes In the meanwhile whatever *khadi* was sold by the Charkha Sangh would be sold on the yarn condition as before

5. Seven Observances

The co ordination of the various All India Constructive Sanghs was under consideration One of the principal ideas underlying it was that trustees office bearers and members of the staff of every Sangh joining the co ordinated body should think in terms of the entire Constructive Programme and, therefore they should order their own life in such manner that they would not be mere verbal propagandists of the programme but would further the Constructive Programme by their very mode of life As a step in this direction it was considered necessary that office bearers and members of the staff should observe certain fundamental rules of conduct

The following seven rules were adopted for the purpose

1 Le[illegible] village sanitation [illegible] a month

2 He must be a regular spin[illegible]

3 He must wear *khadi* which [illegible] spun or home spun or certified

4 As far as possible he should [illegible] things

5 He should endeavour to use [illegible] at home

6 Whatever a basic school was available must educate his children in that institution

7 He must try to learn the Devanagari the Urdu and one of the South Indian scripts

These observances must be accepted by every Sangh desiring to join the co-ordinated body

Note The Board of Trustees of the A I S A resolved that all the seven observances above mentioned would be compulsory for the Trustees, but the last one namely, study of three scripts would not be compulsory for the members of the staff. The reason was that the Sangh had on its staff several workers who did not at present know even their own script very well It was not, therefore possible to make the rule compulsory for them

6. Co-ordinated Sangh

In respect of the co ordination of the All India Sanghs the A I S A was of opinion that in the beginning it would be practical to co ordinate only the A I S A the A I V I A and the Hindustani Talim Sangh The inclusion of other Associations should be considered later on after obtaining experience of the working of the co-ordination of these three The Sangh was also of the opinion that instead of dissolving these three Sanghs, it would be more profitable to allow each to carry on its activities autonomously with its specialities but in a way whereby each benefited from the activities and experiences of other two

7. Yarn Contribution for the Gandhi Memorial Fund

The Board considered the letter of the Gandhi Memorial Fund New Delhi dated 11 3 48 and resolved that the Branches of the Sangh should accept the yarn contributions for that Fund. For this purpose they should get special receipt books from the Memorial Fund Committee When accepting the contribution the secretary should see that the receipt mentioned the count, weight and price of the yarn contributed. Yarn contributed for this purpose should not be credited in the yarn card of the contributor nor should it be sold back to him

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

CONTENTS		PAGE
THE NIZAM S STATE	K G MASHRUWALA	57
WHAT I GOT FROM GANDHIJI	K G MASHRUWALA	57
VINOBA AI RAJGHAT	VINOBA BHAVE	58
THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER	VINOBA BHAVE	59
INITIATION IN SARVODAYA	VINOBA BHAVE	60
WHAT SHOULD GOD HAVE DONE?	K G MASHRUWALA	61
THE EXTENT OF OUR COUNTRY	K G MASHRUWALA	61
STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM	A K	62
SARVODAYA SAMAJ	SHYAMLAL	63
STORY HOUR	V G D	63
NEW A. I. S A. RESOLUTIONS		64

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Insistence on Right Means

Reg No B 3092

HARIJAN

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No 7 AHMEDABAD - SUNDAY APRIL 18 1948 TWO ANNAS

3072

ETIQUETTE IN ADVERTISEMENT

Acharya J B Kripalani Secretary Gandhi National Memorial Fund in a statement which he issued to the Press some days ago said

'I have been pained to read in the papers advertisements inserted by private firms invoking the name of Gandhiji ostensibly to pay homage to his memory but really to help to the advertisement of their particular wares Often the wares advertised are such as Gandhiji would have considered harmful and unpatriotic to use But even when the wares are socially useful, it is wrong to associate Gandhiji's name with their sale which is for private profit Gandhiji as is well known was against advertisements in general and never accepted any for the journals with which he was connected It is therefore paying scant homage to his memory to exploit his name for ends which he disapproved. The best homage to Gandhiji is to respect the ideals for which he lived and to work towards their realisation I hope the business community will respond to my appeal and will refrain from the use of Mahatma Gandhi's name in their advertisements

"The desire of the business community as of all other sections of the public, to associate themselves with homage to Gandhiji's memory is natural and worthy But there are other and more desirable means of doing so than through advertisements One such means is to contribute liberally to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund which I have no doubt they are doing and will do It will also help to lighten the task of the Memorial Fund Committee if business firms undertake to collect donations from their own employees on behalf of the Committee

'I would also deprecate cinema shows or race or other performances, amateurish or professional being organized on behalf of or in aid of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund All those activities may be undertaken by the organizers on their own responsibility and the public may patronize them for their merit if any The name of Gandhiji should not be associated with activities to which he was either indifferent or opposed during his lifetime

"I hope newspapers will continue to give their very valuable co-operation to the Memorial Committee by giving publicity to the objects of the Fund and by reminding the public of their duty to contribute to it. I would suggest that each news paper and journal should regularly devote space in its columns for this purpose

The above statement did not come too early The protest had become due shortly after August 15th when every business house began to advertise itself with a picture of the National Flag We in India and particularly Hindus are considerably thoughtless about the way in which we take liberties with those whom we adore most The pictures of Hindu gods and *avatars* are printed with impunity on match-boxes cigarette-cartons wine-bottles sign-boards of shops and what not On the one hand we worship them as divine beings, and on the other display them on the stage and the screen and name our business concerns after them

You will not see Jesus or Mohammad represented on the stage or displayed on advertisements and signboards or a business-house, such as Jesus Christ Mills or Rasul Mohammad Pharmacy Christian or Muslim public opinion would not tolerate it When you attach a kind of divinity to a person, it should be considered bad manners — if not blasphemy — to reproduce his image or presume to play his part or name your concern after him in a light manner

Wardha 4-4-48 K G MASHRUWALA

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND RECEIPTS

A complaint has been made I think quite properly that these receipts have been printed in English Village workers and donors would not be able to understand these Gandhiji wrote as follows from New Delhi on 11-9-47 that is within a month after the attainment of Dominion Status

Unless the Governments and their Secretariats take care the English language is likely to usurp the place of Hindustani This must do infinite harm to the millions of India who would never be able to understand English Surely it must be quite easy for the provincial governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the provincial languages and the inter provincial language which in my opinion can only be Hindustani written in the *Nagari* or *Urdu* script

'Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation

(*Harijan* dated 21st September, 1947)

If the Secretariat of the Gandhi Memorial Fund would not do this in spite of the fact that its provincial workers would find it more difficult to deal through English than through Indian languages, the Governments and the present secretariats could be well excused for being unprogressive and looking to their own convenience rather than the convenience of the people. The Fund Secretariat has consciously or unconsciously committed the same fault which Acharya Kripalani lays against business houses namely of using a medium, which Gandhiji in this context 'would have considered harmful and unpatriotic to use I hope the office will soon take steps to correct the fault

Wardha, 4-4-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

HINDUSTANI—A CLARIFICATION

It has become necessary to clarify the definition of and policy towards Hindustani—the State language of India I suggest the following

Hindustani has been defined as ' the common language of the people of towns and villages of the North which the Hindus and Mussalmans there use in their mutual intercourse and which is written in either the *Nagari* or the *Urdu* (Persian) script In literature this Hindustani takes the form of Hindi with the *Nagari* script and Urdu with the Persian script. Hindustani therefore in its literary form would be a happy blend of simple Hindi and simple Urdu

It must be made clear that this blend of Hindi and Urdu to be national, must be easy to understand for people of East, South and West—whose mother-tongue is neither Hindi nor Urdu nor any dialect of these two

It is evident therefore that Hindi and Urdu words which are common to most of the various provincial languages will have greater claim to be included in the standard vocabulary of Hindustani It has been found that Sanskrit words in their popular *prakrit* forms form the bulk of the vocabulary of all the Indian languages and as such they will take their natural place in Hindustani It is generally not recognized that the number of Arabic and Persian words that have gained currency in most of the provincial languages of India is by no means insignificant These words also will take their natural place in Hindustani by right of naturalization Words of utmost frequency both in Hindi and Urdu will of course be the main part of the vocabulary of Hindustani.

As regards the scripts of Hindustani it must be recognized that the *Nagari* will be the major script All records and accounts of the Central Government should generally be kept in the *Nagari* script The *Urdu* script being the minor script will come a close second. All notices and proclamations and statements for the general public should be issued in Hindustani—in both the *Nagari* and the *Urdu* scripts Citizens will have the right to address the Central Government in either of the two scripts and may well expect to receive replies in the script with which they are familiar

Government servants and teachers will be required to be proficient in Hindustani in both the scripts, senior and elderly officers being given the assistance of clerks knowing Hindustani with both its scripts

Hindustani should be a compulsory subject in all schools, above the four primary classes Special encouragement should be given to those who learn both the scripts either simultaneously or one after the other It must be the policy of the Government to make every effort short of compulsion to popularize the study of both the scripts

Wardha, 10-4-'48 KAKA KALELKAR

NEITHER ANGER NOR ATTACHMENT

(*By M K Gandhi*)

A friend writes

'I have read your article about the *Urdu* edition of the *Harijan* If it had not borne your name I would have thought that it was written by some one else in anger Shri Ivanji Desai's letter simply proves that there is no demand for the *Harijan* in the *Urdu* script Now could that be the reason for giving up the publication of the *Nagari* edition ? Do you think that you were on the wrong way when several years ago you started publication of the *Navajivan* in the *Nagari* script only ? The *Harijansevak* also for several years had been published in the *Nagari* script only

"I could have understood your step if the *Nagari* and the *Urdu* editions had been started for the sole purpose of propagating Hindustani But the *Nagari* edition was being published from the commencement (with a different end) If it was not self-supporting you would be justified in stopping it But I see no element of coercion in its threatened closure Is the *Nagari Harijansevak* a greater evil than even the English *Harijan* ? The right course would be to stop the publication of the English edition first, and not that the English edition should get—as it does at present, greater importance than the Indian languages editions How painful it is that though your post prayer speeches are given in Hindustani, your office summarizes them in English and translations of the English summaries are published in the Indian languages editions It appears that this practice has been put an end to recently Some years ago you had declared that as far as possible you would write your original articles in Gujarati or Hindustani and the English edition would give only translations This was done for some time but the old habit seems to have re-asserted itself

"I again request you to stop the English edition and publish the Indian languages editions only

If one says what is just the truth, it is a wrong use of the word 'anger' to say that it is done in *anger* Anger is followed by unbalanced action If the *Urdu* edition has to be stopped, the stopping of the *Nagari* edition becomes inevitable There can be no anger in doing a thing which is inevitable Of course, I cannot help if others like the correspondent do not agree with me that it is compulsory for me to stop the *Nagari* edition if I can't publish the *Urdu* one There are always two sides to every question and much though one might wish it is not possible to have unanimity of opinion in this world

Let me explain why I should stop both the editions and not only one It is true that when the *Nagari Navajivan* and the *Nagari Harijansevak* began their publications there was no dispute about the two *scripts* If there was, I at least don't know it.

In the meantime, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was founded at the suggestion of the late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj This rendered the issue of the *Urdu* edition absolutely necessary Now if I were to stop the *Urdu* and continue the *Nagari* only, it would be in my own eyes a highly improper act. For according to the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Hindustani means a language which may be written in both the scripts equally

Consequently, a paper published in both the scripts should continue in both This becomes all the more necessary, when people clamour on all sides that the National Language of India should be Hindi and that it should be written in the *Nagari* script only It is my duty to show that this claim or demand is not right. If my reasoning is correct, a further duty devolves on me that I should either publish the *Harijansevak* in both the scripts, or, stop both the editions

I accept that among all the scripts, the *Nagari* stands first in merit. I do not give out anything new in this I had come to this opinion even when I was in South Africa where I had actually begun to write Gujarati letters in the *Nagari* script. For want of time I could not pursue this subject to the end. No doubt there is room for reform in the *Nagari* script even as there is in other scripts But this is altogether a different matter I refer to this merely to show that there is not the least disaffection towards *Nagari* in my mind But when the lovers of *Nagari* oppose the *Urdu* script, I scent in it hatred and intolerance. The opponents have nor even the confidence that since *Nagari* is more perfect than the other scripts it must ultimately prevail If they looked at it from this point of view they would regard my decision to be correct and also inevitable

I am undoubtedly an advocate of Hindustani I believe that between the *Nagari* and *Urdu* scripts *Nagari* will prevail ultimately But if we leave aside the script and consider only the language then I say that Hindustani will win in the end as sanskritized Hindi is entirely artificial while Hindustani is quite natural In the same way persianized Urdu is artificial and unnatural. There are not many Persian words in my Hindustani but my Muslim friends and Hindus of the Punjab and North India assure me that they don t find it difficult to understand my Hindustani. I find very little argument in favour of Hindi It is significant that when I gave my first definition of Hindi in the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan there was very little opposition to it I would not like to remember far less relate the sorrowful history of how that opposition began I had gone to the length of saying that the name Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was not proper for propagating the National Language I adhere to the opinion then expressed.

But I had not accepted the presidentship of the Sammelan as a Hindi man of letters Shri Jamnalalji and other friends represented to me that whatever be the name, they did not take interest in the Sammelan as literary men but as promoters of the National Language It was this which made me work energetically for the propagation of the National Language in South India

I am dictating this from my bed early in the morning on the 6th day of my fast Many painful memories rush to my mind but I do not wish to dwell upon them

I am not interested in the controversy about the name The name may be any provided what we do is for the good of the country and the nation There should be no opposition to any name as such

Which Indian heart will not throb on hearing Iqbal s song *Sare jahanse achchha Hindostan hamara?* If there is one, I should consider it to be a misfortune Is the language of this song of Iqbal Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu? Who will say that this is not the National Language of India that the language is not sweet or that it does not express highest thought? To conclude, even if I were alone to say so, I am quite clear that ultimately neither sanskritized Hindi nor persianized Urdu will win the race Hindustani alone can do so Only when we have given up our internal quarrels, shall we forget these artificial controversies and feel ashamed of having created them

And now about the English *Harijan*. I consider it to be comparatively a minor point I cannot stop the English edition for the reason that Englishmen as well as Indian scholars of the English language consider me to be a good writer in the language My relations with the West are also increasing every day I never hated before and do not hate today Englishmen or other Westerners I wish them good as much as I wish good to my countrymen So I cannot cast out the English language from my small store of knowledge I do not wish to forget that language, nor do I wish all Indians to give up or forget it What I have always insisted upon is that it should not go out of its proper place It can never become the National Language of India or a medium of Indian education By doing this we have impoverished our own languages and put a great strain upon our students So far as I know this tragedy has taken place in India only Our slavery to this language has kept millions of our people deprived of useful knowledge for years. My regret is that we do not understand this, are not ashamed of it and do not repent it. It is a tragedy But with all this clear to me, I cannot boycott the English language Even as Tamil etc are the languages of different provinces, and Hindustani is the National Language of the country, so is English, the language of the world its international position cannot be disputed Imperialist rule of the Englishman will go because it was and is an evil. But the superior role of the English language cannot go

I believe that the English *Harijan* and the Gujarati *Harijanbandhu* will stand on their own legs for whatever I may publish in those languages

New Delhi 18-1-48 5-45 a m

(Translated from the original in the Harijan-sevak, dated 25 1-48)

HARIJAN

April 18 1948

INSISTENCE ON RIGHT MEANS

At the Sevagram Conference Shri Vinoba Bhave made several thought-provoking speeches. I hope to summarize them in a future issue of the *Harijan* In this article I shall confine myself only to one subject to which he had turned more than once He asked the members whether in spite of differences of ideologies castes etc it would not be possible for everybody to agree at least on one point namely that the means employed to secure an end should also be pure, and more so if the protagonist believed that his end was a lofty and noble one? He was confident, Shri Vinoba said that the use of violence to achieve any object, however lofty was bound to lead the people to disaster He felt that at least those who felt a sort of common meeting ground through Gandhiji should in the conduct of their particular organizations insist on using right means

As he said goodness or evil were not the monopoly of any organization. People professing every ideology had goodness and evil in them and they were all alike in this one respect What was necessary and profitable for the world was to take good from every one of them and discard the evil But it would be possible for the people to do this only if every organization insisted on abjuring untruth and violence for achieving their objects In the past people might have taken up arms out of genuinely merciful considerations but now we saw the futility of taking up arms for any cause however lofty Science had rendered impossible the placing of any limit on the type of armaments It was, therefore imperative to renounce violence altogether and accept only non-violent methods He did not consider that it was imperative to accept violence as a necessary evil for any organization whatever On the contrary if sensible people came together, the necessity for violence should diminish rather than increase But violence came in the wake of power which always sought to impose compliance from without to maintain itself

At a later stage Shri Vinoba referred to the R. S S and the mischief created by it This movement which had originated in Maharashtra had now taken the form of a philosophy It was almost inevitable that there would be different philosophies in different groups of thinkers But if they could all insist on not deviating from the path of right means a sort of moral front would be established which will have a salutary effect on others One who pledged himself to truth and non-violence would be a source of strength to a country in whatever sphere he worked. Gandhiji had always urged upon us to keep the means pure but we did not hearken to his voice It was a principle in wall construction explained Shri Vinoba that a wall must be at right angles to the ground No builder would say that an inclination by a few degrees was immaterial, though we knew that, in spite of precautions in actual construction there was often a slight deviation So also nobody could say that whittling down of truth and non-violence to suit exigencies was not of great consequence The insistence should be on truth and non-violence under all circumstances

At one stage Shri Jaiprakash Narayan who had also addressed the meeting declared that whatever opinion he might have held in the past about the relation between ends and means he had since become more than ever convinced about the necessity of right means He is reported to have repeated the same opinion at the Socialists' Conference held at Nasik shortly after the Sevagram Conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address to the Sevagram Conference was on the same lines His broadcast speech to America for the Chicago University Round Table programme gives expression to the same ideas in another form and deserves to be read in *extenso* His speech is reproduced in another part of this issue It is a happy and hopeful sign that Pandit Jawaharlal Shri Jaiprakash Narayan and Shri Vinoba leaders of three independent institutions with different, though allied ideologies should be in agreement on this most important practical issue The happiness of the people depends so much upon the adherence to this principle.

'Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple Science of non-violence alone can lead one to pure democracy,' wrote Gandhiji in the *Harijan* of 15-10-38 And again on the memorable 8th of August, 1942 he had said to the members of the A. I C C I believe that true democracy can only be an outcome of non-violence The structure of a world federation can be raised only on a foundation of non-violence and violence will have to be totally given up in world affairs.'

Wardha, 7-4-48 K G. MASHRUWALA

NOTICE

Residents of Delhi will please note that the office of our Delhi branch has been shifted to New Delhi All the *Harijan* weeklies the *Harijan* (English) the *Harijansevak* (Hindustani in both the scripts), and the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) are available at the office at

Navajivan Karyalaya (Branch)
U S. Communication Theatre Building,
Room No 26, 27 27A
Opposite Air India Connaught Place,
New Delhi

MAHATMA GANDHI RELICS PRESERVATION COMMITTEE

I

Some of the workers who had assembled in connection with the Constructive Workers' Conference at Sevagram met together under the Presidentship of Dr Rajendraprasad on Tuesday the 16th instant It was decided that a small committee to be known as Mahatma Gandhi Relics Preservation Committee should be formed for the purpose of collecting information about places, institutions and articles associated with Mahatma Gandhi and also for gathering together all such moveables of special interest as may be available The idea is to preserve and to make provisional arrangements to protect all such objects which are calculated to be of historical importance. When the Gandhi National Memorial Committee is in a position to appoint trustees and to undertake the task of preservation, it would take over the work of the Committee. In the meantime there is a risk of some of these things being lost or damaged and immediate steps are therefore necessary to prevent their loss or deterioration A committee has accordingly been formed consisting of Babu Rajendraprasad as Chairman, Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar as Secretary and Shri Devdas Gandhi Shri Pyarelal and Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj as members with powers to co-opt

The Committee desires to appeal to all those individuals, institutions and organizations who may have information about such places or articles or who may be in possession of them to give information to the Secretary or to any of the members of the Committee so that the Committee may take such steps as may be necessary for the purpose of securing, preserving and protecting them It is hoped that the Press will help the Committee and all individuals and organizations will respond to this appeal

There is no suggestion that persons possessing mementoes should necessarily or in all cases be asked to part with them But there may be certain articles bearing important historical association which it would be proper to place in charge of an organization Persons possessing such articles would no doubt gladly co-operate in the Committee's task For the present, therefore, the Committee appeals to all persons possessing articles of special significance to write to the Secretary and furnish full information for the purpose of record and the Committee's consideration as to their future preservation

Among the places and things about which the Committee desires information or which it desires to acquire are (1) all places of interest associated with important events and landmarks in Gandhiji's life (2) articles of personal use which may have been in service of Gandhiji at any time (3) all articles which may serve as mementoes For example, many things were presented to Gandhiji which he did not retain but sold to the public and utilized the proceeds in aid of the various public and constructive activities with which he was associated. Many persons may have preserved such articles

It is also intended, as part of the projected National Memorial to make adequate arrangements for the collection preservation editing and suitable cases of publication of his manuscripts articles private correspondence and published and unpublished writings some of them are widely dispersed and a call will be made for their collection in due course In the meantime there is danger of valuable material getting deteriorated or lost. The Committee therefore appeals to all those who may have such material or information regarding the same in their possession to communicate with the Secretary of the Committee

The Committee has undertaken to get photographs blue-prints and models made by experts of the various structures in Wardha, Sevagram and Sabarmati associated with Gandhiji with a view to their future preservation in their natural state

All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Kakawadi Wardha

Bajajwadi, Wardha, 17-3 48 KAKA KALELKAR

II

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar has issued a further statement on the same subject as follows

Immediately after the Conference at Sevagram an appeal was issued to the effect that necessary information may be supplied to the undersigned regarding places institutions and articles (mementoes) connected with the life and activities of Mahatma Gandhi with a view to their preservation

As some people have sent us newspaper articles, essays, poems etc about Gandhiji, we hasten to make it clear that our Committee does not intend to collect such material

Important mementoes if offered will ultimately be preserved in a National Gandhi Museum

Letters written by Gandhiji to correspondents all over the world have also to be preserved The collecting preserving, editing and publishing of Gandhiji's letters is a stupendous task and it will be the Navajivan Trust which will have to shoulder that responsibility

The main purpose of the present Committee is to collect all information regarding the whereabouts etc of mementoes and letters It is prepared also to collect and preserve these things to save them from neglect damage and deterioration For the present it is desirable that persons possessing letters written by Gandhiji should first send us copies of the letters together with necessary details such as the name of the person to whom the letter is addressed the context in which it was written etc They may also in their copy mark off any portion of the letter which they would like deleted in case the letters are selected for publication The originals will be asked for in due course as no copy can be passed as authentic until it has been carefully compared with the original. It is advisable that the owners of letters etc should *not* forward the originals to us until called for unless they are unable to preserve them safely Information about all such letters mementoes, institutions and places should be as correct and accurate as possible

Correspondents should kindly give their names and addresses in full to Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Kakawadi Wardha

10 4 48

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — II

Addressing the prayer meeting at Rajghat on Friday the 2nd of April, Shri Vinoba said that he was glad that the people of Delhi had kept Friday as a day of congregational prayer Prayer was a great force Its power was immeasurable and did not require anything to be added to it in order to become more effective Still by associating it with the memory of Gandhiji the worshippers could feel its power more intensively As he was speaking the last *shloka* of the *Bhagavadgita* came to his mind It was to the effect that where there are God and his servant there is everything Theoretically everything is where God is But people could not see God They could see only the servant And so the servant was nearer and more important to the people than God Himself. This was like the relationship between the sea and the clouds Scientists would say that clouds were formed by the evaporation of sea-water But to the people of Delhi, for instance, the sea was an unknown distant truth; They knew and felt grateful towards only the clouds which brought the needed rain to them That was also why Tulsidasji had said that the servant of Rama was greater or more important than Rama In fine for people the power of the prayer and that of its association with Gandhiji's memory got united in that day's prayer and so if people leaving aside all their other occupations unfailingly met together with devotion to pray on every Friday evening they would see a great change in their lives

The *Quran* related a beautiful anecdote about this The Prophet was talking to some merchants. He told them that they were engrossed in their daily occupations, but if they would leave those occupations for at least a day in a week and with devotion prayed to God even their trade would be better

People needed food every day to maintain their physical strength To maintain the strength of the soul it was necessary to pray for all the twenty-four hours Those whose life was but a continuous prayer were great souls Even if they could not reach that height, they should meet together at least once in a week for common prayer When they prayed, they practised the art of forgetting all distinctions and disputes It was unfortunate that even prayer to God was made an excuse for creating disputes between sects When ego entered an act, even good things became unclean When people stand before God, they should forget all distinctions and become all equals, nay become as if they were nothing — zeroes Before God the literate and the illiterate the rich and the poor, the high and the low were on the same level The moon and the stars with their different intensities of light were distinct only at night. When the sun appeared on the horizon all distinctions disappeared.

It was advisable therefore, for them to arrange their time-tables so that they could attend the prayer at the appointed time If they were careful, it would not generally be necessary for them to deviate from the rule But if it did they should mentally join the prayer that day from the place where they actually were

VINOBA IN EAST PUNJAB

[Shri Vinoba paid a visit to a village in the Gurgaon District East Punjab on the 6th April where he addressed a small meeting attended by about 200 Meos The following is a summary of his speech —ED]

He was aware Shri Vinoba said of the great hardships which the Meos had undergone It would appear as if immediately after getting independence the country wanted an object-lesson of the conditions on the fulfilment of which alone independence could be a source of happiness The hearers had tasted fully the consequences of evil doings He reminded them that ours was a great country inhabited by different communities If all these communities lived together with love and goodwill, the country would advance in strength prestige and happiness otherwise its very greatness would be the cause of her destruction

He hoped that the people must have realized by now that they had sufficiently quarrelled amongst themselves He did not wish to lay any particular blame on them An evil wave had passed over the country and it had enveloped them and lakhs of others Even the good people had been affected by it By the grace of God that wave had now passed and good weather had set in He hoped that it would have a salutary effect even on those who had gone mad a long way under the evil influence

God had given man two great capacities one, of remembrance, and the other of forgetfulness We must discriminate between what deserved to be remembered and what deserved to be forgotten. It was not too late even then to make that discrimination Right discrimination consisted in forgetting the evil and remembering the good done by others With trust in God we must live together courageously and lovingly God knew what was good for us He was our advocate He would plead for us and guard our interests This faith should be our strength and courage We should also remember that all men were God's children and so we must love all and regard all as brothers Courage and love were the true attributes of a servant of God

The function of religion was to unite the hearts But today religion had become a disruptive force The result was that every religion was being discredited Even several good people felt that it would be better to give up all these religions Shri Vinoba hoped we would not allow matters to come to that pass

He told them that this country was theirs and they belonged to it. They must forget the past and re-commence their lives anew If they acted so, a day would come when the memory of what had taken place recently would make them wonder that they could have been so low as that some day

He had gone to them he said, to give them courage They should not be despondent. A believer in God never gave up hope

NOTES

Long Live Dr. Karve

One of the items of the Constructive Programme which is specifically mentioned in the resolution about the Sarvodaya Samaj, is establishing "equality of rights and status for both men and women."

Who can forget in the cause of this item the lifelong services of Dr D K Karve, who completes his 90 years on the 18th April 1948? The jubilees, on the completion of his 60th 70th and 80th years were celebrated on a big scale at the Hingne and I understand every year a small birthday function has been held at the Institution for the last 30 years But it has been decided by the Board of life-workers of the Hingne Stree-Shikshan Samstha that there should be no formal public function organized by the Institution till Dr Karve completes his 100 years

I do hope that this future function will come off amidst rejoicings at its proper time. Meanwhile however, I understand that a Central Celebration Committee has been formed at Bombay to celebrate the 91st birthday and to present him with a purse on that occasion His Hingne Institute is understood to require Rs 24 000 to meet its past and present deficits and a donation for a new building I hope his numerous admirers and past students will do their duty by it

Wardha 6-4-48

Mahilashram, Wardha

The Committee of the Mahilashram, Wardha, have decided to suspend from the commencement of the next session (i e. June 1948) all its activities except one, namely the Vinaya Mandir (Girls' School) This is a five years' course, open for girls who have read upto the fourth class in their own language and who are between 11 to 15 years of age at the time of admission The curriculum will be recast on the lines of the *Nai Talim* under Shri Vinobaji's guidance Further particulars may be had from the Acharya, Mahilashram Wardha

Wardha 8-4-48

Rural Workers' Training Class

The Principal Rural Workers Training Institute Pohri, Gwalior announces that the Institute's new class will begin on 1st May 1948 The period of study will be one year Candidates are expected to have reached the standard of education and ability of a university graduate Further information may be had on applying to the Principal

Wardha, 6-4-48

A Temple Opened for Harijans

Pandit Narsinghdas informs that he has opened his temple at village Basdera Tehsil Una (Hoshiarpur) to the Harijans from the 25th February 1948 and also started a girls school at the same place

Wardha 6-4-48 K G M

Hindi and Marathi shorthand classes

Shorthand classes in Hindi and Marathi will be conducted under the auspices of the G S College of Commerce Wardha from 12th July, 1948 Correspondence Course will be finished within 6 months and Reporting Course within 10 months Besides students will be trained in *Nagari* Typewriting Students [illegible] and Diploma will be [illegible] candidates All those who are interested in the courses should apply on prescribed forms to the Principal stating their age and qualifications before 31st May 1948

The tuition fee for Correspondence Course will be Rs 60 and for Reporting Rs 100

Accommodation for a few students is available in the College hostel Seats will have to be reserved by paying Rs 25 in advance

As the Government offices, private institutions and newspapers are in need of Hindi-Marathi stenotypists, it is hoped that students will take advantage of the classes in large numbers Printed application forms could be had from the Principal Commerce College, Wardha

S N AGARWAL

HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA RESOLUTIONS

At a meeting of the Sabha held at Wardha on 12th March 1948 the Sabha passed three resolutions to the following effect

(1) The first resolution referred to Gandhiji's death

(2) This resolution took note that the draft new constitution of the Indian National Congress omitted the Sabha's name in the list of Constructive Associations to be affiliated by it The resolution reminded the Congress that the propagation of the Hindustani language was one of the constructive activities and thus Sabha was formed for the purpose by Gandhiji and other leaders in May 1942 The resolution requested the Congress to put the Sabha in the list of its affiliated institutions

(3) The third resolution runs as follows

A letter should be addressed to the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly to the following effect

"The Sabha is surprised that in the draft constitution for India prepared by the Ambedkar Committee, Hindi and English have been mentioned as State languages From 1925 onwards the policy of the Congress was to displace English by Hindustani as the national and State language of India The Sabha is of opinion that the Constituent Assembly should accept as the State language of India Hindustani which is the language spoken, understood and made daily use of in all transactions by Hindus Moslems and other citizens living in the towns and villages of North India and which is written in both the *nagari* and *urdu* scripts

The Secretary of the Sabha further notifies that the first second and third Hindustani *Lekhawai* Examinations will be held on 6th June, 1948 Candidates should send in their applications by the 30th April, 1948 at the Sabha's Office Wardha.

Also the *Rahbi* Examination will be held on the 3rd and 4th July 1948 Candidates should apply before the 31st of May Candidates from Gujarat shall apply through the Secretary Hindustani Prachar Samiti Gujarat Vidyapith Ahmedabad 6 from Bombay through the Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha Adenwala Mansion, Sea Face Bombay 7 and from other provinces directly to the Secretary Wardha

(*Abridged from the original in Hindustani*)

THE WAY TO PEACE AND A FREE WORLD ORDER *

We live in an age of crisis One crisis follows in their and even when there is some kind of peace it is a troubled peace with fear of war and preparation for war Tortured humanity hungers for real peace but some evil fate pursues it and pushes it further and further away from what it desires most Almost it seems that some terrible destiny drives humanity to ever recurring disaster We are all entangled in the mesh of past history and cannot escape the consequences of past evil

In the multitude of crises political and economic, that face us perhaps the greatest crisis of all is that of the human spirit Till this crisis of the spirit is resolved it will be difficult to find a solution for the other crisis that afflicts us

We talk of world government and one world and millions yearn for this Earnest efforts continue to be made to realise this ideal of the human race, which has become so imperative today And yet these efforts have thus far proved ineffective even though it becomes ever clearer that if there is going to be no world order then there might be no order at all left in the world. Wars are fought and won or lost and the victors suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Surely there must be something wrong about our approach to this vital problem of the age something essentially lacking

GANDHIJI'S CONTRIBUTION

In India during the last quarter of a century and more Mahatma Gandhi made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of India but to that of world peace He taught us the doctrine of non violence not as a passive submission to evil, but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences He showed us that the human spirit is more powerful than the mightiest of armaments

He applied moral values to political action and pointed out that ends and means can never be separated for the means ultimately govern the end If the means are evil then the end itself becomes distorted and at least partially evil Any society based on injustice must necessarily have the seeds of conflict and decay within it so long as it does not get rid of that evil.

All this may seem fantastic and impractical in the modern world used as it is to thinking in set grooves And yet we have seen repeatedly the failure of other methods and nothing can be less practical than to pursue a method that has failed again and again

We may not perhaps ignore the present limitations of human nature or the immediate perils which face the statesman We may not in the world as it is constituted today even rule out war absolutely But I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognise the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace

So long as we do not adhere to right means, the end will not be right and fresh evil will flow from it That was the essence of Gandhiji's message and mankind will have to appreciate it in order to see and act clearly When eyes are bloodshot vision is limited

* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's broadcast on Sunday (4th April 1948) night to America linking up with the Chicago University Round Table Radio programme

WORLD GOVERNMENT

I [illegible] that world government [illegible] there is no other remedy for the world [illegible] democracy for it is not difficult to [illegible] extension of the federal principle a great [illegible] building the United Nations giving [illegible] freedom to fashion its destiny accord[illegible] but subject always to the basic [illegible] government

We talk of [illegible] and nations but it must be remembered [illegible] carries an obligation with it The [illegible] much emphasis on rights and far to [illegible] obligations were undertaken rights would naturally flow from them. This means an approach to life different from the competitive and acquisitive approach of today

Today fear consumes us all fear of the future, fear of war fear of the people or nation whom we dislike and who dislikes us That fear may be justified to some extent But fear is an ignoble emotion and leads to blind strife

Let us try to get rid of this fear and base our thoughts and actions on what is essentially right and moral and then gradually the crisis of the spirit will be resolved the dark clouds that surround us may lift and the way to the evolution of world order based on freedom will be clear

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9 47 to 30-1 48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

Gandhiji himself has said in one of these prayer speeches that "*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer*" These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS PAGE

ETIQUETTE IN ADVERTISEMENT	K G MASHRUWALA	65
GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND RECEIPTS	K G MASHRUWALA	65
HINDUSTANI — A CLARIFICATION	KAKA KALELKAR	66
NEITHER ANGER NOR ATTACHMENT	M K GANDHI	56
INSISTENCE ON RIGHT MEANS	K G MASHRUWALA	68
MAHATMA GANDHI RELICS PRESERVATION COMMITTEE	KAKA KALELKAR	69
VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—II		70
VINOBA IN EAST PUNJAB		70
HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA RESOLUITONS		71
THE WAY TO PEACE AND A FREE WORLD ORDER	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	72
NOTES		
LONG LIVE DR KARVE	K G M	71
MAHILASHRAM, WARDHA	K G M	71
RURAL WORKERS TRAINING CLASS	K G M	71
A TEMPLE OPENED FOR HARIJANS	K G M	71
HINDI AND MARATHI SHORTHAND CLASSES	S N AGARWAL	71

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Second Birth of the A. I. S. A.

Reg. No. B. 3092

HARIJAN

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 8 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY APRIL 25 1948 TWO ANNAS

NARROW PROVINCIALISM

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other prominent leaders have drawn public attention to the spirit of narrow provincialism which for some years past has been developing in our country

I have watched this development since at least 1933, and later, as President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh had frequent opportunities of studying it closely At the Conference of the Sangh held at Delang (Orissa) in 1938 at my suggestion supported by Gandhiji this question was discussed at some length Shri Rajendraprasad Dr Prafulla Ghosh and Shri Shankarrao Deo participated in the discussion and the Conference adopted the following resolution

'The Conference regretfully notices the spread of the evil of narrow provincialism in the country The Conference is of opinion that in provincial questions the duty of the members of the Sangh is similar to that in communal questions, namely of promoting friendliness among people of different provinces and languages In the opinion of this Conference India is one, and every Indian has full rights of citizenship in whatever province he might choose to live He cannot be deprived of these rights or discriminated against on the ground that he or his ancestors had immigrated from another province At the same time it is the duty of the immigrants to identify themselves completely with the life and people of the adopted province where their joys and sorrows and contribute to the advancement of the interests and happiness of that province in the same way as the people of that province'

Personally I have always doubted the wisdom of the Karachi resolution in respect of the formation of linguistic provinces and the so-called linguistic rights of 'minorities' It is one thing to bring together as far as practicable, all people speaking the same language under the same administrative unit and quite another to insist that there should be no multi-lingual provinces The former recommends itself as convenient both to the people and the administrative machinery The insistence on the second will not always be so and will lead to fissiparous tendencies It is not always impossible or inconvenient to have multi-lingual provinces, without prejudice to the claims of its principal language Who knows that in a zeal for "one province one language', the protagonists may not go to the length of solving the difficulties of implementing it by compelling transfer of populations? When an evil is in the air it will catch any

The right of a section of the people to have their particular language or script officially recognized must also be interpreted in a broad manner Teaching through the mother-tongue is a sound proposition educationally But can I insist, living as I do in Wardha, that the State should provide for the training of my children through Gujarati? I am definite that the State cannot recognize such a right On the contrary it can insist that whether my children learn Gujarati or no they must learn Marathi, which is the language of this province The State may not forbid my teaching Gujarati also to my children but it cannot undertake to teach Gujarati, far less to give them all their education through it. Rather, the State has a right to expect, may even insist, that a permanent immigrant shall within, say, twenty years adopt the local language as his own

Wardha 10-4-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

BLOOD-STAINED CLOTHES

An old gentleman, who occasionally exchanged letters with Gandhiji for more than twenty years last, in the course of a long letter to me writes

"Is it true that the blood-stained clothes of Gandhiji are going to be preserved in a museum? If so, may I ask what is it that is intended to be preserved? Love? or Hate?

"Beware lest blind devotion might lead us into grave error Will his life-long work be rendered nought by his own children — his followers?

'We must be extremely discreet in showing our adoration for and keeping alive the memory of that votary of truth and non violence. Let us not do anything which might become a producer of evil in the future

I am in agreement with the above criticism Personally I do not feel much interested in merely preserving things used by Gandhiji But I am aware that there are several close associates of Gandhiji who think differently and I must respect their opinion, in the same way as I do mine Nevertheless, I am of opinion that even if Gandhiji's last clothes are to be preserved, they should be washed and cleaned of blood-stains

I hope the Mahatma Gandhi Relics Preservation Committee will consider this matter carefully.

11-4-'48

P S Before sending this to the Press I showed it to Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar He says that he could justify both the views While it was not proper that memories of hatred should be preserved, personally the sight of blood-stained clothes would

raise no feeling of hatred against the murderer in his own mind He would rather be inspired with feelings of gratitude towards Gandhiji and to imitate him in banishing fear from the heart

Though Hindu sentiment considered blood-stained clothes to be impure yet he would not mind in preserving them in a soiled condition in a museum The future generations will be set aghinking on looking at them and have feelings of respect for Gandhiji

On the one hand he felt that such material aids to arouse noble sentiments were not worthy of encouragement on the other he thought that there was nothing wrong in making use of them

Shri Kakasaheb's mind is divided He does not claim that the sight of these clothes would raise sentiments of *love* towards the murderer It cannot be denied that it is capable of raising those of hatred — as indeed, even without the sight of the clothes the mere knowledge that he was a Brahman became a producer of hate not only against the assassin but towards the whole community to which he belonged

My mind is not divided. But in my humble opinion when one's mind is divided between two views the right course to follow is that which is incapable of creating evil.

Wardha, 12-4-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

Excessive Prices

I am receiving complaints particularly from Gujarat that merchants in general and even agriculturists to a certain extent do not respond well to the removal of controls They have raised the prices excessively with the result that the middle and lower classes find it very difficult to obtain their food supplies Rationing having gone, they are unable to get even the few ounces which they could obtain under the controls From times immemorial, it has been one of the recognized duties of a *Mahajan* (that is Association of Merchants and Agriculturists) to see that food became available to every citizen at a fair price. At one time the *Mahajans* were the *de facto* and popular Government of a village or a town because they faithfully attended to this duty Dereliction in the performance of this duty made them weak and brought about their ultimate suppression by the State. If they wanted to regain their prestige and importance they should realize the importance of looking to the welfare of the common man.

There are also complaints about the agency system for the distribution of kerosene It appears that the kerosene market has become the monopoly of a few agents with the result that a good deal of black-marketing is going on in its sale I hope the authorities and institutions concerned will look into the matter and set it right

Wardha, 12-4-48 K. G M.

METHOD OF VOTING

[This article was written in August 1946 A few friends have seen it and one of them had even taken a copy of it for publication but to the best of my belief it was not so done Last week some friends entered into a discussion about election methods with Dr Rajendraprasad, during his stay at Wardha. I was present and took part in the discussion on the lines explained below and later requested Shri Rajendrababu to peruse this article After reading it he desired me to publish it in the *Harijan* as being timely since the subject might come up for discussion in the Constituent Assembly in a short time Hence its appearance here

The article was written in the setting of the old regime and so old party names have been made use of Some of those parties might disappear now But that does not make any difference to the main principles discussed The reader will therefore kindly take these names as of no greater significance than as if I had simply said A, Y, Z 13 4 48 K G M]

I

At some stage the method of casting votes is bound to come up for consideration before the Constituent Assembly At present the system of elections runs on the following lines in India. The electors are divided into separate constituencies of single or multiple seats In the single seat constituencies, each voter has only one vote which he has to cast in favour of one or another of the candidates duly nominated. In the multiple seat constituencies, there is in several provinces the system of what is called "cumulative voting' That is to say, each voter has as many votes as the number of seats assigned to that constituency, with liberty to give thereof as many votes as he liked to any single candidate It is said that this system enables minorities or smaller groups to obtain representation in the elected bodies In addition to this, the system of "single transferable vote" has also been advocated and practised on a small scale In large-scale elections it is not yet looked upon with favour being too complicated both for casting and counting the votes

But whatever be the actual method of casting the vote and whether the election is direct or indirect and on a franchise universal or restricted under the system of party politics none of the above methods of casting the vote allows the voter a fair opportunity of selecting his candidate That work is done by a few individuals beforehand Out of several applicants they select one person per seat to stand up as a candidate and the voter is called upon either to accept that candidate as their representative or to reject the party itself If a voter feels for instance that he wants to vote for Congress but that the High or Low or whatever other Command that set up A instead of B for his constituency made a wrong selection he has no remedy Either he must condone the mistake or if he feels very strongly about it refrain from voting altogether or worse still vote against the

Congress His regard for the Congress would not permit him to do the last and if there is a keen contest he would be pressed by friends not to refrain from voting. But whether he ultimately votes for B or votes against the Congress or simply refrains from voting, it is clear that he would not be quite happy about the affair What he desired was to have the freedom to choose not only his party but also a candidate of his own choice from the party

The present system of registering votes does not allow him to do this Though the party system has become a vital institution of the modern State still it is not yet a legally recognized institution The counting officer has to regard each candidate as not affiliated to any party This fiction compels the parties to set up machinery for selecting the candidates, running the elections finding funds for them and to do much of the work which should have been left to voters and candidates It gives rise to formation of groups within the party for the purpose of securing power not to the party, but to themselves with all the malpractices and intrigues accompanying it

It is possible to prevent this evil by according legal recognition to the party system A candidate filling his nomination paper should be asked to state the party (if any) to which he belongs and wants to represent with a certificate of a proper officer of that party that he is duly qualified according to the rules of the party to offer himself on its behalf There might be other candidates also seeking to represent the same party in the same constituency similarly certified. The voter will vote for his own man, but his vote would also indicate the party he voted for. His vote would, therefore, go to the party as well His particular candidate might fail, but the vote cast by him would not go in vain It would be counted in the votes given to the party

This will be clear by an illustration Suppose there is a single seat constituency of about 10,000 voters There are three candidates A, B and C desiring to represent the Congress, two — X and Y — for the Hindu Mahasabha and one P an independent The votes are registered as below

Congress	H Mahasabha	Independent
A 1500	X 1600	P 3500
B 1200	Y 400	
C 700		
3400	2000	

Total votes cast 8900

Here, on any counting there is no doubt that the voters have selected the Independent man P Now let us forget P and his votes, and consider the case as if only the Congress and the Mahasabha were in the field and only 5400 voters took part in the elections as detailed above Individually X has secured more votes than A but his party has got only 2000 votes as against the Congress, which got 3400 The constituency must be deemed, therefore, to have voted for the Congress and A, the first man thereof, should be regarded as elected.

This method would almost entirely eliminate the work of selecting suitable candidates All that the parties would have to do would be to lay down conditions for granting certificates to prevent bogus persons from exploiting it The rule regarding forfeiture of deposit in case of ignominious failure would be a sufficient check against too many candidates seeking elections But even the votes of candidates who lose their deposits would not have been cast in vain, so far as the party was concerned (In the above illustration, both C and Y lose their deposits without injuring their parties)

In my next article I shall show how this method would work in a multiple seat constituency

K G MASHRUWALA

VINOBA IN KURUKSHETRA

Shri Vinoba gave a talk at the Kurukshetra camp on 8th April 1948 Before addressing the meeting he had moved round the camp both in company of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as well as later on alone. He said that he had visited them and taken their *darshan* (look) as a devotee would take the *darshan* of God Kurukshetra was a holy place from immemorial times It was a place where the Lord had given his message of the *Bhagavadgita* to Arjuna One of the things on which *Gita* laid stress was that a person who ate without doing any work committed a sin It was necessary therefore that one who ate should perform some work. The people there had been taking free rations for months. Perhaps in the beginning there was no other alternative But if the same system continued it would not benefit either the giver or the receiver The people had been taking ready made flour He would advise them to take corn instead of flour and turn it into flour themselves Thereby they could get fresh flour and the public money would also be saved Fresh hand ground flour was healthier than mill made old flour At Gurgaon he saw a woman or two grinding flour and he was glad to notice it He spoke about it to the women there and the women demanded as many as one hundred grinding stones They should begin grinding corn at Kurukshetra also

He had also visited he said the industrial department at Kurukshetra He saw one *ghani* (oil press) working Even if not more than one *tola* of oil was consumed per head one *ghani* could at the most provide oil for 2,000 people But the population of Kurukshetra was about two lakhs and so there was scope for not less than one hundred *ghanis* Under these circumstances one *ghani* became simply a spectacular thing.

People he continued had shown him their torn clothes He asked them if they would be willing to spin If they were prepared to spin they could get their own clothes In that way if people began to produce their own daily needs the burden on the Government would be considerably diminished The country would not be able to bear the burden of providing food and other necessities to thousands of people without their doing anything to produce them It was necessary, therefore for them to be prepared to do any work which was necessary for the maintenance of life.

HARIJAN

April 25 1948

SECOND BIRTH OF THE A. I. S. A.

The A I S A. has recently passed the following resolution

' The Charkha Sangh felt that the condition, (in the proposed new constitution of the Indian National Congress) that a candidate for a Congress *Panchayat* must be a habitual wearer of *khadi*, was a great step in the advance of the *khadi* movement In order, therefore to make *khadi* obtainable with less difficulty the Charkha Sangh decided to remove the yarn condition imposed upon certified Khadi Bhandars The remaining conditions being meant for ensuring purity of *khadi* and non-exploitation of labour would remain. Having done this the A. I S A would hereafter devote all its attention upon self sufficiency work That is to say, it will not engage itself in the production and sale of *khadi*, as such If for some time it was necessary to facilitate self spinners to obtain their supplementary *khadi* necessities, it would try to meet their demand It would take some time for the Charkha Sangh to make these changes In the meanwhile whatever *khadi* was sold by the Charkha Sangh would be sold on the yarn condition as before

This resolution will be reckoned as marking a new phase in the history of the A. I. S A. It relieves the Sangh of its work of the production and sale of *khadi* as a business The Sangh will hereafter concentrate itself on what was its original and main object, namely popularizing the production of *khadi* for self-sufficiency Exigencies of the times had compelled it to organize its commercial side This gave some relief to the poor It also created a sentiment in favour of *khadi* But it was not sufficient for the founding of a non-violent society This latter required the Sangh to take a stand against the prevailing currents by insisting that ' he who spins must wear (*khadi*) and he who wears must spin (the yarn) ' The yarn condition was imposed as the first step towards the goal Nevertheless, the Association continued to produce and sell *khadi* for the market Now, this resolution will relieve it of the activity It will take some months to completely wind up the commercial department but that is only a matter of time

The business side of *khadi* will now be a concern of local organizations The A I S A. will seek to control them to the extent of seeing that they do not exploit the consumer by taking high profits or the labourer by paying low wages or cheating both in other ways For this purpose the issue of the A. I S A certificates to *khadi* business concerns will continue as before

It may be asked, now that the yarn condition is removed why should the A. I S A. seek to control the business at all? The answer is that the yarn condition, has been removed for the convenience of Congressmen, while the control is sought to be retained for protecting the goodwill of *khadi* *Khadi* produced by exploiting labour is not *khadi* in the sense in which a Congressman is expected to recognize it For him it is stained *khadi* It is also necessary to see that the article put forth in the market as *khadi* is not adulterated with mill yarn. Certification by the A. I S A is needed for both these purposes.

Congressmen will now be put on test The Congress requires several conditions to be fulfilled by a Congressman desiring to stand as a candidate for a Congress *Panchayat* For instance he must be a habitual wearer of *khadi* and a teetotaller That is the wearer of mill cloth and a drinker are alike in the eyes of the Congress It means that just as the stopping of the drink evil is a part of the Congress programme so too is the stopping of the mill cloth If this is a correct interpretation, it is the duty of every friend of the Congress to encourage *khadi* in every manner That is, he must spin himself and if it is insufficient for his clothing requirements he must purchase only certified *khadi* It is the duty of the Socialist and other " progressive ' parties also to accept the *khadi* programme and thus give a practical demonstration of their dislike for capitalism if they wish well of the masses and love the country s charkha flag

VINOBA

(*Translated from the original article in Hindustani in the* Khadi Jagat *of April 1948*)

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE STATE

This question is likely to come up for discussion before the Constituent Assembly when it settles the Constitution of India The Draft Committee s propositions on the subject are as follows

21 No person may be compelled to pay any taxes the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

22 (1) No religious instruction shall be provided by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(2) No person attending any educational institution recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or if such person is a minor his guardian, has given his consent thereto

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomi

nation in an educational institution [illegible] to its working hours

The articles as drafted are in my opinion unsatisfactory It will be noticed that Article 21 does not prohibit expenditure of taxes for the promotion and maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination It prohibits simply imposition of a tax specifically for that purpose

Then, as regards Article 22, it bans religious instruction completely only in institutions *wholly* maintained out of State funds But the word wholly is capable of very wide interpretation An institution depending on private funds only to the extent of a few rupees per annum cannot be regarded as *wholly* maintained from State funds, and it would have the right to impart 'religious instruction', whatever that term might mean So in spite of the Article it will allow a Minister for Education who wants religious instruction to be imparted in all educational institutions, to so manage that within his State there is no institution which is wholly maintained by the State The Proviso makes this clearer still It enables the State to manage educational institutions burdened with the condition that religious instruction shall be imparted in them

Thus while there is an appearance of providing education without religious instruction there is the facility of imparting it in every institution If not providing religious instruction is a freedom the left hand takes away what the right hand appears to give

But, I am one of those who do not subscribe to merely so-called secular instruction I believe not only that religious instruction should be given in educational institutions but that the entire atmosphere of the school should be religious and moral, and that instruction in no subject should be devoid of a moral and religious approach to it And yet I am entirely at one with those, who do not want the educational institutions of India to be so many centres of religious dogmas and sects

To explain this, it is necessary to say what I mean by religious instruction This phrase be it noted, is not explained in the Draft Code If the language used in Article 21 is to be a guide to the expression, it would seem that what is meant by "religious instruction" is 'instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination'

But I urge that it is possible to give religious instruction and to have sound religious atmosphere pervading all the activities of the institution, without making it instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination", and I would say that every State institution must provide it. What has been a curse to the modern world is that on the one hand, there is want of pure religious instruction (or rather there is provision for definitely irreligious education) and on the other there is freedom to impart traditional unprogressive and reactionary instruction in particular religions or religious denominations If we wish to raise the moral level of the people it is necessary to give the growing generation definitely religious atmosphere on the one hand, and to discourage sectarianism on the other

In order to avoid the need to bring in the meaning more clearly I would suggest the redrafting of the Arts 21 and 22 as follows

Art 21 No part of the State funds shall be spent or specifically appropriated for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination and no person shall be compelled to pay any taxes therefor

Art 22 (1) No instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination shall be provided by the State in any educational institution wholly or partly maintained out of State funds and the State shall not accept any responsibility for administering an educational institution established under any endowment or trust which requires the imparting of instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination

In case of any such responsibility in existence before the date of this constitution the State shall take steps to hand over administration of any such institution to a proper body

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to imparting general religious instruction which is free from or not confined to any particular religion or religious denomination in any educational institution wholly or partly maintained out of State funds or administered by the State under any endowment or trust whether or not such endowment or trust requires that such general religious instruction should be imparted in such institution or even if it requires that instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination shall be imparted in it

(2) It shall not be compulsory for any person attending any educational institution recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds to take part in the instruction of or receive instruction in any particular religion or religious denomination or attend any religious worship of any particular religion or religious denomination, that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto (I believe that even a minor may not be compelled even with the consent of his guardian to do these things)

(3) *Subject to the aforesaid* nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in an educational institution outside its working hours

Before closing the article let me add a few words in respect of articles 19 and 23 which relate to the same subject

Art 19 (1) reads as follows

Subject to public order morality and health and to the other provisions of this part all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess practise and propagate religion

Explanation—The wearing and carrying of *kirpans* shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion

I suggest that in lieu of the explanation the following words should be added in the main clause after the word religion' namely

nd to carry any badge symbol mark or other thing on or about their persons as a sign of their religion.

Art 23 runs as follows

23 (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language script and culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same

(2) No minority whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any person belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State

(3) (a) All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice

(b) The State shall not in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority whether based on religion community or language

I suggest for consideration the following provisoes to this Article

To Clk (1) and (2) Provided that the State may require the knowledge or study of any particular language or script as a necessary condition for admission in any educational institution maintained or recognized by the state

To (1) (3) Provided that the State may require the imparting of instruction of any particular language or script to every person taking instruction in any such educational institution whether it receives State aid or not

Wardha 11-4-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—III*

Shri Vinoba said that evening was looked upon as a holy time for prayers because it marked the end of the day and also of a unit of measurement of life It gives particular peace of mind and stimulates noble sentiments if it is devoted to worship and prayer He urged upon the audience to attend the prayers regularly and to bring their friends and relatives also with them It was like a public festival in which every one should be invited to participate

They were passing through what was called a National Week It was a Week for rendering service to the nation It started twenty-nine years ago when several young men who were present there were not even born The commencement of the observance of the Week marked the birth of new life in the Indian nation and so it had been observed ever since

This year they were to devote the Week for collecting the Gandhi Memorial fund It was good to contribute even money, because even monetary contribution demanded self sacrifice But it should be remembered that money was not the main thing in service It was capable of even corrupting service That was the reason why one had to be very careful in the proper collection and disbursement of money What was needed for service was not money so much as the giving up of one's narrow outlook and of identifying oneself with the people

There was a [illegible] in the *Upanishads* [illegible] sage Yajnawalkya had [illegible] wives The one [illegible] ordinary woman attached to the things of the world The other Maitreyi was wise and [illegible] minded After [illegible] years of worldly life Yajnawalkya decided to renounce the world He summoned his two wives and told them that he was about to relinquish the world and, therefore would like to divide his property between them Thereupon Maitreyi asked him whether she could get immortal life with the money which he wanted to give her Yajnawalkya replied that there was no hope of that through wealth Wealth could give only such pleasures of life as rich men enjoyed i e mortal joy If she wanted immortal joy she must seek the realm of the spirit by renouncement and a sense of the world and by identifying herself with the entire creation

The Congress claimed that it wanted to establish the government of the people If they wanted a government of the people and to serve them they must understand the needs of the people and be one with them. A hero could be worshipped only through heroism Similarly the poor could be served only by voluntarily accepting poverty The National Week should therefore be utilized for dedicating one's money for the service of the people

Shri Vinoba then related what he saw at the Kurukshetra Refugee Camp which he had visited the previous day in company with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Kurukshetra was a holy place of pilgrimage from immemorial times and was associated with the sacred memory of the *Bhagavad Gita* In outward appearance it was just a place like any other place There were few trees here and there and a vast plain But its associations with the *Gita* raised sanctifying sentiments However the present condition of Kurukshetra was not in consonance with the teachings of the *Gita* The *Gita* taught that no person had a right to eat his food without performing work It was work which purified man's life and led him to non violence But he saw that the people at Kurukshetra were getting free rations for several months past Shri Vinoba thought that if it was difficult for all to get work, they could at least make their own flour if they were provided with *chakkis* (grinding-stones) He wondered why they were given ready made flour But such a simple thing did not occur to the organizers because the *chakki* had disappeared from the life of the organizers themselves It was difficult for men to think outside their own grooves of life That was why he said that one must accept poverty to serve the poor Tulsidas had said in one of his *bhajans* (devotional songs)

नाथ गरीब-निवाज हैं, मैं गैहि न गरीबी ।

(The Lord is the Protector of the poor but I have not made myself poor how shall I get His protection!)

Let us therefore be said take a vow of poverty during the Week That meant that they should do 'bread-labour during that Week. The abandonment of bread labour was the cause of imperialism and other orders founded on exploitation If they wanted to end these systems, they would do it only by accepting voluntary poverty for themselves If they had no grinding stones in their homes they should get them.

* A summary of the sermon delivered by Shri Vinoba to the public prayer meeting at Rajghat on Friday the 9th April.

As the easiest [illegible] had put forth the [illegible] by a child and [illegible] attempt to identify [illegible] it would not be proper simply to spin yarn and lead the rest of their lives in the same manner as before It must mark the beginning of a labourer's life a scavenger's life which creates and cleans. Some such things should be begun during the Week Like Tulsidas they should all anxiously yearn to become poor so that they might become worthy of God's protection

NOTES

Ahimsa Week

Professor W S Fernando Principal Universal College Panadura, Ceylon has issued an appeal from which the following is taken

> Life is the most precious gift of all and we have no right to cut short the life of any being large or small It is our duty to alleviate the sufferings of both man and animal Having witnessed the innumerable sufferings caused by the wars pestilences and earthquakes during the past few years the whole world is anxious to see a period of relief and happiness free from communal religious and political strife Therefore let us make an honest effort to bring happiness to all mankind and to dumb creatures
>
> 'We wish to bring to your notice that the *Ahimsa* Movement organized by us on a minute scale in 1925 has made gradual progress during the last twentythree years showing tangible results last year
>
> 'We request all to co operate with us in observing the *Ahimsa* Week which falls in the first week of May every year The following three precepts have to be observed during the week
>
> 1 To abstain from killing
>
> 2 To take only vegetarian diet
>
> 3 To give rest to animals from 11 30 a m to 1 p m and to abstain from travelling in vehicles drawn by animals during that time
>
> This co operation of priests and teachers of all religions and associations is earnestly invited to make this humane Movement a success

I commend the appeal to all whose daily life gives them scope to observe the three abstinences The third item demands attention of even those who are strict vegetarians and do not kill even insects

Having regard to the widespread poison of communalism prevailing in the country and the possibility of making even an appeal like this an excuse for creating serious disturbances, I do not recommend a demonstration and planned propaganda of this Movement. The idea is good and can be more firmly popularized by the individual observance and efforts of those to whom it appeals

Wardha, 15-4-48

The Yarn Condition

The yarn condition imposed by the A I S A for the purchase of *khadi* has been raised Congressmen will have now no externally imposed impediment in purchasing *khadi* from certified Bhandars without plying the *charkha* It is quite a different thing that in [illegible] Congressmen will find it impo[illegible] with genuine *khadi* [illegible] to spin themselves or get spinning done under their own eyes This follows from the proposed Constitution of the Congress which provides that for the Primary Congress *Panchayats* there shall be one candidate for every 500 inhabitants This if fully implemented will need at least 6 lakhs of candidates for a population of 30 crores, even if there were no contested elections anywhere and Pakistan is omitted This would mean a demand for workers only of not less than 15 crore yards of *khadi* at the modest rate of 25 yards per head This demand itself is one which under the prevailing conditions, cannot be met immediately unless a considerable part of the candidates practise self-help

I do hope that the Congress will insist that all *khadi* should be purchased from certified institutions only The A I S A has decided that it will no longer engage itself in the *khadi* business i e getting *khadi* produced by spinners working for wages only Its certificates therefore will be issued for the sole purpose of assuring the purchaser that to the best of its belief the certified institution deals in genuine *khadi* and does not carry on its work in an exploiting manner The necessity for imposing such conditions follows from the proposed object of the Congress

Wardha 5-4-48

Harijan-Brahman Marriage

The marriage of Shrimati G Manorama with Shri R. Arjuna Rao which was celebrated at Sevagram on the 13th March last in the presence of Shri Thakkarbapa and other leaders ought to have received earlier notice in these columns I regret it could not be so done The bride is the eldest daughter of Prof G Ramachandra Rao of Krishna District in Andhra and a Brahman according to traditional social grouping The bridegroom is a youth of the so-called Harijan group also of the same district Prof Ramachandra Rao is a well-known Harijan worker and a teacher, if not almost a guardian of the bridegroom

At one of the Harijan Workers Conferences held at Sevagram in 1945-6 Gandhiji expressed the opinion that a whole-hogger Harijan worker must be prepared to give his daughter in marriage to a Harijan Shortly after this when Gandhiji was on a visit to Madras Prof Ramachandra Rao with the consent of his daughter proposed this betrothal Gandhiji suggested that as the parties were still too young to be married, Shri Arjuna Rao should be trained at Sevagram for a couple of years and Shrimati Manorama should receive training at a Kasturba Centre This was agreed to

The period of training being over this marriage had been awaiting Gandhiji's convenience for being celebrated in his presence Gandhiji had proposed April of this year for the marriage and it would have been performed at any place convenient to him But as this was no longer possible

the occasion of the Constructive Workers Conference it was taken advantage of to perform the function

Shriman and Prof Ramachandra Rao and Shriman Manorama (the bride) have set a very great example of concordance between theory and practice I hope a time will soon come when such marriages will be so frequent that they will not remain a subject of special notice As it is the marriage must be taken note of by all who believe in the principles of the Sarvodaya Samaj

Wardha 14-4- 48

'Harijan' Editions

I wish that readers of the *Harijan* as also publishers of translations in Indian languages should look if they can into the Gujarati and Hindustani editions also along with the English All of them will more often than not contain some independent article which is not translated in any other Even when the articles are on the same subject they must not be surprised to find that the way of presentment in the Indian languages is different from that in English Publishers of translations would do well to translate them from Hindustani or Gujarati whenever the Indian language article does not appear as a translation of its English counter-part.

Wardha, 13-4- 48 K G M

THREE PUZZLES

[The following is a free translation of a part of the initial speech made by Shri Vinoba on 13 3 48 in the open session of the Sevagram Conference —Ed]

My first puzzle has been already referred to by the President (Dr Rajendraprasad) in his opening address How is it that this great country of ours fell so unmanagably low as soon as it had gained its independence? Some seek to explain away the fact by saying that it has so happened in other parts of the world also and that it is a consequence of the great World War But the explanation is not sufficient, because our claim is that the means which we employed for achieving our independence were different from those adopted by other countries; and that though the execution of our special means was weak still it had brought us success The world too has accepted our claim and so it is all the more puzzling that we have fallen so low and so suddenly I have been seeking the correct explanation but have not succeeded in doing it If we know the causes we can think of the remedy

The second problem which puzzles me is the growth of provincialism Throughout the Sanskrit literature that I have read wherever there is an expression of the patriotic sentiment the idea expressed is दुर्लभं भारते जन्म—*durlabham Bharate janma* (to be born in India is rare good fortune) Nowhere has it been said that it is a good fortune to be born in Bengal or Maharashtra or Gujarat, or any other province This literature belongs to a period when there were no such modern means of transport and communication as railways post offices etc Even at that ancient period, the people believed India to be one and considered that to be born in it was rare good fortune We had all worked together for freeing that great country, the people of every province co-operating in doing so How is it then now that we have achieved our independence, provincialism has become and is becoming so strong every day, and how can it be prevented? For if we cannot control it it will create the same dangers that the Hindu-Muslim discord has done

The third great question relates to the purity of means I have been long thinking whether it is ever possible that in a great country like India we can have only one ideology accepted by all And if it is inevitable that there will be different groups subscribing to different ideologies and ways of thinking then is it not absolutely necessary that all such groups should agree at least on one point, namely that in the propagation of their ideas they will not make use of untruthful or violent means? During his whole life Bapu endeavoured to teach us that our aims will be as our means are That is to say, an aim cannot remain pure and lofty if its means are not so If therefore, a group claims that its aim is lofty and noble the means must also be so selected Just let us consider the assassination of Gandhiji There is a big group behind the assassination It planned the murder made preparations for celebrating it as soon as committed and the plans were so secretly laid that we did not know anything about it Now if we do not accept the necessity of adopting pure means for achieving an object would not such a group be entitled to our praise? If it is allowed that any means might be employed to achieve one's end who can unquestionably decide whether a particular aim is proper or improper since every one considers his own aim to be right? If however we could agree not to employ untruthful or violent means for achieving our different aims, we shall all have combined to create a strong united and moral front. Let us for the time being put aside all ideas of new planning, new order etc, and resolve that whatever our new plans and ideal orders be, they will be implemented through good means only All those can be our co-workers who agree on this

CONTENTS PAGE

NARROW PROVINCIALISM	— K G MASHRUWALA	73
BLOOD-STAINED CLOTHES	K G MASHRUWALA	73
METHOD OF VOTING—I	K G MASHRUWALA	74
VINOBA IN KURUKSHETRA	—	75
SECOND BIRTH OF THE A I S A	VINOBA	76
RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE STATE	—K G MASHRUWALA	76
VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—III		78
THREE PUZZLES	VINOBA	80
NOTES		
EXCESSIVE PRICES	K G M	74
AHIMSA WEEK	K. G M	79
THE YARN CONDITION	— K. G M	79
HARIJAN-BRAHMAN MARRIAGE	— K. G M	79
HARIJAN EDITIONS	K G M	80

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Name of This Paper

Reg. No. B. 3092

HARIJAN

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 9 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY MAY 2, 1948 TWO ANNAS

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

I

Shri Vinoba was invited to a meeting of the Congress workers at Delhi on the 4th of April last The following is the first instalment of a translation of a few of the questions put to him and his answers thereto]

SPECIAL HARIJAN INSTITUTIONS

Q 1 Why should there be special Harijan institutions and conferences? Why should not all distinctions between Harijans and non Harijans be abolished?

A I agree that these distinctions must go and that there should be no necessity for special institutions But this is possible only if those who are known as Harijans are absorbed fully into the general society by those who are not so known I suggest that instead of opening special schools or granting separate scholarships to Harijans, every worker should admit a Harijan boy into his house and bring him up along with his own children In this way you will be able to achieve more than by holding conferences But you will say that the members of your family were not prepared for that So that is that But I say that if you do what I suggest, you will not only receive God's blessings, but render more intrinsic service to the people than all your public activities put together can do

TAINTED MONEY

Q 2 Much of the money which we collect for public funds is earned by their donors by exploitation Are not therefore our public activities carried on through tainted money? How can they remain on a high moral level when they are tainted at the very source?

A This is a very good question Let me make one thing clear at the outset If one feels that all one's activities depend mainly upon funds for carrying them on I should think that he does not know how to carry on his activities The principal things needed in the performance of service are industriousness and resourcefulness — labour and intellect. Money does help a little But one must not put all his reliance on money The work must stand upon the strength of its own merits If funds are forthcoming well and good But one's plans and mental make-up should be such that he does not feel helpless for want of funds

Secondly I have no right to judge whether my donor has earned his money rightly or wrongly Only I would not accept a donation, if the donor makes a condition that he should get some benefit from his charity For instance once a donor offered me money for constructing a well for Harijans But he wanted to inscribe his name on the well I asked him whether in wanting his name to be inscribed on the well, he sought to reserve to himself the right to drown himself in it Otherwise, where was the sense in having one's name inscribed on a well? This is one criterion for discriminating between acceptability or otherwise of a donation

I shall give another criterion also by way of an illustration Once the proprietor of a dramatic company came to pay me a sum saying that it was the net proceeds of a performance I told him that if he had paid me the amount without disclosing how he had collected it, I would have accepted the donation without any enquiry But since he disclosed how he came by the money, I could not accept it It would amount to my encouraging this manner of collecting funds or earning money The lesson you to draw is that if your acceptance of a donation gives a sort of sanction to wrong methods of acquiring money or encourages wrong ways of life, it must not be accepted, unless the donation is in the nature of penance by one who gives up not only wrongly acquired money but also along with it wrong ways of acquiring it. Subject to this since we are all liable to do good things as well as bad things, let us not judge others

There will be both rich and poor amongst donors of the Gandhi Memorial Fund There will be more poor people than the rich It is well-known that Gandhiji used to collect money from the poor also, and had more respect for their pies and annas than for the thousands of the wealthy Moreover, ultimately the money paid by the rich also comes from the poor If they have come by it by exploiting the poor, I can divest them of it in a non-violent manner for the benefit of those poor people

The more important thing is how we make use of the funds If we use them in a good manner and for a good purpose, we purify the money "Gold may be extracted even from an unclean place is a rule of Vedic rituals If a sinner's money — voluntarily paid by him — is employed for a good purpose, it will clean the sin also When I spend a mill-owner's donation for the propagation of *khadi* I attack his industry with his own money Our Socialist friends insist that the mill industry should be nationalized I agree with them But this might take time What shall we do till then? Shall we go on assisting them by using mill-made cloth? I say that if we produce and wear *khadi* the mill-owners will themselves surrender their factories to

the nation. I need not say now what we shall do with those factories then.

INADEQUACY OF THE CHARKHA

Q 3 The *charkha* does not attract the labourer because it does not pay enough for maintaining oneself on it with eight hours' work If it is made to give more returns it might take root in the villages

A The answer is easy I take walking exercise, for about an hour and a half every day Shall I get my bread out of the exercise if I took it for eight hours daily? If I walked more it would give me more fresh air but not bread. If I plant a mango tree I cannot get bananas from it In the same way, if I spin I can expect to get cloth out of it, not bread It is true that the Charkha Sangh has tacked it to bread to a certain extent but the main function of the *charkha* is the production of yarn and not bread.

And it is necessary for you to realize the importance of this It is usual to say that food is the first need of man, and cloth is the next. But if you look a little deeper, you will come to know that in a civilized society cloth is the first need of man and not food You can go about without food for a day or two, but you simply cannot go about naked at all Cloth does not merely afford protection against cold and air, it also covers our nakedness That has become the mark of our civilization. In fact that has become the more important function of cloth than its capacity to protect against the weather Cloth is thus the first necessity of man and not second, and the *charkha* supplies that need What more need you expect of the *charkha* which claims to cover your nudity and makes good that claim?

THE YARN CONDITION

Q 4 Why should not the yarn condition be removed since it encourages untruthfulness?

A Well, if it will console you, let me inform you that the yarn condition will be removed in a few days

But let me at the same time warn you that if you think of supplying yourself with *khadi* by only making purchases from Khadi Bhandars, *khadi* will not live Villagers will have to produce their *khaddar*, even as they do their food City people cannot produce food by reason of city conditions But let them at least produce their cloth at home It will bring a healthy change in their daily occupations. It will create joy in the home and a sense of co-operation One of the members might gin, another make slivers a third might spin, and a fourth one might twist it double The double twisted yarn will make weaving a play, and I would have no hesitation in suggesting that you put up a loom too in your home You can weave all the cloth needed annually by the family within a month.

You all have water-pipes installed in your houses The water comes out in a flush It cannot however stand favourable comparison with rain, which comes in tiny drops Rain, though in the form of tiny drops, is spread out all over the country, and therefore gives more useful service than the pipe water The *charkha* may be likened to rain-water It distributes its gift to every home. It automatically solves the economic problem of a just distribution of wealth

If you want to free yourself from the grip of the capitalists, you must ply the *charkha* A mother can instil love for one's country into the minds of her children through the *charkha* My mother insisted that before I got my breakfast I must water the Tulsi plant Thereby she taught me the duty of giving food even to plant life before I took mine Similarly if the mother told her children that for the sake of the country it was necessary to spin, she would teach them patriotism from their childhood Everyone must take some share in bodily labour If you take to daily spinning, you will keep yourself linked with the poor

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT?

In the House of Lords speaking on the atomic energy the most reverend the Archbishop of York suggested that if negotiations between Truman Attlee and Stalin should fail, then those nations, 'willing to submit to an atomic authority should do so without waiting for Russia and be in a position to confront any potential aggressor with an overwhelming deterrent force." Has His Grace so quickly forgotten the lessons of the last two global wars or does he believe in getting in the blow first? It appears to us that the nations of the world are being blind-folded to the lessons brought home to us by the last two wars that force does not solve the problems between nations Already people in the know are talking of the third world war Premier George Drew of Ontario speaking in Toronto early this week said, " We must realize that we are at war today — and let us not balk at that word Hundreds of millions of people are being held in slavery and two hundred millions more are under the threat of slavery There is much talk of the world being divided into two kinds of ideologies but there never was such a simple division as now — not just of ideology but an irreconcilable difference between two ways of life' Yes, it is the two ways of life that are in conflict today the one believes in gaining the whole material world for oneself, and the other abhors violence even if it be at the cost of renouncing the world

The people who would gain the world have forgotten that the means of violence even from the materialistic point of view is not worth the candle Great Britain is squandering about 700 millions on military commitments The Air Force itself accounts for about 170 millions The Army clamours for over 300 millions and the Navy, of course- is the pet boy on whom not enough could be lavished These figures mean nothing unless they indicate that so much of the productive power of the country is being diverted towards destruction and these figures naturally take no account of the enormous loss of human life Unless the nations

wake up because we shall again be plunged into the condition from which there will be no escape this time

India itself is being dragged into this whirlpool of violence Our military expenditure in a budget under a National Government is soaring high. As far as we can see the powers that are interested in enriching themselves are extremely busy fomenting the type of industrialization that will plunge us headlong over the precipice

The "Industrial Policy' outlined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently gives us no hope that the Government are aware of the dangers lurking beneath such a 'Policy" The statements and actions of Government indicate that there is no considered policy in regard to the economic development of the country The Government appears to be guided mainly by the exigencies of the case Whichever interest happens to be vociferous at the time obtains a promise that will suit the party irrespective of the effect on the country as a whole This programme of drifting along the current will not avail us much What is wanted is a definite philosophy which will envisage the future of our country and indicate the means of attaining it and all other considerations must be secondary to this main objective Given such an objective our country can enunciate a policy which will not only bring peace and stability to our own land but will also usher hope into a world distorted with suspicion and fear

J C KUMARAPPA

AT THE URUS OF BIBI NUR

[Adshina is a small village near Mohali (East Punjab) A Muslim annual festival called Bibi Nur s *urus* is held here every year for nearly six hundred and fifty years past This year it took place on the 10th and 11th of April last During the disturbances Government took special care to protect the *dargah*. It also got the tombs repaired and renovated Shri Vinoba attended the *urus* on the 11th and on Maulana Ahmed Said s invitation addressed the gathering as summarized below]

Shri Vinoba expressed his pleasure for being amidst them and referring to the sad events which had happened recently, said that a poison wave had passed over the land, infecting even good men with its virus He hoped that by the grace of God a wave of good will would now prevail such as to make even bad men turn good

India was a land of many sects. She had given welcome to every religion As our great poet Ravindra nath Tagore had said India was an ocean of humanity Just as rivers from all directions flow to the ocean and mixed together, so all nations came to India and lived amicably together If we took a wise lesson for the future from what had taken place recently and did not allow such things to happen again even the tragic experiences might in the end be looked upon as having been for our good As the Maulana Saheb (Ahmed Said) had told them Gandhiji had tried till the end to make the Hindus Muslims and other communities live together here with goodwill and love, and that efforts should be continued in the same direction Shri Vinoba exhorted all people to will and work for that purpose

Shri Vinoba related that it dawned upon him about nine years ago that he should study the *Quran* the religious scripture of so many of his neighbours, even as he had studied the Hindu scriptures Islam had been in India for about a thousand years and was followed by millions of his countrymen He had, indeed, read its English translation before But that did not satisfy him and he made up his mind to study it in Arabic With the help of Muslim friends he read it through and through several times in about two or three years and also studied the Arabic language Though he could not claim to be a scholar of that language, he could now understand it

Shri Vinoba believed that since all of us had to live together it was necessary that one should have a correct understanding of others religions also It removed misunderstandings He had benefitted considerably from the study of the *Quran* He learnt much that he did not know before Islam did not distinguish between man and man, but regarded all men as equal in status. It enjoined that they should live as friends with followers of other religions Not only so, Islam proclaimed ' *la nufarri ka baina ahadim min rasulih* we make no distinction among the prophets who have come into the world In the opinion of the *Quran* faith in God right conduct and fortitude (*sabra*) are the essential principles of religious life Wherever there was a reference to faith in God it was always coupled with the duty to perform good acts There were many religious sects in the world based on man s different views on various matters But the essential *deen* (doctrine) was only one The different sects were like different types of clothes Man had devised so many forms of dress but the main purpose of clothing was one viz protection of the body against weather So it was with religious sects This was the teaching of all the saints of India In the Sikh religion also the *Granth Saheb* included the utterances of other saints along with those of the Sikh *Gurus* It includes even the utterances of the Muslim saint Baba Farid

The saints of all religions were of one mind had one heart Every one said 'Fear God fear none else nor produce fear in any one' This was the test of faith in God

It was grateful on their part Vinoba said, that they had thanked the Government for what it had done for the protection of the *dargah* The Government had done only its duty for indeed it was their own Government This country was the home of every one of us and every one should help in making and keeping it clean, comfortable and happy. Wherever he went his exhortation would be to have both courage and love together

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9 47 to 30 1- 48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

May 2 1948

THE NAME OF THIS PAPER

Suggestions have been made by friends that the names of these weeklies should have been changed They fall into two groups One group says that the *Harijan* represented the voice of Gandhiji None can speak in Gandhiji's voice after him It is therefore not proper to retain a name which stood for his voice The other group is of opinion that the word *Harijan* is not suggestive enough A word such as *Sarvodaya* (Common Weal) *Lok Sevak* (Servant of the People) *Vishwabandhu* (Friend of the Universe) would be a more appropriate name

It had not become necessary for me to give my opinion about the name of the paper when the decision to continue it was taken by the trustees I took the continuation of the same name as a foregone conclusion. I can say however that my opinion was quite definite that if the papers were to be continued they should be published under their old names These are my reasons

(1) True it is that the *Harijan* was Gandhiji's voice But the voice was not just any thought or recorded sound of his It was related to some work started directed or inspired by him These works are yet unfinished The object of the *Harijan* was and is to be an organ of these activities If we who have survived him do intend to continue all other activities started by him under the same name I do not see any objection in conducting this organ of those activities under the same name even though in the same way as his other institutions it will necessarily cease to represent Gandhiji's ideas fully in so far as any change is made in their shape

(2) From whatever point of view it is considered I do not consider that the name *Harijan* is inappropriate *Harijan* literally means God's people In this sense it includes the whole of humanity for there are no people who are not God's people. If we take the word in its restricted senses it means (i) God's servants — all those in the world who walk in the path of God and (ii) the dear ones of God. i e all the afflicted depressed suppressed abandoned people of the world In both these senses the word is but a synonym for *sevak* (server) as well as *sevaya* (the services) of the Sarvodaya Samaj If we take the word in its further restricted sense of being the name given to so called untouchable or 'scheduled classes of India then let it be remembered that it was for them that this paper was started and, though untouchability might have been legally abolished still it cannot be said that the special social and economic grievances and injustices of this section have come to an end and that they have ceased to be distinguishable from other sections of the society Even if the paper remained no more than an organ for the service of [illegible]

(3) [illegible]

If thereafter the [illegible] this journalistic [illegible] would have come to an end [illegible] starting [illegible] new paper in its place would have been an important matter which ought have taken some time [illegible] leads

So far as I am personally concerned the decision to stop the papers would have been a relief to me I have no ambition in disinguish myself as a journalist — whether in English or Indian languages So there would have been no question of my editing a new paper But in the matter of the *Harijan* I was oppressed by the sense that I had not fully discharged my obligations to Gandhiji who had reposed full confidence in me and loved me beyond measure in spite of several handicaps This sense prevented me from declining the responsibility to shoulder this burden when I found that if I did not do so the trustees of the Navajivan Press would have been compelled to close Gandhiji's weeklies not because they thought it was right to do so but because they could not make any arrangement for their editorship

Wardha 27-3-48 K G MASHRUWALA

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati in the Harijanbandhu of 11-4-48*)

CONSCRIPTION IN FREE INDIA

Article 17 of the proposed Constitution runs as follows

> (1) Traffic in human beings and begar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law
>
> (2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes In imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on the ground of race religion caste or class

The second clause requires serious consideration Its application would be resisted by all those who have conscientious scruples against resorting to or assisting untruth and violence which are inevitable in war and occupations connected with war It is one thing for the Government to require its subjects to perform services for constructive activities and activities which are calculated to spread good will and love amongst human beings it is quite another to compel them to do things which ask them to kill and hate I can quite understand that under the conditions prevailing in the country it may not be possible for the Government of India to abjure militarism altogether But that should be no reason why individuals who are wedded to truth and non violence should not be allowed to keep aloof from it

In my opinion, therefore the second clause should be amended by adding the following words after "purposes"

> provided always that such compulsory service is consistent with truth and non violence

The proposed provision would be the first step in the part of the people of India to declare their regard for even if it does not amount to faith in truth and non-violence

Akola 18 4-48 K G MASHRUWALA

METHOD OF VOTING—II

I shall discuss now how political parties would fare in a multiple-seat constituency under the method suggested by me

It must be mentioned at the outset that this method cannot allow 'cumulative voting', but distributive voting of the type in which each voter has as many votes as the number of seats allowed to the constituency, and is restricted to give not more than one vote to any candidate I believe that cumulative voting is a very artificial method In a multiple-seat constituency a voter might be given either the right to select only one representative or to select as many representatives as the number of seats allocated In the latter case he might exercise his right fully or partially as he chose He might also be allowed to say that he would prefer A to others but if that was not possible he would go in for B, and so on to the extent of his votes But to give all one's votes to a single individual is a very unnatural way of voting Moreover, as experience shows in a carefully organized party system the system does not help weaker parties much in the ultimate results The system might be helpful (though I doubt) in intra-party elections among rival groups but not in inter-party elections I think it should be done away with in every case It will have been noticed that at the last elections the Ambedkar Party lost its seats in spite of cumulative voting, and the Congress won them by judiciously refraining from exercising that freedom It advised its voters to distribute their votes equally amongst all the candidates set up by it Wherever that advice was not fully adhered to a precarious situation was created

Let us see how matters would stand if the method suggested by me were adopted I shall take an imaginary typical case

Let it be a 3 seat constituency one of the seats being reserved for Harijans The following statement shows the registration of votes

Congress non-Harijans	Congress Harijans	Ambedkar Party	Hindu Mahasabha	Independents
A 6700	P 6300	X 5500	K 6500	F 1600
B 6400	Q 1200	Y 4000	L 400	G 400
C 2500	R 500	Z 3400		
D 1500				
E 200				
17300	8000	12900	6900	2000

Total Congress votes—25300

The result shows that the Congress as a party gets the highest number of votes its first candidate must therefore, be declared elected In this particular case he also tops the list

The next to be considered are B and K. Individually K has secured more votes than B But the total of Hindu Mahasabha votes is 6900, while the Congress has votes credit after eliminating A's votes which have been already accounted for, 10 600 votes The Congress therefore, still heads the list, and so it should be B and not K, who must be declared elected It would have been otherwise, if the total number of Mahasabha's votes had been more than 10,600, even if individually B had secured more votes than K.

The third being a Harijan seat, K goes out of the picture altogether and the claims of P and X have to be considered Here we note that individually P has secured considerably more number of votes than X But the balance of votes remaining in favour of the Congress is now 4200 (C D E) + 8000 (P, Q, R) = 12,200 while the total of the Ambedkar Party is 12,900 The result would be still more in favour of the Ambedkarites if we do not take into account as perhaps we should not the votes of the non-Harijan candidates of the Congress It is clear therefore that so far as the Harijan candidate is concerned the electors have declared their choice in favour of the Ambedkar Party, and so X and not P, should get the seat

If the object of cumulative voting is to give a fair chance to a weaker party to get some representation, it is clear that no amount of cumulative voting would enable it to get it if the other party is not only strong but also fully organized and disciplined. For, it will be seen that the Congress voting has been, in respect of its first three candidates almost equal It means that about 2100 voters distributed their votes equally among A B and P. If there had been cumulative voting these three only would have been allowed to stand for the Congress, and most of the other voters, who voted for the Congress would have probably followed the same course On the Ambedkar side, on the other hand very probably X alone would have been set up The total number of votes secured by that party in the above imaginary contest is 12,900 i e the voting of about 4300 voters at the best. But he is supposed to have secured 5500 votes This means that he must have obtained the support of several caste Hindus also May be some of them were those who generally supported the Congress but preferred X to P so far as the Harijan candidate was concerned or may be, they were the votes of the Mahasabhaites, who did not put up a candidate of their own for the Harijan seat Separate electorate could not have enabled the Ambedkar Party to get this advantage In that case probably there need not have been a multiple-seat constituency at all, and the situation would have been that set forth in the first article It has been already shown there that the change suggested by me is more advantageous to smaller parties or minorities than the present system based on the fiction of non-party elections

Let us now see the moral advantage of this method

If this method were adopted there would not arise such situations as, for instance did in the provinces of Madras and Nagpur (C P Marathi),

In Madras the High Command of the Congress wanted to set up Shri Rajagopalachari No less a leader than Gandhiji himself pleaded for him His plea was that though Shri Rajaji had lost favour with the local Parliamentary Board he was popular among the masses However, a tense situation arose and Shri Rajaji deemed it best to withdraw altogether from the contest Under the system, which prevails at present there is no way of knowing the voters' mind

In C P Marathi rightly or wrongly the High Command preferred Shri Dharmadhikari to General Awari the candidate proposed by the N P C C president General Awari the soldier that he is could not take his rejection lying Having no means of appealing directly to the electorate he took the course of resorting to a fast For a time a tense situation was created Though through the good offices of friends the fast was abandoned bitterness and the evils of group politics have stayed on

All this need not have happened if the choice of selecting a right representative of the Congress could have been left to the electors themselves And wider tribunal than the High or Low or other Command or man of influence would have decided whether Shri Rajaji or Shri Dharmadhikari or General Awari should represent the Congress in the Legislative Assemblies More than a hundred persons ran to Delhi or Bombay or Calcutta to secure the Congress ticket and not only pleaded their cause before the members of the Central Parliamentary Board but also before every individual supposed by them to be capable of influencing those members All this energy and money would be saved and none need be approached for exercising one's legal right to stand up for election, if the party system was legally recognized. If any influential person wanted a particular candidate to succeed, according to the method suggested by me, he could not do so by simply using his influence with a group of less than half a dozen men of a committee He would have to plead for his favourite with the electors themselves. The Congress would have been there, whether the people elected Dharmadhikari or Awari, Rajaji or X And as the decision would have been given by a wider *panchayat*, the heart-burning and bitterness was likely to be less This might perhaps also prove to be a better way of removing the evil of power politics of groups

I earnestly request the members of the Constituent Assembly to think over this matter As stated in the beginning this problem of elections is independent of direct or indirect elections and universal or restricted franchise It is also independent of joint or separate electorates

Sevagram 5-3-'46 K G MASHRUWALA

Correction

In the *Harijan* of 25 4 46, No 8 on page 73 in column 1 in line 5 from bottom please read *languages* for language

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The Government of Free India have at last made up their mind in regard to the policy for industrial development of the country The industrial policy was announced by the Government on the 7th April and after an important debate, it was accepted by the Indian Parliament.

Frankly speaking, the industrial policy is very moderate and matter-of-fact there is nothing in it that would catch the imagination of the masses who are eager to feel the glow of freedom It is difficult to share the view that it is a triumph for Gandhian socialism. Perhaps it is a victory for the advocates of a mixed economy which in modern context means more or less, a capitalist economy The industrial policy has given a long lease of full 10 years to the existing private enterprise with a promise of 'all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion' Even at the end of this period, there is no definite mention of nationalization, it is only laid down that the whole matter would be reviewed in the light of circumstances prevailing at the time

The lists of industries to be nationalized and industries of which only new undertakings would be State-owned, are inadequate The recommendations of the National Planning Committee and the Economic Programme Committee appointed by the A. I C C, have been diluted to a very great extent.

Although the role of cottage industries has been emphasized by the Government from the standpoint of better utilization of local resources and for the achievement of local self-sufficiency in respect of certain types of essential consumer goods the full and far-reaching implications of decentralized cottage industrialism based on the Gandhian ideals of simplicity, non-exploitation, and human values have evidently, not been properly visualized It has not been realized, for example, that industrial decentralization on a co-operative basis is the only rational and practical solution in the modern world for the pressing problems of full employment, national defence and industrial harmony between labour and capital. No amount of cry for 'more production' would be effective without making workers the owners of instruments of production in numberless cottage co-operative factories adjacent to green fields and tiny workshops The only feasible solution of our economic ills therefore is the Gandhian formula i e the nationalization of key industries and public utilities and bold decentralization of all consumer goods industries The change should indeed be gradual. But a plea for gradualness should not be a device for maintaining the *status quo* as long as possible

We are therefore sorry to say that the long awaited industrial policy of the National Government has failed to enthuse us despite our best efforts it has left us cold

Wardha 15-4-48 S N AGARWAL

[Frankly I have not yet been able to study and apply my own mind on the Government blue

prine. I refrain therefore from either agreeing or disagreeing with Principal Agarwal's criticism

—K G M]

LEST WE FORGET

IV

MARTYRDOM

(a)

A martyr's death is surely the last seal upon his sacrifice and a precursor of victory (letter to Mr Arthur Moore dated 4 December 1940)

(b)

Where is the reformer who has not a price put upon his head? There is nothing untoward in the assassination (of Swami Shraddhanand) having taken place

Swamiji was a man of action not of words . He was a warrior And a warrior loves to die not on a sick bed but on the battlefield

We have not the last words of Swamiji, but if I knew him at all I have no doubt that he prayed to his God to forgive him who knew not that he was doing anything wrong for the language of the Gita therefore happy the warrior who achieves such a blessed death'

. I cannot therefore mourn over his death He and his are to be envied For though Shraddhanandji is dead, he is yet living He is living in a truer sense than when he moved in our midst in his giant body

Let us not ascribe the crime of an individual to a whole community Let us not harbour the spirit of retaliation

I wish to plead for Abdul Rashid It does not matter to me what prompted the deed The fault is ours The newspaperman has become a walking plague He spreads the contagion of lies and calumnies He exhausts the foul vocabulary of his dialect and injects his virus into the unsuspecting and often receptive minds of his readers Secret and insidious propaganda has done its dark and horrible work unchecked and unabashed It is therefore we the educated and the semi-educated class that are responsible for the hot fever which possessed Abdul Rashid

It is too much to hope, but Swamiji was great enough to warrant the hope that his blood may wash us of our guilt cleanse our hearts and cement these two mighty divisions of the human family (*Young India*, 30 December 1926 A C)

(c)

If you hold dear the memory of Swami Shraddhanandji, you would help in purging the atmosphere of mutual hatred and calumny You would help in boycotting papers which foment hatred and spread misrepresentation I am sure that India would lose nothing if 90 per cent of the papers were to cease today Now you will perhaps understand why I have called Abdul Rashid a brother and I repeat it I do not even regard him as guilty of Swamiji's murder Guilty indeed are all those who excited feelings of hatred against one another For us Hindus the Gita enjoins on us the lesson of equimindedness, we are to cherish the same feelings towards a learned Brahman as towards a *chandala* a dog a cow and an elephant

This is no occasion for mourning or tears It is an occasion that should burn on our hearts the lesson of bravery Let us not shed tears of sorrow but chasten our hearts and steel them with some of the fire and faith that were Shraddhanandji's (Speech at Gauhati Congress 1926 A C)

VINOBA AMONG VILLAGERS

[Bakhtawarpur is a village about 16 miles from Delhi. During the last disturbances some of the Muslims of that village had become converts to Hinduism Some of them have reverted to Islam and there are others who want to do so A meeting was arranged on the 6th April at this village for hearing Shri Vinoba The following is a summary of his advice]

He was glad, Shri Vinoba said to be in the midst of villagers where he felt more at home than among city people He was also glad that several women had attended the meeting Men and women were the two wheels of a carriage Just as a carriage cannot go without both the wheels working in order, so the society could not proceed in an orderly fashion unless both men and women combined to run it Whether it was a question of knowledge, or performance of duties or of going on a pilgrimage, or carrying on day to day village and occupational work, both of them should work together

The first advice which he would like to give to the villagers was to beware of the city atmosphere Much of the evil that had visited our country during recent months was a city product Illiterate and unsophisticated villagers were imposed upon by the city people who kindled their passions, created ill will amongst various sections of the people and sowed the seeds of mutual destruction His advice to the villagers was that when city people came to them and spoke such things they must tell them plainly that they were not wanted by them and that they should not bring city quarrels into their villages

He compared different communities living in a society to the five fingers of the hand Some fingers were small some were big but if anything was to be lifted by the hand all the fingers had to join together in order to do the work Although there were only five fingers their combination allowed men to do a thousand things. The reason was that all the five worked together in unison If any of them ceased to work in unison with the others, the capacity of the hand to do work would considerably diminish. The Indian saying that God resides in the *panch* ' (literally, committee of five) was significant If the *panch* gave a unanimous opinion, it was looked upon with the sanctity of a divine decision But if the opinion was not unanimous then it was not so regarded If therefore, they wished the village to be happy and prosperous, they should all work together in unity This was the first thing which they needed to understand

Shri Vinoba expressed satisfaction at the fact that there were some Muslims also in that village He would have been more glad if there were also persons

[illegible] — There [illegible] — That is good)

Every people had a different way of offering worship to God and each way had some noteworthy factors When all such people lived together and worshipped God in their own different ways and nevertheless worked together with mutual love and goodwill there was joy and happiness all over the village Their different methods like the different notes of a musical instrument, produced a kind of music No one would enjoy a musical instrument if it had only one note.

There was not a uniform way of worship even amongst the Hindus Some worshipped Vishnu others Shiva no third Shakti and there were other gods and goddesses also He was aware that some people did not like this and complained that it looked like a bazaar of gods and goddesses He would say that since the taste of people varied there was nothing wrong in having a bazaar where things of every variety were available Did not people like to have a variety in their food? They did not like to eat the same dish every day from years and to years end Similarly these different modes of worship were like different dishes All forms and all names were attributable to God and just as a mine would give different names to each of his sons so people gave different names to Him different forms and conceptions of God Some had a preference for the name Vishnu others for Krishna and so on How did such preferences come in their way? Since there were no two Gods who could be worshipped and since all names were given by men for their own gratification it was immaterial if each worshipper gave Him a name which gave him the best satisfaction

The conclusion was that if the Muslims wanted to worship God in a particular way there was no reason why they should tell them to keep a tuft of hair on the head and call themselves Hindus And, what a way that they had found out to convert a man into Hinduism! People said that if a man put a piece of pig's bone into the mouth he became a Hindu! If it was possible to adopt Hinduism so easily there was no need for great sages and teachers of religion Could such a ridiculous method be a test of Hinduism? It was its blasphemy

Hinduism did not desire any person to give up his religion Every one should observe the tenets of his own religion and become a good man — a servant of God Both Hindus and Muslims had given up that prime condition of becoming good men and servants of God. Both told lies committed murders, exploited the poor and still believed that they were good followers of their particular religion! This was absurd Truth, compassion and love were the true qualities of religiousness Goodwill friendship development of loving relations between men and men and ending of quarrels was true religious conduct

GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA, WARDHA

NEXT SESSION

The new session of our Gram Sevak Vidyalaya opens on the 1st of July 1948

The Regular Course which includes training in a major industry such as Oil-pressing or Paper making as well as short elementary courses in Bee keeping Soap making from indigenous materials and Date palm Gur making is for a period of ten months

Subjects such as Principles underlying our Village Movement Health Hygiene and Sanitation Book keeping and the Constructive Programme are included in the course

Expenses including cost of materials come to about Rs 40 per month

Prospectus and admission form may be had from the Secretary Gram Sevak Vidyalaya Maganwadi Wardha The last date for receiving applications is 31st May 1948

ANNUAL GATHERING

The annual gathering of our Vidyalaya was held on the 18th April 1948

The superintendent's report stated that in all 37 students underwent training during the year Of these only 12 took the full 10 months course

The students came from various parts of the country Of them 7 were from Orissa 3 from Nepal 1 from Bihar and 1 from Jaipur

Out of these students 6 have been declared successful and are eligible for the Diploma of Gram Udyog Vinit Out of these 1 have been awarded certificates of merit Their names are as follows

I Diploma of Gram Udyog Vinit

(a) Merit certificates (in order of rank)

Name	Industry	Province
1 Haoomendas Swami	Paper	Jaipur
2 Shantinath Sharma	Paper	Nepal

(b) Pass certificates (in alphabetical order)

1 Appal Narsimlulu	*Ghani*	Orissa
2 Kedar Nath Shreshtha	*Ghani*	Nepal
3 Narain Padhi	Paper	Orissa
4 Scorya Raj Upadhyay	*Ghani*	Nepal

The following who failed to qualify in some of the subjects required for the Diploma course but attained proficiency in the industry chosen by them obtained a certificate in industry only

B Industry Certificates (in alphabetical order)

1 E Lakshmanaram	*Ghani*	Orissa
2 Rammohan Rao	Paper	"
3 Ratnakar	Paper	"
4 Shyam Sundar Pada	*Ghani*	"

CONTENTS

	PAGE
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—I VINOBA	81
WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT? — J C KUMARAPPA	82
AT THE URUS OF BIBI NUR — VINOBA	83
THE NAME OF THIS PAPER — K G MASHRUWALA	84
CONSCRIPTION IN FREE INDIA — K G MASHRUWALA	84
METHOD OF VOTING—II — K G MASHRUWALA	85
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY — S N AGARWAL	86
LEST WE FORGET—IV — M K GANDHI	87
VINOBA AMONG VILLAGERS	87
GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA WARDHA	88

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

307 L

The Tragedy of Kashmir

Reg No B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII, No 10 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1948 TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

MILITARY TRAINING

Q One can understand the State making provision for the military training of such young men and women who desire it But what is the duty of a person who believes in the establishment of a society based on non-violence or who is a votary of non-violence if such training is made compulsory ?

A. I have already said in my article *Conscription in Free India* (*vide Harijan* dated 2nd May 1948) that there should be no compulsion on a person to take such training or render such service as would require inevitable breach of truth and non-violence But assuming that this objection is overruled and the State is empowered to impose compulsory military training or service, it is evident that a satyagrahi would resist such law in a civil manner and suffer the penalty of the breach

The present public mind may be described thus. A majority of the people will vote in favour of compulsory military training and the right to bear arms They have greater faith—however suicidal though it might be ultimately—in weapons of violence and the knowledge of using them than on non-violence Those who have implicit faith in non violence are very few indeed. Hence there is every chance of compulsory military training receiving the support of a great majority But in spite of this mentality, if military training and service were made voluntary or if easy conditions of escaping from it were provided there would be a very large section of the people who would try to escape from this training on account of the difficult life and hard discipline involved in military training and on account of their love for lazy and easy-going life Consequently, I am of opinion that those only should get relief from this kind of training and service who have a conscientious objection to violence and absolute faith in satyagraha. I would not, therefore, consider as unreasonable the imposition of such conditions as would as an alternative necessitate the taking of such training and the rendering of such service as could be compared with the hard life and service of persons in the military It should not be possible to say of men violence that its path is so easy that even a coward might go along it.

Wardha, 29-4-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

"NO DEPARTURE FROM GANDHIJI"

A correspondent writes as follows

"On reading Shri Acharya Vinoba's speech on *The Language of Prayer* published in the *Harijan* of 11th April I feel like reminding the readers of Gandhiji's views on the subject I give below a relevant extract from one of Gandhiji's replies to a correspondent

> It is in this case (i e prayer) the attitude that matters not words uttered or muttered And after the ennumeration of words that have been handed down from ancient times has an effect which in their rendering into *one's mother tongue* they will lose altogether Thus the *Gayatri* translated and recited in, say Gujarati will not have the same effect as the original The utterance of the words Rama will instantaneously effect millions of Hindus whom the word God although they may understand the meaning will leave untouched Words after all acquire power by long usage and sacredness associated with their use There is much, therefore, to be said for the retention of the old Sanskrit formulae for the most prevalent mantras or verses That the meaning of them should be properly understood goes without saying

With due respect to Acharya Vinoba, I suggest that Gandhiji held quite a different view on the matter as is clear from the foregoing So far as I have understood him Gandhiji held the view that prayers should be in the original scriptural texts and he always insisted that every Hindu should study Sanskrit to be a better Hindu Further, in the open public prayers conducted by him verses from the *Gita*, *Quran Zend Avesta*, and the Buddhist scriptures were all recited in their originals in spite of the fact that only a few among the audience could understand them Had he held the Acharya's views, I have no doubt that he would have allowed recitation of the translations of the said verses instead of the originals—a practical man eminently that he was Now there is raises another issue I hold the view that those ideas which Bapuji did not cherish can have no place in the *Harijan* Shri K. G Mashruwala has, of course, already warned the public against accepting all that appears in the *Harijan* as the correct interpretation of Gandhiji's views All the same the public at large do expect correct exposition and interpretation of Gandhiji and what he stood for, in the columns of the *Harijan* and the allied weeklies My plea, therefore is that utmost care should be bestowed on the selection of matter and articles for publication in the

Harijan [illegible] forget the [illegible] should [illegible] times [illegible] it has [illegible] the Acharyaji [illegible] should never hold different [illegible] they can Only they are [illegible] is concerned Supposing that [illegible] contributes an article [illegible] of the *Urdu* script from H[illegible] should at he [illegible] any opinion [illegible] still rejected despite [illegible] also the possibility [illegible] The pure and simple [illegible] insisted on the dogmas [illegible] I hope I have made myself clear [illegible] that the *Harijan* still continues [illegible] will easily be so if the [illegible] followed by us

I have written this [illegible] to be followed of Gandhiji and therefore [illegible] be corrected if I am wrong in my [illegible] and I assure you that there is no [illegible] behind this letter

The correspondent has raised two points the first is about the question of the language of one's prayer I am prepared to admit that Gandhiji did hold at one time the view pointed by the correspondent though I do not know where he has taken his quotation from At any rate, I am not in a position to point out immediately when he modified those views and if he publicly expressed his modified views anywhere It is possible also that he might see no inconsistency between the quoted view and Shri Vinoba's views and might reconcile both But we may leave aside these conjectures It is sufficient to point out that for some years past he had admitted the Marathi verses of the Gita in the evening prayer of the Sevagram Ashram Also in the morning prayer of the Ashram, where it is customary to recite the whole of the Gita in the course of a week the Marathi Gita has displaced the Sanskrit Gita for some years past. It was found that even those whose mother-tongue was not Marathi found it easier to understand the meaning of the *Gita* through its Marathi translation than through Sanskrit which they could understand only imperfectly, if at all I believe that in most of the Ashrams in Maharashtra and Gujarat prayers have been conducted for several years past in the provincial languages instead of or in addition to Sanskrit It was in 1928 or 1929 that at my suggestion the prayers in the National School at Vile Parle (Bombay) were changed from Sanskrit into Gujarati to the great advantage of reciters and hearers I have no doubt that if the scriptures are to be read understood and followed and not merely recited as a daily routine the prayers should be conducted in a language which the people understand while they speak

The second point which arises from the above is of greater importance It is whether the *Harijan* may depart [illegible] Gandhiji on any point on [illegible] is definitely known I [illegible] remember again what I [illegible] upon the responsibility [illegible] the paper

"The reader will not take [illegible] or other writers of the *Harijan* say to be Gandhiji's or an authorized interpretation of Gandhiji If he finds an inconsistency between what will appear under our signatures and what Gandhiji [illegible] he should consider such on its merits and accept what appeals to his head and heart I have no authority to interpret him and the reader will bear patiently with me if I do not seem to follow him in every detail

What applies to me applies equally to views expressed by others in the *Harijan*

The correspondent would insist that the *Harijan* should never depart from Gandhiji in any matter whatsoever even if there was a possibility of the other view being correct. This cannot be done without being disloyal to Gandhiji himself by suppressing truth itself and suggesting to the world that if Gandhiji had been alive after 30th January 1948, he would not have changed his opinion afterwards because Truth (at any rate on that matter) had revealed itself completely by that date in him I must request the reader to rest views expressed in the *Harijan* not merely by comparing and contrasting them with those expressed by Gandhiji during his lifetime (which also is needed and welcome) but also by constantly applying the standard which Gandhiji and all who pursue light have applied to themselves namely, whether they are the outcome of the life experience and reasoning faculty of one who seeks truth in the spirit of *sarvodaya* (the wellbeing of all) and is himself disciplined to truth non-violence and other rules of self-restraint

Wardha, 28-4-48 K G MASHRUWALA

Gandhi Idols

Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel have done well in asking our countrymen to desist from commemorating Gandhiji in a manner which may savour of idolatry

I suggest that Gandhiji's faithful likeness in paintings and statues might be preserved in museums, or kept in public places but idol worship should not be permitted I knew that Gandhiji was not for idol worship He worshipped Truth and Spirit

The *Vedas* the *Upanishads* and the *Gita* do not inculcate idol worship Even the *Puranas* have said in veiled terms that the images of the deity are imaginary (*kalpita*) Let us not deify Gandhiji but honour his memory by honestly treading the path he opened for us

Let us not waste our country's meagre wealth in making temples and images in his memory but use the national contributions for the uplift of our people

A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS

MAHADEV DESAI (BOMBAY) MEMORIAL TRUST

At a meeting of the friends and admirers of the late Shri Mahadev Desai held at the Indian Merchants' Chamber Hall Bombay on 8th March 1945 an appeal was issued for collecting Rs 15 lakhs to commemorate the memory of Shri Mahadevbhai

The Committee has been able to collect only Rs 3 23 330-10-9 so far Out of this amount Rs 4 369-12-0 have been spent on office expenses postage and stationary and stamp on the Trust Deed and a sum of Rs 16 142 collected on behalf of the Gujarat Memorial Committee have been remitted to them The balance of Rs 3 02 818-12-9 has been transferred to the names of the Trustees

It was decided that Gandhiji should nominate the Trustees for this Trust He has accordingly nominated Shri Vaikunth L Mehta, Shri Dahyabhai V Patel and Shri Shantikumar N Motarjee as the Trustees of Shri Mahadev Desai (Bombay) Memorial Trust

The Deed of Trust was signed by the Trustees on the 18th of November 1947 in Bombay The aims and objects of the Trust are as follows

To educate the people for rendering service to the poor by means and methods which have come to be known as the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and by all or any of the following means

(a) To publish an authoritative biography of Mahadevbhai as also literature based on his notes records and unfinished writings and to undertake the publication of literature on the ideals and the social philosophy of Gandhiji based mainly on material collected by Mahadevbhai and after collecting such material as is available elsewhere

(b) To popularize and spread the teachings of Gandhiji through lecture series study circles or other means and to establish a museum of articles produced in accordance with the principle of decentralized production advocated by Gandhiji to engage workers to carry out these activities and to provide them with suitable remuneration

Any suggestions to carry out the above objects will be welcome All correspondence should be addressed to Shri Shantikumar N Motarjee, Trustee, Mahadev Desai (Bombay) Memorial Trust, Scindia House Ballard Estate, Bombay, where the office of the Trust is located

Any one wishing to see the Deed of Trust can do so during office hours at the above address

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

(With a Foreword by Gandhiji)

Price Rs 4-0-0 Postage etc 0-10-0

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9 47 to 30-1-48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc. *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

TIGHT ROPE DANCING

Our foreign trade is in an unstable equilibrium We are importing great many intermediate goods so as to manufacture articles which can be exported to bring us more food. This appears a most unsatisfactory position India ranks as the second largest market of the United Kingdom She has received more than twice such machinery as has any other country from the United Kingdom and perhaps ranks highest as a purchaser in this regard In regard to textile machinery India's share was nearly 30 per cent of United Kingdom's total export and this represents more than three times the value sent to the next best importer

We do not object to importing our needs from outside but when we are told by the president of the All India Organization of Industrial Employers that to balance our import we shall have now to export our manufactured goods we appear to be on dangerous ground especially if our imports are of food and other primary necessities because it is these imports that ultimately lead to conflict between nations The economic complexion of our country is rapidly changing under the national Government and one fears that the change is for the worse A balanced economy should be broad-based in regard to primary necessities Our production especially in regard to food and clothing should not depend much on foreign imports It is no argument to say that by exporting textile manufactures we can import more food We have to consider the implications of such a course

While we welcome the Government's effort to grow more food we would point out that even here we have to restrict our dependence on foreign imports such as petroleum, crude oil, etc for tractors and chemical fertilizers because these again ultimately land us in an economy where there is danger of international conflict

The efforts direc ed towards river management and extension of cultivation into waste lands etc are good, but at the same time we should make sure that our food lands are not being utilized for commercial uses with a view to exporting such commercial products to obtain cereals This again is a wrong approach to the problem

With much of our pasture land gone we have to grow fodder crops for the stall-feeding of cattle. This too is a pressure on cultivable lands that should have priority over commercial crops

Attempts to conserve our food resources should include banning of rice mills, sugar mills, and *vanaspati* oil mills which ultimately destroy the nutritive values of the materials we already possess and therefore increasing of any of these types of concerns really goes against the policy of growing more food. We cannot invite people to make determined effort to create food on the one hand and also support the destruction of food values on the other

Hence our economic organization requires a properly thought out plan to co-ordinate the various factors of production so as to lead to the welfare of the masses and not necessarily enriching a few materially The present efforts to industrialize

the country with foreign imports and export our manufactures with the idea of enabling us to import more food is economic tight rope dancing which may give the spectators a few moments of exhilaration but may prove disastrous to the performer Let not our country attempt these tricks

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

May 9 1948

THE TRAGEDY OF KASHMIR

Whenever I look at pictures of that beautiful little country in Europe, Switzerland my mind invariably turns to Kashmir In pre-war days Switzerland was the country *par excellence* where one wanted to spend one's holidays whether in winter or summer spring or autumn Few can resist the lure of winter sports once they have tasted the exhilaretion they create nor does one feel the cold even at heights of 5000 feet above sea level because of the lovely sunshine which has made certain places in Switzerland ideal for sufferers from tuberculosis Summer in Switzerland by the side of the lakes or trekking in the valleys or mountain-climbing is ideal and spring and autumn have a beauty all their own for lovers of nature

All this beauty even on a grander scale is in Kashmir and with the development of communications and residences could be made available on a vast scale That lovely land could be the most attractive holiday resort and ideal places could certainly be located for sanatoria for patients suffering from T B

But the country is today being ruined owing to the cruel raids to which the poor peace-loving inhabitants of the country are being subjected War despoils as nothing else and yet man reasonable and intelligent though he is supposed to be has not yet found the strength to settle his disputes in any other manner

A peaceful Kashmir allowed to develop along peaceful lines would, with its immense potentialities and unrivalled beauties of nature be an asset to Pakistan no less than to India As a paradise for holiday-makers, as a health resort it could be a meeting ground not only for citizens of both India and Pakistan but for travellers from all over the world

Even at this late hour cannot wiser counsels prevail and cannot India and Pakistan settle the question of Kashmir without resort to arms and without reference to anyone other than their own good sense? No problem is incapable of solution if the will to solve it is there

New Delhi 18-4-'48 A. K.

"Founded by Mahatma Gandhi"

At the suggestion of the well known national worker Shri B F Bharucha, the above words will hereafter appear on the *Harijan* weekies I hope it will meet with general approval

Wardha 3-5-48 K G M

GANDHIJI'S UTTERANCES ON THE QUESTION OF KASHMIR

'In his post prayer speech this evening Gandhiji talked of Kashmir He said that he had seen in the newspapers some reference to an arbitration over the issue of Kashmir Were the Union and Pakistan always to depend on a third party to settle their disputes? How long would they go on quarrelling?

'There was some talk about the division of Kashmir It was fantastic It was more than enough that India had been divided into two One would have thought it impossible for man to divide a country which God had made one Yet it had happened and the Congress and the League had both decided upon it though for different reasons But that did not mean that the process of dividing should be further extended If Kashmir was to be divided why not other states? Where would this process end?

'Let there (Pakistan) and the Union representatives sit down and thresh out the Kashmir affair as they had already done in the case of many other things If they could not do so why could they not choose from among themselves good true persons who would direct their steps? The first step was an open and sincere confession of past lapses Hearty repentance broke the edge of a guilt and led the way to proper understanding (Post prayer speech 25 12 47 published in the *Harijan* dated 4 1 '48)

'Will not the Pakistan Government and the Union Government close ranks and come to an amicable settlement with the assistance of impartial Indians? Or has impartiality fled from India? I am sure it has not' (Ibid 29 12 47 published in the *Harijan* dated 11-1 48)

SHRI K. NATARAJAN

Widespread regret will be felt at the death of Shri K Natarajan which took place on 29th April at his residence at Bandre There were only three Indian journalists who by their learning, ability and character commanded universal respect not only from their countrymen but even outside India viz Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of Madras Mr Ramanand Chatterji of Bengal and Mr Natarajan who adopted Bombay over fifty years ago Maharma Gandhi held him in very high regard and Mr Natarajan had the greatest affection and respect for Gandhiji A great scholar an earnest social reformer and of a deeply religious nature the late Shri Natarajan always lived up to the motto which adorned the *Indian Social Reformer* 'I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice I am in earnest I will not equivocate I will not excuse I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard He had retired from public life some years back but his literary pursuits continued till the end His personal contact was uplifting and ennobling —serene self-poised and simple would be a good description of Shri Natarajan We offer our heart-felt sympathy to his daughter Miss Kamakoti Natarajan who admired and followed Gandhiji into the prison and to the other members of his family May his soul rest in peace!

Bombay, 4-5-'48 B G KHER

WOMEN AND MILITARY TRAINING

I confess to a sense of sorrow at the increasing desire in women to go in for military training In one sense this cannot be wondered at because the recent tragic happenings have shown that anger arouses the lowest passions in man and when he is thus roused his first victims are women. The abduction of women and children constitutes a grave stigma on our society and to think that we have to resort to police and military aid to retrieve these human beings is truly humiliating When anger and passions have cooled down it should surely be possible for the guilty to atone for the error of their ways by voluntary return of their erstwhile prey In any event women are scared and they want to be able to protect themselves With the majority of mankind they imagine, they will be safer and stronger if they know how to use firearms

Military training which disciplines them, which teaches them co-operative endeavour, which gives them lessons in First Aid and Ambulance work in the field, which will make them self-reliant and fearless is all to the good. But for women to want to learn the use of firearms goes against the best traditions of all that the ancient culture and civilization of the womankind of every land have stood for I would like to draw the attention of my sisters to the lesson Gandhiji taught us during his long ministry on earth Sita as he often used to say withstood the might of Ravana not through any earthly weapons but because of her unassailable purity Women will I hope always rely on their strength of character and soul force and not give up the way of non-violence not only for the sake of their own sex but for the sake of the country and the world

New Delhi, 18-4-'48 A K

A CALL TO DAILY PRAYER FOR PEACE

Messrs Horace Alexander and Hiralal Bose Joint Secretaries of the All India Pacifist Conference Rasulia (C P) write

"A few months before his death Gandhiji wrote to one of those who was making the plans for the world meeting and who had asked him for suggestions of ways in which preparations could be made for the meeting

May it not be wise therefore for sincere peace lovers to pray in their own homes, every day if you like even for five minutes at the same time throughout the world?

We suggest therefore that those both in India and in other parts of the world who believe in prayer and who wish to carry on Gandhiji's work and to be united with his spirit should keep the time from 5 p m to 5 5 p m Indian time each day and should during those five minutes pray to God to cleanse their own hearts of all hatred and malice and envy and greed and of all those things in their own lives that make for war and strife And let those who for any reason are unable to pray for peace each day for five minutes resolve that they will do some work for peace every day — for peace in their homes and families peace among classes and communities peace among the nations Thus may we in some degree carry on the great work for which Gandhiji suffered and died Those in countries outside India can work out the appropriate time for the prayer

Wardha 28 4-48 K G MASHRUWALA

IN THE PEACE COMMITTEE AT DELHI

[Shri Vinoba attended the meetings of the Delhi Peace Committee on the 2nd and 4th of April 1948 Before the conclusion of the meeting on the 4th Shri Vinoba gave expression to the following views]

Shri Vinoba said that there was unanimity of opinion on the necessity of speedy rehabilitation of the refugees If the work did not proceed rapidly there must be something wrong somewhere The hitch would have to be investigated by going into details

For the moment Shri Vinoba wanted to emphasize only two points The first was that in setting their programmes and policies they should not take into account what Pakistan does or fails to do If they did that they surrendered themselves into the other State's hands They must keep the initiative in their own hands and do what they thought was right to do

The people generally trusted their leaders and acted as they advised To guide the people rightly was therefore the responsibility of the leaders Strength developed by right acts

Secondly he agreed to a degree with the suggestion made by one of the speakers that they should forget whether they were Hindus or Muslims and remember only that they were Indians Shri Vinoba would go further and say that they were men first and everything else afterwards He said this because there was some risk even in the proud assertion of being 'Indian' which might cause harm in the future

MAHATMA GANDHI — AN AVATAR

Myths are growing round this great soul in the common mind as they have always grown round every great man after his death

To believe him to be an *avatar* in the mythological sense is what Gandhiji could never have accepted He never claimed Godhood for himself, not even that his truth and *ahimsa* were perfect, although there is no one known to us in modern times who can compare with him in these qualities He even ridiculed the title of *Mahatma* which people foisted on him

In a sense all great men and prophets and saints are *avatars* (manifestations of the Lord) As said in the *Gita* "Whatever being possesses greatness or is glorious or exalted, know that person to be born of a part of Me (the Lord's) *tejas* (light and glory and power)" This is further elucidated when after describing all great things in the world, the Lord says 'I hold and pervade the whole world by only a part of Myself" This is the only rational doctrine of *avatar* When each blade of grass, and every toad and lizard is a manifestation of the Divine why should it be denied to really great souls who have lived and worked for humanity?

But this is altogether a different thing from regarding Gandhiji as an *avatar* in the mythological and superstitious sense in which our people are inclined to take it

18-3-'48 A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS

THE BIRLA HOUSE AT DELHI

I have read reports of an agitation for acquiring this house as a national monument I am told that Shri Ghanashyamdas Birla is unwilling to part with his house

For some years past Gandhiji used to be a guest of the Birlas whenever he happened to visit a place where this family possessed a house Some time before the arrival of the Cabinet Mission, Gandhiji announced that thenceforth he would as far as possible stay in a Harijan locality during his tours

Accordingly, when he broke journey at Bombay on his way from Poona to Delhi in April 1946 although it was only a few hours' halt, arrangements had to be made for his stay in the Harijan locality at Worli In New Delhi too he was encamped at the Valmiki Mandir in the Bhangi Colony Thereafter he always stayed in that Mandir whenever he was in Delhi He left Delhi some days before August 15 1947 and could not return to it until after the great Delhi disturbance

When he reached Delhi, he was not quite aware of the ghastly events that had taken place in the capital of India He expected to be lodged in the Bhangi Colony But that place had been occupied by refugees and the Government found it necessary to accommodate him once again at the Birla House He accepted the arrangement not by choice, but under the pressure of circumstances Mentally he had left the Birla House camp long since It was a mere accident that he was murdered on or about that place He was not murdered because he was staying at the Birla House or did not stay in the Bhangi Colony Those who were aiming at his life would have tried to take it wherever they could have got a convenient opportunity for the purpose It could have been a street or a railway station or a boat in the midst of a river Accidentally it happened to be an open space of the Birla House

It was Gandhiji who was great—a *Mahatma* The place where he was born the various places where he lived during his life of seventyeight years, and the place where he died had nothing special about them. Several people had perhaps, been born before and after him in the very same room in which he was born at Porbandar, and lived in the places where he had lived and might have died in the house where he died Not one of them has been claimed as a *Mahatma* or even second or third rank below him

What can ennoble us or inspire us to elevate ourselves is the life and deeds the character and thoughts, the teachings and institutions of Gandhiji, and running through these all his quest of Truth and his universal love, his active non-violence His decision to remove himself from the luxurious house of the Birlas on Mount Pleasant in Bombay to the three-roomed tin-shed at Worli has a lesson for us all. Not so the merest accident of his having been shot at a place which he had mentally abandoned long since That accident cannot, should not be made a ground for coercing its owner to part with it.

I am aware of the popular sentiment which is traditionally trained to transfer their love and devotion for a beloved friend from him to things and places associated with him. Though my own sentiments are of a different nature, I am prepared to look at the matter from the point of view of others But the Birla point of view cannot be excluded in these others Their sentiment is entitled to be considered with equal respect.

I happen to be today in my ancestral house at Akola It is associated with the memories of my late father, brother, nephew and my own childhood My father was a devout follower of a particular religious sect, and used frequently to receive divines of his sect as his guests My brother was a nationalist, and for years this house was the only place in Akola for lodging and boarding Congress leaders He had had the privilege of receiving amongst others Pandit Motilal Nehru, Shri Vithalbhai Patel, Dr Ansari from the departed ones and Sardar Patel, Shri C Rajagopalachari and several others from those who are still with us There is hardly a room in the house in which some great leader had not sat slept dined or held consultations The family had also the honour of housing Gandhiji during his three visits to Akola His son, Shri Manilal Gandhi was married in this very house with my niece

It so happens that the actual place where my bed is spread today is the same where Gandhiji's bed been arranged at the time of his first visit All these and so many other memories rush to my mind

The memories of my father brother and nephew are as dear and sacred to the members of the Masbruwala family as those of Gandhiji and the great leaders To the people in general our personal family associations may count for naught They are interested only in the national associations But it is not—cannot be—so to us Whether these memories cause pleasure or pain they are a part of our life And it is so, although there is no attempt on our part to treat any part of the house or any piece of furniture as unusable by the family because of its associations with some dear or great one

These are not things which could be compensated with money It would be only when our own regard for the dear ones and the great ones had diminished and economic considerations had become more important in our eyes than sentiment that the family would be willing to part with the possession of the house for money Even if the House of Parliament unanimously voted for compulsory acquisition of the house for the nation, it would, in my opinion, be an unjust use of the State power, if my family was unwilling to part with it. It would amount to punishing the family for having become for several years hosts of great leaders It would be a warning to public-spirited persons that if they wanted to retain their ancestral property to themselves they should not receive great leaders in it I look at the Birla House question from the same angle

If the fact that the Birlas belong to the class of capitalists and we live in times when any [illegible] could be popularised in terms to hit a [illegible] that energizes the millers of the proposal to put forth this demand at least Gandhiji's name should not be associated with it. It should be remembered that even if Shri Ganshyamdas Birla were the worst capitalist that ever walked on this world still he had won the love of Gandhiji whom people venerate as a saint and whose memory it is sought to preserve. He who was fit enough to be [illegible] by Gandhiji amongst his sons in a special [illegible] might not [illegible] be a particular object of contempt [illegible] who claim to be his followers and admirers.

A thought passes through my mind. Suppose by chance Gandhiji had been conscious for a few [illegible] after the shooting, and the attendants had sought to take him inside the house. I fancy that he was quite capable of saying: "Do not remove me into the house. Let me die under the sky which I love so much and where thousands of refugees are passing their days and nights. Or if it is necessary to remove me into a building, please take me to a Harijan's hut. Let it not be said by the future generations that with all his loud assertions about identifying himself with the humblest of Harijans Gandhi died in a princely palace."

From the reports that have come to me from those who were present at the spot it appears that there is not much truth in the story that Gandhiji was alive when he was removed into the Birla House. But whatever may be the truth about this I do not think that anyone will doubt that, apart from an accident, the prospect of having to die in a palace would not have been a pleasing one to him.

Akola, 18-4-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

A PRECEDENT

The article in the *Harijan* of 11th April, 1948 *What should God have Done*, reminds me of something else which happened a very long time ago in Islam, and which might be of interest to the readers of the *Harijan*. Reference to this can be seen in the *Kasidah* of Hajt Abdu El Yezdt translated by Sir Richard F. Burton and published by Hutchinson & Company in 1914. Actually this is not a translation but an original poem of Sir Richard. In this volume, on page 15, in section two stanzas 13 and 14 the poet writes as follows:

"I am the Truth! I am the Truth!
we hear the God-drunk gnostic cry
The microcosm abides in MIL,
Eternal Allah is nought but I!
Mansur was wise, but wiser they
who smote him with the hurled stones
And though his blood a witness bore
No wisdom might could mend his bones."

In elucidation of this event, the author writes in his note No. 2 on page 93 as follows:

"Mansur al Hallaj (the cotton-cleaner) was stoned for uttering the pantheistic dogma *Ana'l Hakk* ("I am the Truth" i.e. God) *wa laysa fi jubbati'l Allah* (and within my coat is nought but God). His blood traced on the ground the first quoted sentence."

JAMSHED SOHRAB VATCHA

[Note.—It should be noted that there is a difference between "Within my coat is nought but God," and "Eternal Allah is nought but I." I am afraid that the poet, like several other students of philosophy has not realized this difference.

Akola, 21-4-'48 —K. G. M.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

II

[Here is the second instalment of the questions addressed to Shri Vinoba by the Delhi Congress workers and his answers thereto.]

GOVERNMENT AND CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES

Q. 5. The Congress has lost prestige in the eyes of the people since the attainment of independence. When we approach the people with the constructive programmes, they tell us that now that the Government is national with power to spend money, we should approach the Government for furthering and providing funds for the constructive activities.

A. Let us consider what it was that gave prestige to the Congress in the eyes of the people. I put it that it was the sacrifice which Congressmen had made for the country. We have now forgotten this important factor of the prestige. We obtained independence and are now acting as if we wanted to lose it. We seem to say that our full-moon is now over, and so let us now advance towards the new-moon phase! Congressmen have begun to think in terms of reaping a harvest.

It is an error to suppose that Government has too much money. The British handed over this concern to India only after it had become insolvent. We have not obtained the goodwill of the British Government, but their bad-will and insolvency. What is the wealth of the Government? There are thirty crores of people in India. How much money can it spend per head on them? The Sargent Committee produced a programme of universal education extending over a period of forty years. The expense of implementing that programme was so big that it was regarded as impossible of execution. So, Gandhiji had to remark that the very method of this education was wrong. If a child was a burden at the time of training, it would remain a burden even afterwards. Before education it was a burden during education it continues to be a burden, and so after education too it would remain a burden. So, Gandhiji devised a new plan, whereby the child would earn while it was being trained and thereby contribute a large share of its training expenses. The medium which he suggested was also so appropriate that it could become a good means for the full and all round training of the child. There can be no doubt that craft is the best medium of education. And yet some people say that it is exacting child-labour. My answer is, suppose in the course of training a child has to turn a *chakki* (grinding stone), shall I say that the child might turn the *chakki* without putting grain into it, because that would produce flour and it would amount to child-labour? Is it sinful for a child to produce food or cloth or any other useful product while it is being trained? Why should it not produce something useful if it is also a good medium of instruction?

Everyone must contribute towards production of wealth. India could prosper only under that condition. Poet Tagore has said somewhere that in the division of wealth we all take part, but in its multiplication only a few have to bear the strain,

Gandhiji had shown an easy way of multiplying the goods namely through the *charkha* and village industries But when I speak of the *charkha* men in the Refugee Camp tell me that spinning is woman's work Cooking food is also woman's work Eating food then is man's work! What a fine division of labour has man devised! Had that been God's plan, He would have given four hands to every woman and two mouths to every man! But he has not done so In the same way the people of Delhi here will call me a lunatic if I say that they should use hand-ground flour They would say that it could not be done in a city It was village work But flour is needed as much by the city people as by the villagers If as has been said about gods the people of Delhi did not eat or drink but were satisfied only with looking at food and water, I would feel hesitation in asking them to grind. Since it is not so I am going to advise you that you must grind your own corn and spin your own yarn and then only you will be able to retain your wealth This is the Village Industries Programme If you will accept it then alone the poor people will enjoy freedom

Independence consists in being self-reliant For our encouragement Lokamanya Tilak invented the slogan Swaraj is my birth-right. But had it been really our birth-right we should have had it as soon as we were born We know, however, that when the child is born it is not independent It has to rely absolutely upon others So we must understand that independence is not a birth-right, but a right to be achieved by effort.

This is a revolutionary programme It involves the change of the whole atmosphere. It cannot be done by Government alone At the most it could render some assistance I would consider it sufficient if it does not put in obstacles The real work is to be done by the people themselves Let us do that work and not find fault with the Government It is not difficult to hunt out faults but that does not mend matters This house belongs to us all and everyone must work to complete its construction

SARVODAYA SAMAJ

Q 6. We want to know what is the Sarvodaya Samaj which has been recently founded in Wardha. What are the conditions of its membership and rules, etc ?

A I shall gladly answer the question. Sarvodaya Samaj means the whole of the human society. The Samaj has only one aim the wellbeing of everyone. And it imposes only one condition the means to achieve it should be consistent with truth and non-violence No falsehood or violence should be employed either in our personal or social or public activities Whoever believes in this principle is a *sevak* of the Samaj There is no authority in the Samaj no artificial organization no elections Whatever a member does, he will do it in his own name He can do it alone or found an institution for it. Several items of work have been shown and he can select whichever he chooses He may not confine himself to the list He may choose other things also If he maintains the condition regarding truth and non-violence, he is a *sevak* of the Sarvodaya Samaj whatever work he might do This requires introspection self-examination. He might have gone wrong before But if he makes up his mind to abjure falsehood and violence he could become a [illegible] of the Sarvodaya Samaj and help in bringing the kingdom of Heaven upon earth

THE GOONDA PROBLEM

Q 7 In spite of our attempts for Hindu Muslim unity Muslim *goondas* are again seen creating mischief in the streets of Delhi. What shall we do?

A We should go to the places where this is reported But you must understand that there are not *goondas* amongst the Muslims only There are *goondas* among the Hindus also *Goondas* are a special class which is common to all communities and so whatever steps you might take against the Hindu *goondas* you might take against the Muslim *goondas* also Secondly, you must not assume a person to be a *goonda* without proof Go to the place, get exact information and then try to do what is needful through the Government or the local people.

DEARTH OF HOUSES

Q 8 The refugees are extremely unhappy for want of houses If there is any room available, the owner wants *pugree* These people have no means of paying *pugree* As long as some satisfactory arrangement is not made for the residence of the refugees how can we ask them to leave Delhi ?

A I know that it is a difficult problem and I shall not be able to give an answer off-hand The Government is putting in its best efforts, and I can say only how the citizens of Delhi can assist in the matter If the citizens of Delhi go to the refugee camps and form personal acquaintances with the refugees, they might be able to find that there were some whom they could easily accommodate as neighbours It is the duty of everyone to do good deeds Good works cannot be performed by opening a Good Works Department as military work can be done by opening a Military Department It is to be done by everyone There might be some risk in bringing a stranger into the house. But with all circumspection we must be prepared to take some risk. Every important work involves the undertaking of some risk

CONTENTS

		PAGE
QUESTION BOX	K. G MASHRUWALA	89
NO DEPARTURE FROM GANDHIJI'	K G MASHRUWALA	89
MAHADEV DESAI (BOMBAY) MEMORIAL TRUST		91
TIGHT ROPE DANCING	J C KUMARAPPA	91
THE TRAGEDY OF KASHMIR	A K	92
GANDHIJI'S UTTERANCES ON THE QUESTION OF KASHMIR		92
SHRI K. NATARAJAN	B G KHER	92
WOMEN AND MILITARY TRAINING	A K	93
A CALL TO DAILY PRAYER FOR PEACE	K G MASHRUWALA	93
IN THE PEACE COMMITTEE AT DELHI	VINOBA	93
MAHATMA GANDHI —AN AVATAR	A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS	93
THE BIRLA HOUSE AT DELHI	K. G MASHRUWALA	94
A BEQUEST	JAMSHED SOHRAB VATCHA	95
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS	VINOBA	95
NOTES		
GANDHI IDOLS	A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS	90
FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI	K. G M	92

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3

Gandhiji on Ramayan and Gitai

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 11 AHMEDABAD SUNDAY MAY 16 1948 TWO ANNAS

VINOBA ON HINDUSTANI

[Shri Vinoba was invited to address the gathering at the opening of the Hindustani classes of the New Delhi Ladies Club by Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya on 10 4 48 The following is a summary of his speech on the occasion]

Shri Vinoba said that he could not resist the invitation because of his great love for the South Indian language He had attempted to study all the four South Indian languages when he was detained at the Vellore Central Jail He believed that for the unity of India it was as necessary for the people of North India to study a South Indian language as it was for those of South India to study Hindustani He got the opportunity at Vellore He discovered that all the four South Indian languages were beautiful and rich and not in the least behind any of the North Indian languages such as, Hindi Bengali etc On the contrary in certain respects they were richer than the Northern languages The roots of their verbs had great potentialities Moreover by adding such terminations as *ncha ina* etc to Sanskrit words they could add innumerable verbs to their languages This had made these languages both rich and sweet Tamil itself meant *amrita* (nectar) and Telugu meant *sweet as honey* Indeed it was sweet So also were the Kannada and the Malayalam

He found at Delhi that it was the ladies who took more interest in learning Hindi than the gentlemen He had the same experience in Madras It was just as it could be expected Men were not capable of protecting their culture in the same way as women He was therefore glad that ladies had taken a lead in this matter

At the Vellore Central Jail there were detenues from all the four Dravidian provinces But they did not understand one another s language nor did they care to know it Their carried on their inter provincial conversation through English The South Indian languages are so similar to one another that a Tamilian would be able to learn Malayalam in a week if he willed There was not much difference between Tamil and Kannada also There was some difference between Telugu and Tamil but a Tamilian could easily learn Telugu within a month But the pity was they did not care It was then that he realized how essential it was to have our own national language

From ancient times *Bharatkhanda* (India) has been considered one single country stretching from the seas to the Himalayas Even in those times there were numerous provincial languages and, so it was found necessary to have a national language Sanskrit supplied the want Sanskrit meant language for the propagation of culture and Prakrit meant the language which *Prakrit* that is the common folk spoke Shri Kunchacharya wrote his works in Sanskrit from nationalist considerations If he had written them in Malayalam It was possible that he could have served his neighbours to a large degree but he wanted to bring about a revolution in thought throughout India and so he wrote in Sanskrit in an easily understandable style

Sanskrit could not become the national language of India today although he was aware that Dr Kailashnath Katju had put forth that suggestion Shri Vinoba said that he could understand Dr Katju s point of view but he was of opinion that the work amongst the masses could not be done through Sanskrit and so the only language which could become the national language was Hindustani It was so because 15 to 20 crores of people understood it It was at times suggested that Bengali should become the national language as it was very rich in literature Shri Vinoba admitted that Bengali was richer in literature than Hindustani Yet it could not become the national language because it was not understood by the people outside Bengal It was not correct to say that Gandhiji named Hindustani to be the national language of India The *fakirs* and *sadhus* who travelled throughout India spoke Hindustani and they had made it the popular common language of India It was the natural common language throughout the provinces and Gandhiji had simply given recognition to that fact

Then there was also the controversy about Hindi and Hindustani Shri Vinoba thought that it was a futile controversy If people created controversies even from suggestions which sought to unite the people then they cut at the very root of unity Shri Vinoba considered that those who favoured Hindi did the same work which he desired provided they made it simple Hindi He would say the same thing with regard to Urdu Simple Hindi and simple Urdu were hardly different from each other, and that was Hindustani He failed to understand why there should be so much quarrel about words If he went to the Punjab, he would naturally use more Urdu words in speaking to the people there If he used the word *kafi* in South India, perhaps the people there might understand it as coffee If he said *bus* they might think that he was speaking of a motor bus So he would have to use the word *paryapt* (पर्याप्त) there As long as there was a common grammar common syntax and the same verbs it was the same language even if styles differed

So he urged them to give up these quarrels For the South Indians he would not insist even upon any particular script He would tell them that they should

learn that [illegible] the [illegible] as they could [illegible] he himself had [illegible] the Hindu schools He [illegible] long good work Shri Vinoba [illegible] all fall the propagandists of each [illegible] possessed a large vocabulary of [illegible] Sanskrit, Arabic Urdu and other [illegible] possessed not more than half [illegible] relative to only a few of them [illegible] ocean and the rivers were rivers Why should the ocean quarrel with the rivers when [illegible] all the rivers were bound to come to it In the same way all the Hindi and Urdu [illegible] could [illegible] He [illegible] He reserved to himself [illegible] he thought [illegible]

He [illegible] get alcohol in [illegible] women were [illegible] Mahatma [illegible] all [illegible] women [illegible] this matter the [illegible] would spread culture all [illegible]

(From [illegible] the [illegible] of Harijan [illegible])

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE ALL INDIA BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE AT PATNA

RESOLUTION I

The meeting of the Fourth All India Basic Education Conference places on record its deep sense of grief and irreparable loss at the death of the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi He led us to our freedom We pledge ourselves to that unfinished task Among the many items of Constructive National work with which Bapu sought to lead India to a new life *Nai Talim* has a special significance It is the foundation on which he sought to raise the grand and beautiful edifice of a Free India We who had the privilege of being associated with him in this great enterprise pledge ourselves today to apply all our energies to the task with added devotion and keep the following over in view

1 To infuse the spirit of Truth and Non violence in education

2 To correlate education with the physical and social environment and the craft activity of education

3 To inculcate, through education the virtues of truthfulness patriotism and human sympathy and to fight sectionalism in all its forms

4 To make suitable provision for *Nai Talim* in all stages from childhood to old age.

5 To prepare the young and the adult for a new order of society in which co-operation shall prevail instead of competition, justice shall rule and not aggression freedom will be accompanied by responsibility and in which economic and moral progress shall go hand in hand.

[illegible]

[illegible] II

[illegible] education [illegible] been [illegible] of [illegible] that all [illegible] schools [illegible]

[illegible] III

This C[illegible] have [illegible] take it up [illegible] this connection [illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible] IV

The C[illegible] of the opinion that any attempt [illegible] period of seven years prescribed in [illegible] educationally unsound and should be [illegible] from the fact that permanent [illegible] achieved within a short period [illegible] objectives of social and [illegible] child is at least 11 years old

[illegible] V

The C[illegible] the necessity of paying attention to [illegible] of literature and other education [illegible] teachers and people of [illegible] It is also necessary that there [illegible] provinces a few experimental [illegible] teachers and necessary equipment [illegible] research work in the field of basic education [illegible] could be the duty of these schools to [illegible] thereby their work might get proper [illegible] results of their researches be brought [illegible] available to all people [illegible] education It is also [illegible] build or utilize a small [illegible] study of the problem [illegible]

[illegible] VI

In the [illegible] time has now arrived when [illegible] should be carried on on an intense [illegible] programme In the absence of [illegible] will be impossible for the people [illegible] the implications of democracy and [illegible] possibilities of a free people

In this connection the Conference draws the attention of provincial Governments to the scheme of adult education required by the Hindustani Talim Sangh and the [illegible] principles underlying that scheme Governments should give up the routine method of spasmodic mass literacy amongst adults and adopt a scheme for the full development of man by providing education through the production of necessities of life with the co-operation of adults themselves and thereby drawing out their latent capacities

RESOLUTION VII

The Conference recommends that all training centres and colleges for basic teachers should be organized as real live communities where life and

work are organized [illegible] delivering basic education [illegible] out of Jamia the [illegible] which distinctions of [illegible] have no place and [illegible] actively encouraged

RESOLUTION VIII

Every [illegible] of [illegible] point of studying [illegible] the light of [illegible] of our country

[illegible]

Whereas [illegible] is the foundation of national regeneration and the [illegible] uniting all the different sections of the nation the Conference is of opinion that the system of education should be immediately started amongst those backward classes known as *Adivasis* The Bihar Government has done well in giving a lead in this matter

This section has still not been free from the evils of the so called modern [illegible] in the opinion of the Conference basic education will be fully successful amongst them and then [illegible] of which they have been [illegible] for [illegible] centuries last on account of our neglect of them

Along with a copy of the above resolutions I have also received a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh held at Patna on 17-4-48 It appears from the minutes that the Sangh has resolved to help the Kalka Camp at Delhi and the Gurgaon Camp in the East Punjab by undertaking to open basic schools in those camps

There is also a reference to the finances of the Sangh During all these years Gandhiji had supplied all the funds necessary for carrying on the activities of the Sangh so that the Sangh was free from all financial worries It has been resolved that all the work should be carried on as before and be further developed as necessary As the establishment of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was made under a resolution of the Congress the Secretary of the Sangh has been authorized to correspond with the President of the Congress for the future maintenance of the Sangh

It was also resolved that post-basic education which had already commenced in Sevagram should be continued and further developed and the following occupations should be organized as media of post basic education

1 Agriculture cattle breeding and occupations such as manufacture of paper *gur* etc
2 Weaving
3 Carpentry and metal work
4 House building
5 Domestic occupations particularly for girls
6 Health and sanitation
7 Training of teachers

Students who have passed the basic education course would be admitted into this school

Wardha 3-5 48 K G MASHRUWALA

VINOBA IN JAMIA MILIA ISLAMIA

Shri Vinoba visited the Jamia Milia Islamia (Muslim National University) of Delhi on 12th April 1948 and gave a talk which is briefly summarized below

At the outset he expressed his pleasure that he was able to visit the Institution He had longed to visit it and even to pass a few days in it ever since his first acquaintance with Dr Zakir Hussain in 1937 when he had had the privilege of working with him for drawing up the Basic Education Report Dr Zakir Hussain's high character and clear thinking had made a great impression on him and he was ever anxious to come into intimate touch with this Institution He remembered it particularly when he wanted to study the Quran in the original Arabic But he could not leave Wardha and so he had to manage the study with such local help as he could get

Though, Shri Vinoba said, he had not been physically with them still he always believed himself to be one of them because he considered the *Nai Talim* mission to be his own From his childhood onwards he had always regarded himself a life long student He had passed in the jails about five years in total He used to devote the greater part of his time there learning the different languages of India Whenever he met among children or talked to them he often wished to be as young as they But science has not yet found the method of returning to one's past age and appearance

He had always advised students to do some teaching work also along with their studies When he was at school he used to teach mathematics to his co students They used to put their problems before him and he helped them in solving them Even at this period in spite of various other activities he generally managed to devote some time to teaching If he could not do so on a day he felt as if he had gone without food In his opinion teaching was a method of learning

Knowledge doubles itself by giving was a famous saying It was so with money also though he knew that people thought otherwise But money also increased by giving and decreased by keeping it to oneself The *Quran* had said somewhere to the effect that wealth increased not by interest but by gift People must pass on the money which they get to others as quickly as possible In a football play the game could proceed only if the player kicked the ball towards another as soon as it approached him If a player took it into his head to keep the ball to himself the play would not proceed In the same way he said pass on your money and your knowledge to others thereby both will increase

Crores of people are illiterate in India When they thought of educating them there were placed before the people fifty years schemes involving an expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees But Shri Vinoba asked why should it be so? Why should not every one who knew something pass on that knowledge to another? If the people did that, within a few days illiteracy and ignorance would disappear from the country The teacher ought not to feel that he was teaching He should feel that while he was teaching he was learning something This he asserted from his own experience He had found that he had gained more

knowledge [illegible] given them He looked upon them as [illegible] and they looked upon him as their [illegible] In [illegible] the pupils and the teacher become mutual [illegible] and disciples

If the students of Jamia Milia Islamia were to learn that trick they would be rendering [illegible] service to the country, he concluded D D

HARIJAN

May 16 1948

GANDHIJI ON RAMAYAN AND GITAI

[Referring to the discussion on the *Language of Prayer* I have been supplied by the Manager of the Sevagram Ashram a copy of a Gujarati letter by Gandhiji to Shri Vinoba The letter refers to two subjects — the first evidently is in reply to an enquiry from Vinobaji himself about the principles kept in view by Gandhiji in preparing an abridged edition of the *Ramayan* of Tulsidas and the second part refers to the circumstances under which Gandhiji substituted *Gita* for the *Gita* in the Ashram prayers The first portion is not absolutely relevant to the present discussion and may it be noted at once that there is no such publication as Gandhiji's edition of the *Tulsi Ramayan* but the reading of that book at the Sevagram Ashram is confined to the parts selected by Gandhiji Nevertheless the whole letter is published for its importance [G M]

Sevagram 18-8 45

*Chi(ranjiva) Vinoba,

I shall look into the *Nai Talim* matter Ashadevi is not here at present

TULSI RAMAYAN

I have not a full copy of the *Ramayan* as abridged by me but I send you a marked copy of the *Ramayan* from which you will be able to know the principles on which I have worked As far as possible I have tried to retain the historical or narrative portion unbroken Some of the interpolations are useful by themselves but still I have dropped them altogether I have also dropped any matter which had been over-lengthened as also such portions as appeared to me unnecessary for the narrative I have also generally removed portions where woman is referred to in derogatory terms But I have kept some portions of it just to indicate the mind of Tulsidas So far as I can remember immediately, these are the principles I have worked upon But you are intelligent enough to discover any other principle not mentioned here from the marks in the book

GITA AND GITAI

Failure has compelled me to do what I was not prepared to do by persuasion I mean that I have commenced from yesterday the recitation of *Gitai* in place of the Sanskrit *Gita* I realized that nobody learnt Sanskrit The same old members are there, but even they do not or are unable to study Sanskrit even to the extent of understanding the *Gita*. Moreover they were unable to recite it in chorus and what pained me more was the fact that though the recitation of the whole of the *Gita* was confined to the morning prayer still some members walked out as soon as the recitation began. On making an enquiry into the cause of this, I found that it was very trivial I did not know it before I found it out only the day before yesterday, and I immediately came to the conclusion that perhaps interest in the *Gita* might be created more quickly if it was recited in Hindi Marathi or Gujarati since the people would understand its meaning more easily I have commenced with *Gitai* because Marathi holds the place of prominence in this part So far as the members attending the morning prayer are concerned they are so few that it would not matter much which language I chose But the music of *Gitai* has been felt by me to be very sweet May be, the reason for this is that I have heard it several times recited by Shivaji and I have liked it Kishorlal's (Gujarati) translation is there but I have not yet been able to assimilate its music I have not heard anyone reciting it in a sweet tone I got an opportunity of hearing it at Bardoli but it was insufficient and my ear could not adapt itself to it Haribhau has published the *Hindi Gita* recently But I have not yet been able even to examine it and so did not like to touch it Therefore I have commenced with *Gitai*.

The immediate cause for writing this is that I happened to perceive Shivaji yesterday If he is going to stay here for some time it would please me if he can be induced to give at least a week to the Ashram just now during the period of the commencement of this recitation He can train those who desire in reciting it in the same manner as he does, and pick up his music

Blessings from Bapu

*Chiranjiva — literally May you live long a mode of address by an elder to a younger member in intimate relationship

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

(With a Foreword by Gandhiji)

Price *Rs 4-0-0* Postage etc *0-10-0*

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9-47 to 30 1 48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The following appeal has been addressed by the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha Poona, to the President and Members of the Constituent Assembly

'The considered opinion of the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha on the question of the National or more appropriately the Federal Language for the Dominion of India Government is stated below

(i) The Sabha is emphatically of the opinion that in the respective provinces for all purposes except the Federal the well established provincial language like Marathi Gujarati Kannada Tamil Telugu Bengali etc alone be used as a rule

(ii) In the Federal sphere there must be a Federal language to displace English in use at present

(iii) Such a Federal language in some form suited to the age did, in the opinion of the Sabha, prevail in the India of the pre British period as without such a common medium public intercourse would become non existent a presumption at variance with both fact and common sense

(iv) This common or Federal language of old was the language commonly associated with the Madhya Desh (Central India) This same language came later to be known as *Khari Boli* This common language was evolved from the older forms of what is at present loosely called 'Hindi', as modified in varying degrees in different parts of India by the local languages as also the Court language (Persian) and language of the *Quran* and the *Shastra* (Arabic) It was really this language which came to be popularly known by the term Hindustani or *Indostan* as designated by the Catholic missionaries in the Moghul Empire of Akbar and Jehangir

(v) Our aim should be to revive and enlarge and develop the same old source and medium namely Hindustani with such additions and alterations as the requirements of the modern age demand for the purposes of the Federal Government and the general inter provincial intercourse and co operation

(vi) It is obvious that such a Federal language should in its scope be wide and extensive in its form simple and elastic and in its spirit inclusive so that the larger majority of the people of our land should comprehend and handle it with ease.

(vii) The Sabha wishes to emphasize that no artificial blend with precise percentage of words like the one between Hindi and Urdu as proposed in some quarters would serve our purpose Simplicity and easy intelligibility should be the tests and not any arbitrary mathematical proportion

(viii) The Sabha would also like to caution our legislators against being swayed with the idea of raising any of the provincial languages to the status of a Federal language as such a course is bound to fail as utterly impracticable and unnatural it also means a logical death to the provincial languages sought to be fostered

(ix) The Sabha considers it essential that all Federal laws rules, orders and notifications shall [illegible] be made in the Federal language [illegible] in the Hindustani [illegible] the high [illegible]

(x) As regards the script [illegible] of the scripts in use at present in the [illegible] such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi [illegible] are all essentially *Devanagari* in its or [illegible] form Hence in the opinion of the Sabha the [illegible] recognized script should be some form of *Devanagari* For occasional or additional purposes and uses other scripts such as the Roman or Arabic may be used as required for the limited purpose in view for instance the Sabha imagines that the adoption of the Roman script would greatly [illegible] the work of our Dominion Government in the international sphere

(xi) (a) The Sabha as explained above therefore, prays that the Federal language preferably called *Hindustani* and that the principal Federal script to be adopted should be *Devanagari*

(b) It also prays that the compulsory knowledge of the Federal language and its script be made compulsory throughout our [illegible] including the upper primary in order [illegible] provincial contacts commerce and [illegible]

The appeal is over the signatures of Mahamahopadhyaya Prof D V Potdar the President Shri Vasantrao Nayak the Vice president and four other office bearers of the Sabha

I endorse the views expressed in the appeal except that I go a little further than what is suggested in clauses (x) and (xi) above in respect of scripts My view on the question of scripts is as follows

1 The official script of the Government of India should be *Devanagari* [illegible] standardized Roman and the public should be at liberty to send any communication to any of the offices and departments under its control in any of the above scripts

2 The Government of [illegible] as soon as convenient take steps to [illegible] the Roman script so that it should be possible to communicate in it the sound of the various Indian languages as exactly and [illegible] possible and also to transmit them [illegible] Such standardized Roman script should be used officially in the country in the spelling of Indian words if that script is employed

3 Official script of a State (i e unit of the Union) should be such Indian scripts as are recognized by its Government and the standardized Roman script so that within that State any communication may be made to any of its offices or departments either in a recognized provincial script or the standardized Roman script irrespective of the language employed and all Government and semi Government publications signboards communications etc whether in any of the recognized languages of the State or in Hindustani should be both in the recognized provincial script or scripts and the Standardized Roman script That is to say for instance if a notice

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] repentant [illegible] of intuition [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] of love because [illegible] no fear because [illegible] of luxury and the [illegible] simple in life [illegible] of the old Greek philosophers [illegible] of his great soul [illegible] one from the [illegible] our common [illegible] this fact to [illegible] Man will be [illegible] a saint

[illegible] path of [illegible] and much [illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] this social [illegible]

[illegible] thing [illegible] at least [illegible] want [illegible]

[illegible] freedom but [illegible] still [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

LEST WE FORGET

V

THE NATIONAL WEEK

The 6th and the 13th of April are never to be forgotten days in our national life The 6th of April 1919 witnessed an unparalleled demonstration in which Hindus Musalmans and others joined freely It was too a day of freedom for the suppressed classes That day laid the foundation for true swadeshi And it was the day when the whole country offered civil disobedience The spirit of mass freedom and mass resistance was abroad.

The 13th of April witnessed the Jallianwala massacre in which Hindu Musalman and Sikh blood mingled in one scarlet stream A dung heap was turned in a day into a place of political pilgrimage for all India It will remain that till India lives

The week is pre-eminently one of self-purification and self-introspection It is my fixed conviction that we shall not make this unhappy land happy except by purity of conduct which spelt otherwise means truth and non-violence Such purity can come only by prayer and fasting I therefore suggest to those who believe in prayer and fasting to devote the 6th and the 13th to that sacred purpose.

We cannot proclaim the unity of Hindus and Non-Hindus That question must therefore for the time being be left to work itself out

Hindus have the impurity of untouchability to remove They can fraternize with Harijans set apart what they can spare for the relief of distress among them and in a variety of ways make them feel that they are no longer the despised class among Hindus

Hindu-Muslim Unity, Khadi and removal of untouchability are to me the foundation for Swaraj On that firm foundation it is possible to erect a structure nobler than which the world has not seen Anything without that foundation will be like a building built on sand

Khadi alone lends itself to mass demonstration and mass effort. It is the platform on which all can work hand in hand. Sales can be organized Voluntary spinning can be pushed It is open to local workers to devise various ways of celebrating the national week I can only think of things in which millions can take part and which can promote Swaraj I can think of nothing else that satisfies all the conditions so well as the spinning wheel

Oh that we can do one thing truly and well The spinning wheel is the one thing to which men, women boys and girls of all classes can work. It is the one thing that can establish a link between the rich and the poor and it is the one thing that can bring a ray of sunshine into the dark and dilapidated dungeon of the half-starved peasantry

(This section is based on two articles by Gandhiji in *Young India* of March 18 1926 and of April 2, 1925 V G D)

WHAT MUST BE UNIVERSAL

The *Janmabhoomi* and the *Vandemataram* two of the Gujarati dailies of Bombay in their issue of 1st May published the following news item in a prominent manner

> An assistant of a firm was carrying two bundles of rupees ten thousand each for being deposited in his master's bank He lost one on the way but realized the loss only after reaching the bank He immediately returned to his master's office and reported the loss The master suspected him of sharp practice and handed him over to the police At the same time he advertised the loss in local newspapers
>
> Fortunately one Lalshankar Kanji came by the bundle He also noticed the advertisement, and immediately went to the owner and handed it over to him Needless to say the assistant who was handed over to the police was immediately set free

The above papers gave prominent place to this account in appreciation of the honesty of Shri Lalshankar It was right that they did so But at the same time let it be remembered that it is also an indication of the fact that the virtue of honesty has become so rare that what must be so universal in society that Shri Lalshankar's act should cause no surprise but it should be a matter of surprise and regret if a man failed to act so the act requires to be broadcast in this manner The level of civilization has fallen so low that honest behaviour appears like an oasis in a desert

A Gujarati psalm says "That men make room for women on the way and that nobody touches a thing belonging to another happens, when God has descended upon earth' The purport is that when woman ceases to have any fear of molestation from man and there is absolute honesty in all dealings, they would be indications of the approach of God's kingdom upon earth

If we will every one of us can be as honest as Shri Lalshankar and take share in the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj

3-5-48 K G MASHRUWALA

Correction

In the *Harijan* of 11-4-'48 p 62, column 1, in the last line of the article, for *Sindhu* please read *Jaladhi*

Wardha 6-5-48 K. G M

CONTENTS

		PAGE
VINOBA ON HINDUSTANI	D D	97
RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE ALL INDIA BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE AT PATNA	K G MASHRUWALA	98
VINOBA IN JAMIA MILIA ISLAMIA	D D	99
GANDHIJI ON RAMAYAN AND GITAI		100
THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE	K.G MASHRUWALA	101
A RICH ELEMENT OF ALL THE EARTH		103
LEST WE FORGET – V	M K GANDHI	104
WHAT MUST BE UNIVERSAL	K G MASHRUWALA	104

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Medium of Instruction

3072

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 12 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 23 1948 TWO ANNAS

RAJAJI

The appointment of Shri Chakravarti Rajgopalachari as the next Governor-General of the Indian Union is hardly a matter of surprise, though it has rightly been regarded a matter of great satisfaction by the whole of India including Pakistan His clear intellect freedom from narrow-mindedness in any shape his sympathy for the depressed and the oppressed and his determination to foster friendliness among all communities classes and both the Dominions, no less than his political sagacity will be a great strength to the Government of India under the new Constitution As Governor-General of India he literally justifies the name of Chakravarti Rajaji May God grant him the energy and strength to carry India to her goal!

Bombay, 14-5-48 K G MASHRUWALA

VINOBA'S TOUR IN DELHI AND THE EAST PUNJAB

[The following account of Shri Vinoba's tour in Delhi and the East Punjab has been condensed from the original account sent in Marathi by D D who is one of his companions —*Ed*]

Shri Vinoba and his company reached Delhi on the 30th March 1948 and toured through Delhi and the East Punjab visiting several refugee camps institutions and a few Muslim villages and colonies His public utterances have already been reported in the *Harijan* from time to time In this account I give a few additional notes

There are several refugee camps in Delhi Of these the party visited those known as Kalka Savitri Nagar, Purana Qila Bela Road and The Hajari camps on 31st March The people in the first two camps are fed at Government expense There are about 50 spinning wheels in the Kalka camp But that number is very meagre and there is no satisfactory supply of ginned or unginned cotton. The camp is inhabited by about two thousand people In the Savitri Nagar camp a few industries like *charka* gardening, baking etc are carried on on co-operative lines It is a camp of five hundred souls The rest of the three camps are more or less self supporting except that free lodging is provided by the Government The refugees in these camps are engaged in some occupation or another Of these the The Hajari camp consists of people who had occupied the mosques of Delhi and have been made to shift to this camp Most of them are shopkeepers and they have opened their shops in various parts of Delhi

On 1st April the party visited the Kingsway Camp near the Harijan Colony It is the largest camp of Delhi with 30,000 inhabitants People complained of insufficiency of water and lights of carpents had flour insufficiency of milk or impure milk extreme heat in the tents and other inconveniences There is a great amount of dissatisfaction amongst the people and their main demand is that they should be quickly supplied with houses Much time was taken up in hearing complaints and still there were several who felt that they had not been heard Shri Vinoba consoled them by saying that he had gone to them in the spirit of service to God that he had understood the nature of their grievances and sympathised with them He knew that they wanted to say some more things, but he would tell them that these things were more easily understood through the heart than through ears

I should have said that both on the previous day and on this day Shri Vinoba had paid a visit to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and had on the second day at his request recited before him Shri Shankaracharya's *Sadhan Panchaka* and a portion of the *Bhagavad Gita* with their meaning He also had discussion with Dr Sushila Nayyar about abducted women in Patiala Bahawalpur etc It was related that some women were unwilling to return because they had married the abductors Some said that they had lost their religion and chastity and would rather not lose their country also These are some of the problems of this work

On 2nd April Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru took the party on a visit to a basic school conducted by the Relief Ministry on the Kingsway It is a school of about 150 children of ages between three and ten years There is also a women's centre with some orphans in Sabji Mandi Nursing and a dispensary are the main activities of that centre Most of the women and orphans are of the abducted class Some knitting and sewing is carried on at the centre There is also a similar industrial centre at Karol Bagh attended by about 400 to 500 women They take training for about two hours each and return home Sabji mandi Karol Bagh and Paharganj were all Muslim localities originally but at present are peopled by refugees from the Punjab About five lacs of refugees had come to Delhi Of these nearly four lacs and a half have occupied these three localities About 50,000 are in tents This is over and above those who have been accommodated by personal friends It is the women with families who have settled down in houses that take the industrial

training A [illegible] articles prepared by these women has been opened at Connaught Circus, New Delhi

Addressing a meeting of the Delhi Congress Central Relief Committee in the afternoon Shri Vinoba emphasized two points (1) It was possible to carry on spinning and ancillary processes, grinding of flour sanitation work etc in a satisfactory manner in a camp like the Kalka But it could be so done only if the workers themselves took part in these activities, and (2) All the produce of *charkha, chakkis*, etc should first be utilized in the camp itself and the surplus only should be sold in the market It was necessary that priority should be given to such industries which provided the prime daily needs of the camp even if in monetary reckoning, their production appeared more costly It was necessary that the camps should be self sufficient in the matter of their primary needs

Shri Vinoba participated in a meeting of the Peace Committee of Delhi which met that evening It was brought to his notice that the atmosphere was deteriorating since Gandhiji's death and some of the newspapers were contributing towards such deterioration While on the one hand the Hindu refugees were not yet rehabilitated the Muslim who had migrated to Pakistan had begun to return to India As the discussion was incomplete the meeting was adjourned to the 4th

On the 3rd, the party visited the camps at Panipat, Karnal etc which are at a distance of about 50 miles from Delhi Instead of moving round the camp in a single group, the party divided itself into small batches and each went round a different section of the camp The conditions of life in the camp were very hard indeed. The tents were not more than three feet in height They became too hot during the day and were incapable of being used for sleeping at night Owing to the insufficiency of larger tents these one-man tents of the Military Department had been brought into use. People are shifted into the larger tents as soon as those who lived in them were accommodated elsewhere

Shri Vinoba generally put five questions to the refugees he met What were his difficulties? Was he prepared to grind flour? Was he prepared to spin, weave etc ? Would he be in a position to construct a house himself, if land and building materials were provided to him ? The answer to the first question was generally of the same nature To the other four questions the answer was that they would do whatever work they were given but they belonged to the class of shopkeepers, merchants landholders, moneylenders etc and so they would prefer such occupations to those suggested by Shri Vinoba and would like to be nearer a town than a village Shri Vinoba has been feeling more and more keenly that the system of providing free rations should be firmly put an end to at least gradually, if not at once

The 4th of April was occupied partly in attending to the call of the Rehabilitation Commissioner of Delhi and the Chairman of the Rehabilitation Board and partly in attending the adjourned meeting of the Delhi Peace Committee

On the 5th [illegible] the Rohtak Camp in the East Punjab A licence is required to get admission into this camp, and so the party found about two to three hundred people lying outside the camp in the open without tents or rations The license system has been imposed to prevent the overcrowding of the camp The refugees of this camp are being settled on lands in the neighbouring villages About five to six thousand people have been so settled already But some of these have been returning to the camp because they feel that the land assigned to them is inferior to that of the West Punjab which they had cultivated The system of giving free rations is also a temptation for returning. Government has been trying to meet both the difficulties

The Muslims of the Budia *Jaghir* near Ambala had abandoned the idea of migrating to Pakistan upon the advice of Gandhiji The Sikh President of the *Jaghir* has been rendering them great help But the Muslims complained that some of the officers adopted a policy calculated to compel them to migrate They were also afraid that if the military protection was removed their lives would be in danger

On 6th April the party visited the Gurgaon Camp A novel feature of this camp was that we saw one or two *chakkis* working in the camp The Deputy Commissioner told the party in an apologetic tone that this work had to be taken from the people because there was not a sufficient number of flour mills near about Shri Vinoba told him "that he would rather wish more such *chakkis* were introduced. He was agreeably surprised that in the meeting which was held at this place a written application was presented on behalf of the women that they should be provided with a hundred *chakkis* and as many *charkhas*

At Ghasada, a village about 20 miles from Gurgaon a meeting of the local Meos had been organized The Meos are a strong and sturdy people, industrious but poor and illiterate The district was formerly inhabited by about four lacs of these people About a lac and a half only are now believed to be still there The rest have either migrated to Pakistan or dispersed in the surrounding districts Refugees from the West Punjab have taken possession of their lands The Meos have been returning now and they demand possession of their lands This has given rise to a difficult problem.

From Ghasada the party went to Bakhtewarpur where a lying in hospital and a dispensary are conducted on behalf of the Kasturba Memorial Trust

On the 7th April the party in company with Thakkarbapa visited the Harijan Colony at Delhi and had a happy time with the students there Shri Vinoba also received a visit from the representatives of the Jamiat ul-Ulema

On 8th April the party visited the Kurukshetra Camp in company with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There are about 1 65,000 refugees in this camp In fact the camp is divided into four towns. The Government has to spend about two lakhs of rupees daily for

rationing this camp The main complaint of the people was that the ration was insufficient In other respects the camp appeared to be far better managed than other camps Shri Vinoba emphasized the necessity of putting an end to the free ration system as quickly as possible. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave public expression to this point in a speech which he made there and declared that those who were willing to work would get a priority in the rehabilitation scheme

The party proceeded to Ambala from this place On the way they saw the Gita Mandir, which is erected on the spot where Shri Krishna is believed to have given the message of the *Gita* to Arjuna Shri Vinoba devoutly recited portions of the *Gita* in the temple But before the recitation was complete he was so overpowered with emotion that his voice got choked and tears began to flow down his cheeks and he could not proceed further After spending about twenty minutes in the *Mandir*, the party proceeded to Ambala. Dr Gopichand Bhargava, the Prime Minister of the East Punjab explained his rehabilitation plans and discussed the problems with Shri Vinoba As the new capital of the East Punjab was to be near about Ambala he hoped that many people would find employment in the construction of the capital Shri Vinoba laid stress on the organization of village industries amongst these people.

On the 9th April the party visited about three or four camps near Ambala and saw also the *kutcha* model houses erected there. A striking feature of these camps was their congregational prayers and drill

The 10th of April was devoted to taking stock of what they had seen and heard Shri Shankarrao Deo Shri Dhotre Shri Jajuji Sri Krishnadas Gandhi, Shri Jethalal Govindji and others participated in the discussion The following are the main points which were made out in the discussion

1 Although the party had seen only the camps of Delhi and the East Punjab it was obvious that the question was not confined to these parts only There were refugees in other provinces of India also and there were also places in Sind and East Bengal which required their attention It was necessary therefore to have a central organization for all India to help and guide the refugees of all these places For this purpose it was necessary that the Congress Central Relief Committee should be reorganized and a very able person should be appointed as the Chief Organizer of that Committee

2 The above Committee would look to the problems of the refugees. But that would not end matters It was necessary to give special attention to the task of removing communal hatred and to tackle the problems of the Muslims living in the Indian Union as well as those returning from Pakistan These were independent matters and required separate study and solution

3 Although the rehabilitation of the refugees was a task which Government alone could adequately handle, still it was possible to take up a camp and do solid work there in a non official manner, It was necessary to select a centre and organize spinning grinding and other village industries and improve its sanitary conditions by working amongst the refugees and creating a spirit of self help and industry in them A Meo centre in the Gurgaon district was considered more appropriate for this purpose as both the problems mentioned in items 1 and 2 would be faced there

4 The question of widows and girls also required independent handling It was necessary to take that work also in hand with the help of the Hindustani Tahimi Sangh and the Kasturba Memorial Trust

In the afternoon the representatives of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama saw Shri Vinoba again and apprised him of the disturbances which had taken place in the Dholpur State on 31st March and 1st April Shri Vinoba was taken also to the Birla House at New Delhi and shown the room where Bapu resided last and the place where he was shot The Birlas have placed a slab on the spot where Bapu received his injuries with the inscription of the words *He Rama* upon it The place is not open to the public at present Shri Vinoba also saw the Bhangi Colony which were Bapu's headquarters during his previous visits

On the 11th the party visited the *Urus* of Bibi Nur and the shrine of Khwaja Kutubuddin at Mehrauli It will be remembered that one of the conditions imposed by Gandhiji for breaking his fast fast at Delhi was that the annual festival of the shrine should take place without disturbance The shrine had been considerably injured during the disturbances and the work of repairs is still proceeding

On 12th April the party visited Dr Zakir Hussain's Jamia Milia Islamia and a basic school of the refugees in the adjoining village conducted under the auspices of the Jamia The Jamia had suffered a loss of about two to three lakhs in the shape of stock of books which were burnt by fire Adjourned discussions of the 10th were resumed in the afternoon. It was decided that Shri Jajuji should undertake the erection of one hundred model houses with the help of the Congress Relief Committee of Delhi at a cost of about one lakh of rupees Shri Vinoba also received a visit from Shrimati Mridulabehn and an officer looking to the problem of the Meos in the Gurgaon district

D D

TO SUBSCRIBERS OF THE 'INDIAN OPINION'

Old files of the *Indian Opinion* of the period during which it was being conducted by Gandhiji contain valuable material for his biography These are, however, not easily obtainable We would, therefore, request the subscribers to the *Indian Opinion* to help us in getting them All files sent to us will be paid for All who can send us the files may please address their correspondence to Jivanji D Desai, Manager, Navajivan Karyalaya, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, India.

J DESAI

HARIJAN

May 23 1948

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

According to the Associated Press of India report the Committee on the medium of instruction at the university stage which met at New Delhi in the first week of May under the chairmanship of Dr Tarachand has passed, among others, the following resolutions

(1) that there should be a five year period of transition during which English would continue to be the medium of instruction and examination in the universities and that this period should be utilized to prepare for the introduction of the regional or the State language of the area concerned

(2) that a test in the federal or national language of India should be obligatory for all students but the result of the test should have no effect on the career of the pupil

(3) that the process of replacement of English by the regional languages should be gradual and by stages and that the English language should be a compulsory subject in all universities

(4) that a board of philologists and scientists should be appointed to prepare a common scientific terminology for all Indian languages making use of International terms as far as possible and to consult union with provinces and universities The Board should be directed to complete its work within five years

(5) that the Central Government should examine the question of allowing extra territorial jurisdiction to the various universities in order to help in the solution of the language problems of linguistic minorities within a region

(6) That the script eventually adopted by the Constituent Assembly should be accepted by all the universities—a minority holding that the Roman script should in any case be an additional script for federal as well as other Indian languages

I make a brief comment on these items

Having regard to the various hurdles that have to be crossed before English could be displaced, I think that the demand for a five years' period of grace for effecting the transition is fair But the period should be looked upon and adhered to strictly as a pledge. We all know that a three days period of grace is allowed on negotiable instruments But it is expressly understood that three means three and the number allowed cannot be exceeded

This reminds me of the day on which I first saw and heard Gandhiji in 1917 at a public meeting in Bombay The meeting called upon the Government of India to put an end to the system of indentured labour then in vogue by a particular date Gandhiji warned both the Government of India and the audience to take him seriously in regard to the date The date was not meant as a mere bluff If the date passed off before the Government put an end to the system, he would not rest until the grievance was removed And he it noted, the system was put an end to as demanded

Let us also remember another occasion when a date was fixed and strictly adhered to At the 1928 session of the Congress a period of one year's grace was allowed to the British Government for granting Dominion Status to India. If Government allowed the period to lapse the Congress creed was to be altered from one of Independence to that of Complete Independence The period came to an end on the midnight of 31st December 1929, and along with the announcement of the birth of the year 1930 came also the announcement of the change in the Congress creed. The various movements which followed the announcement for the achievement of that creed are well known

In the same way I hope the Government of India and the various universities will regard the five years period as a solemn promise to the people of India that when schools and colleges reopen after the summer vacation of 1953 every institution will give the highest education available in the country in the regional or State language of the institution (I assume that the meaning of the latter phrase is that assigned to it in the Draft Constitution of India. That is to say if a State or member of the Indian Union is a single-language region, the medium of instruction would be the language of that State and if it is a multi-linguistic region it would be the language of the region in which the institution is situate)

If this promise is to be implemented the third item mentioned above would have to be taken to mean that as a matter of fact instruction through Indian languages will have to be commenced in the first year college classes by at least June 1949 and every year an upper class would have to be added to it. And if I am right in thinking so, I suggest that it would help the process of transition and be a boon to the students if the examinees are allowed even by now to answer their question papers in the regional or State language of the university even if they have read or have been instructed through English. In the earlier years, this language might take the form of an Anglo-Indian mixture but it would help to form in the mind of the student necessary grooves for thinking out the subject in his own Indian language It is a habit which takes a long time to form and requires to be inculcated From this point of view it appears to me that the decision to continue English as also the medium of examination requires modification

The second item in the resolution refers to the place of the federal language in the studies If that language is to be a fully developed inter-provincial language of India capable of standing on a level with even English in course of time, it will be necessary to give it the same place of prominence in schools and colleges as has been hitherto given to English It can be so done with less expenditure

of time and energy than English, because of its affinity to the various Indian languages I do not look upon examination as a very desirable institution in its present form. But since it holds an important place in all regulated teaching, if the idea goes among the students that the study of the Federal Language may be safely neglected that Language will always remain unsatisfactory and undeveloped. It is well known that when the University of Bombay gave Regional Language, Geography and Science a place of certification instead of examination, these subjects were found to have been neglected Really, it would have been more appropriate to substitute the words "English Language" in place of "Federal or National Language of India" in item 2, and the opposite in item 3

The fourth and the fifth items appear as necessary corollaries The subject of the federal language and scripts has been discussed in the last issue under the caption, *National Language*

On the whole, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr Tarachand Committee deserve to be congratulated for the work they have done I hope the various departments and professors of the various universities will work hard for making the resolutions a perfect success Since the resolutions are the result of the combined efforts of all universities and Governments, this policy will, I believe, be regarded as accepted by and binding on all universities, and I hope there will be no attempt to escape from it

Bombay 14-5-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

CONFERENCE OF CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS

Pursuant to the resolution passed at the Constructive Workers' Conference held at Sevagram in the middle of March, 1948 recommending that "the present existing constructive institutions do send up proposals to establish a federating body to foster mutual understanding and efficiency in work", Shri J C Kumarappa, who was entrusted with the work of taking necessary steps in this regard, convened a Conference of the representatives of various constructive institutions at Bombay on 27th April, 1948 Representatives of the following eleven institutions attended the Conference Charkha Sangh (A. I S. A.), Hindustani Talimi Sangh Goseva Sangh, Gramodyog Sangh (A I V I A) Harijan Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Prachar Sabha Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust, Navajivan Trust, Nature Cure Trust, Western India Adivasi Workers' Federation, Hindustani Mazdoor Sangh and some special invitees. Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar presided. Various suggestions received in this behalf were considered and after detailed discussions the Conference passed the following resolutions

1 That all the eleven institutions represented here should federate into a general body called 'Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh' by the federating units sending one representative each These eleven should then add to their number at their first meeting four others imbued with Gandhian ideals These fifteen should be the executive body exercising their powers to the following ends

(a) Guiding the various component parts in regard to their general policy,

(b) Co ordinating their activities, and

(c) Supervising them

Other items common to all the Sanghs like publicity and training of workers may be added to the above provided the component parts so desire

2 This Sarva Seva Sangh may start and maintain local centres with the help of the component parts or other institutions serving the local public through all the items of constructive work

(*Note* This Sarva Seva Sangh is thus not merely a deliberative or advisory body but an active executive body directly serving the masses without impinging upon the autonomy of the component parts)

3 This meeting recommends that the eleven institutions do elect in terms of the above resolution one representative each, and requests Sri Kumarappa to obtain from those institutions what should be the simplest pledge to be prescribed for the membership of Sarva Seva Sangh and the component parts These items together with the one suggested by the Charkha Sangh and the pledge drafted by Sri Kumarappa should be circulated amongst all the federating units

The Sarva Seva Sangh will elect its own convener, the chairman being elected separately for each meeting and it is empowered to frame its own constitution rules and regulations

It is suggested that the election of the representatives of the federating units will be expedited and the Sarva Seva Sangh be formally inaugurated before the end of July next.

7-5-48 J C KUMARAPPA

COUPLET WHICH BAPU RECITED

Some correspondents have desired to know the words of the couplet which Bapu was reported to have recited in his conversation with Shri Manubehn Gandhi just before retiring to bed on the night of 29th January, 1948 On enquiry I am informed by her that after taking some exercise Bapu laid himself down on his bed on the night of the 29th January, and she began to give him a little massage Bapu said that he was feeling very much disturbed that day, but he must find his peace in the midst of disturbance For the rest of it, it was all a four-days' show Saying so he recited the following couplet

"*Hai bahare bagh duniya chand roz,*
Dekh lo isha tamasha chand roz"

(The spring of the garden of the world lasts for a few days

Have a look at its show for a few days)

The song is given in full in *Ashram Bhajanavali*, published by the Navajivan Press

Bombay- 10-5-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

(*Translated from Gujarati*)

UNEXPLORED STATES OF CHHATTISGARH IN C.P.

I was very happy to have toured in some of the newly merged States of Chhattisgarh at the instance of the C P Premier Shri Ravishankar Shukla and the Minister in charge of Aboriginal Welfare Dr W S Barlingay in the company of my friend and colleague Shri P G Vaonkar who is in charge of the Backward Area Welfare Department in the C P I toured in the areas formerly comprised by the States of Jaspur, Udaipur Raigarh Bastar and Kankar and also the towns of Raigarh and Raipur The cause of my happiness was that these States were upto now to me a sealed book I could not visit any of these before, in spite of my attachment to the predominantly large tribal population except for a hasty tour in Bastar State in 1938 These regions are unexplored by the commoner of our public workers. I mean M L.A.s and social workers who would hardly care to go where any outsider is a suspect and followed by the C.I.D policemen though in plain clothes Now that these States have merged themselves in the Province they are open to every one and their tribal representatives will go to the Nagpur and Delhi Legislative Assemblies next year under adult franchise and joint electorates

OUTSTILL SYSTEM

The prevalent system of liquor consumption in all these five and smaller other States is as a rule, by outstill or village distilleries The best liquor supplied to the consumer here is not supplied from a central distillery but from a large number of small village distilleries called outstills and situated in a large number of central villages. Thus Bastar has got 803 outstills, Jaspur 40 and Raigarh 76. The ratio comes to one outstill for about seven to nine villages in the different States Thus all the villages are very liberally provided with outstills and liquor is within easy reach of all villages large or small The villages in the States may not be equally well provided with wells for drinking water or with primary schools for their children but there is no miserliness in providing them with best liquor Besides liquor supplied by the State all the tribal people have got the liberty of brewing *handia* or *kusri* at home on certain occasions for their social functions with or without a permit and with or without payment *Mahua* flower is plentiful and in the weekly market at Gharchoda in the Udaipur State, the sale of *mahua* flowers as seen by me was practically the only business done in that market on that season

Raunhi district and other districts in Chhota Nagpur were systematically over run by these outstills for the past 17 or 18 years to the great economic and moral degradation of their tribal people Fortunately it has now been abolished there since 1st March 1947 When will this cursed and man-devised satanic system of outstills be abolished from these States?

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

All these States have taken it for granted that their duty is to provide the minimum of education for their population. Their argument is that the tribal population does not desire literacy; they cannot spare their children from tending their cattle and their agriculture and that even if schools are opened for them, they would not attend them unless under compulsion which is not desirable The result is that there are in some States one to four literates in every hundred males as against an all-India average of 14 or more and as low as average of 0 5 literate women as against an all India average of 5 per hundred I was able to see two State schools in Jaspur State, one big and one small with 3 and 2 teachers respectively The buildings of these schools were tumbling down, rickety, dark and quite unfit for tender school children In Bastar State one lower primary school is provided for every 48 villages and the grand total of 57 lower primary schools is considered adequate for a population of 6 33 000 In 1910 there was a rebellion by the tribal people fomented by a relative of the then Raja resulting in the burning down of a number of school houses by the mob and in harassing and driving away the teachers. Thereafter the State under the direction of the political department made it a policy that no more schools were to be opened thereafter lest the susceptibility of the people be offended thereby. It is now high time that this policy of 'no more schools" after 1910 has reversed in the year 1948 by the C P Government which has taken charge of the Bastar State The Bastar policy of 'no more schools' applies to almost all the 14 States of Chhattisgarh now merged in C P

SOCIAL EDUCATION

The C P Government is now carrying on a regular campaign of what is generally called adult education but termed "social education by the C P. Government lasting for 5 to 6 weeks from 1st of May 1948 The experiment is being conducted in 500 centres by all the ministers high and low educational officers all deputy commissioners going round their beats and starting such centres personally to make a regular drive They have got the help of 10 to 12 thousand volunteers for this purpose including pupil teachers just passed out from all Normal Schools and colleges I would have wished that the period of training had been extended to at least three months But something is better than nothing, and I hope that the present campaign will be followed up by another of longer duration I took a little part in this campaign at Jagdalpur in Bastar State and in 7 village schools on the road side from Jagdalpur to Kankar by getting new tribal girl pupils admitted in those seven schools on payment of small monthly stipends

KONI INSTITUTE

I had the happiness of visiting this institute which is situate three miles from Bilaspur and run by the Labour Department of the Government of India for ex-service military men. This is a very well equipped institution for teaching over more than 50 technical vocational subjects It is very well equipped and staffed. But the number of pupils (about 250) is much less than there is actual accommodation for It is hoped that this will be opened out to civilians of the Province and probably to the Sindhi refugees, thousands of whom are accommodated in the refugee camps in the Central Provinces I may here mention some of the trades

taught here (1) Turning work (2) Machinist, (3) Carpentry (4) Blacksmiths (5) Concrete work, (6) Surveying (7) Painting and decorating (8) Brick laying, (9) Electrical work, (10) Motor mechanics (11) Cabinet making (12) Soap making (13) Clay modelling, (14) Fruit canning and preserving, (15) Ink manufacture, (16) Tailoring (17) *Dari* weaving (18) *Gata* or lace weaving (19) Silk weaving, (20) Cotton weaving (21) Basket and cane work, (22) Shoe making, (23) Saddlery (24) Calico printing (25) Dyeing, (26) Metal work, etc

BASTAR STATE

This is a very large State extending over 13,000 square miles and over with a population of 6,62 000 Thus the population is very sparse 73 5 per cent of the total population is tribal. The hilly part of the State called Abujmar is peopled by the Maria section of the Gonds and to this day remains unvisited by travellers on account of its inaccessibility, there being no roads to go up the hill plateau on which these Marias live None of the roads in the State have bridges over the *nallas* and rivers in the rainy season, except the road from Kankar to Jagdalpur and Jagdalpur to Gidam a distance of 98 miles plus 48 miles Even the officers of the State cannot move about freely for 4 to 5 months in the year for want of bridges and culverts The river Indrawati flows from East to West throughout the State for a distance of over 130 miles and joins the Godavari at its west end This region provides good material for study for anthropologists and also social service workers

R. C MISSION JASPUR

I cannot refrain from giving a few details about this Mission as known to me I visited two of its important stations, out of five in Jaspur State, namely, the headquarters of Gholang and the other at Ghasubahar and studied them closely The Jesuit Fathers of Ranchi district came over here over thirty years ago and carried on their work of proselytizing the tribal people through the agency of their loan banks schools, dispensaries, and their preacher teachers and none They have since gone even further than that by defying the rules made for them by the Political Agent of Chhattisgarh States, even so late as those made in 1943 They have opened a very large number of lower primary schools, as many as 68 though expressly asked not to open them without the consent of the State These schools are evidently schools for the converted or those who are intended to be converted through their preachers and loan banks I quote below the condition that was made with the Mission by the Political Agent 'The Mission should not open any new feeder school (to the 37 schools recognized) or classes under the trees or in chapels or other buildings in the State without permission'

Though it was enjoined that 'religious instruction is given only to those who desire it' in fact it has been given to everyone and included in the school timetable openly and defiantly

Though expressly laid down in the July, 1943 order that 'the State is not required to give any grant-in-aid the Father in charge of the Gholeng Mission asked for grant in aid and a group of his teachers though they were not State servants asked for dearness allowance. They complained about this even to me outsider like myself, as if it was a due payable to the Mission and the teachers by the C P Government When this complaint was made to me I was led to believe for a time that the C P Government with which the State was recently merged was acting unfairly with the Mission But when I learnt the conditions made with the Mission by the Political Agent in 1943 I could not help thinking that the Mission itself was acting unfairly with the new Government merely because it was new to the situation

Converted Orsons of Jaspur State are no better than rice Christians of China They are converted merely for the sake of their belly and nothing else and that too is done by the aid of small agricultural loans given to unwary simple folk of the jungle in the State Here they are already depressed and live in a state of fear and depression Such conversion to an other faith has no real value in religion

HOUSING OF SWEEPERS

Before I conclude I must say a few words about sweepers in Raipur Ten years ago i e in 1938 I had spotted this problem in the town of Raipur a large town now grown still larger after the second world war But the housing provided by the Municipality of Raipur has remained in the same disgraceful condition in which it was ten years ago The Municipality has passed through many vicissitudes in Raipur The Hon ble the Premier of C P hails from this town I was much pained to hear the wailing and groaning of men and women and children of sweepers about their housing conditions especially of the colony near Lendi Tank Rooms in the colony and the streets are overflooded in the rainy season The rooms are dark ill ventilated and lacky le one word U H H (unfit for human habitation) I had to write strongly in the Nagpur Press about this sweepers colony I hope it will draw the attention of the C P Government and the Minister-in-charge of Local Self Government

Wardha, 4-5-'48 A V THAKKAR

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

Price *Rs. 4-0-0* Postage etc *0-10-0*

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9-47 to 30 1-48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc. *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—IV

The following is a summary of the sermon given by Shri Vinoba at Rajghat on 23 4 48 in the presence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others

He said that he wanted to draw the attention of the audience on the miserable condition of the refugees When there was pain in one of the limbs of the body, even though all the other parts were quite healthy, a person's attention would again and again get riveted on the painful limb Society, he said should be like a living body. The part which was in pain should attract the attention of all the other parts of the society But he regretted to observe that that was not so with them In that hot season people were thrown into tents in plains where there was not a tree to be seen Some tents were so small that it was impossible to get into them in a standing position People did not get sufficient employment also Their condition was miserable from every point of view Government was trying to do what it could for them, but it was quite insufficient It was necessary that every one should pay attention to this matter and every individual should try personally to serve these people in some way or another They should go to their camps and see how they could help them If they could find them employment that was one way If there was room in their houses they could select some and invite them to live with them They could adopt an orphan and bring it up in their family In this way every individual should try to do something.

Shri Vinoba illustrated his point He said that when they threw a bucket into a well and drew out water, they would not find a pit forming at the place from which the water was taken. This was so, because the surrounding water immediately went to the place from which the bucket was drawn and filled up the pit If there was loss, it consisted in the level of the whole reservoir getting lower, but it did not leave a solitary spot to be an empty pit It was not so when they took out, say, a bucketful of grain from a heap of *jowar* (millet) A few *mahatma* (large-hearted) grains would run up to fill up the pit partially, but the rest would keep to their place, with the result that the heap would show a pit at that place. A good society should be like water in a well Every individual should run up to succour those in affliction If they accepted his counsel they would help Government and would be able to bring more relief to the people It was necessary to help both the Government as well as refugees because it was a tremendous task and it was impossible for Government agency alone to deal with the situation without the aid of private agency.

Another consequence of popular aid would be that thereby they would be able to create public opinion In a democracy public opinion gave impetus to the Government It was both its strength and weakness. If public opinion was active and strong Government also had to be active and strong. If it was dull, Government machinery moved slowly and in a dilatory fashion It was necessary, therefore that every individual should take interest in that work and help to arouse public opinion If this was not done, the poison of all feeling would pervade all over India and it would become extremely difficult to control it It was necessary to be forewarned

It was also necessary to render assistance to those Muslims, who had during the disturbances dispersed themselves in safe areas round about but had not migrated to Pakistan He did not consider at that moment the question of those who had gone away to Pakistan. But those other Muslims must be allowed to return to their homes as quickly as possible If they were afraid of doing so, it was not creditable to the people There was no bravery involved in that Bravery consisted in not being afraid of anyone nor raising fear into another A brave person might fight when it was his duty to do so But he did not fight with a feeling of hatred Hatred did not increase strength, but reduced it and also made the atmosphere weak Hence it was wise as a sage had said, that 'a brave man should take non hatred in both his hands (अवैरो वृद्धवैरेषु ।) We had to be fearless as well as non inspirers of fear

Some people looked to what Pakistan did in these matters before coming to a decision themselves He would say that this was irrational and also foolish If they made a habit of looking at the opposite party they entrusted themselves into its hands. They thus reduced themselves into the position of a monkey whom the tamer—the other party—could make to dance as he wished. It was very necessary that they did not lose their initiative in determining their policy but do what was right irrespective of what the other party did Otherwise they would become slaves quickly If they gave protection to their own minorities, the other party would have to follow them and if it did not, it would be running a great risk The teaching of the *Gita* was Perform your duty without worrying about its fruit It was necessary to consider whether their act was proper, and if it was proper not to worry about the consequences They must always have faith that the ultimate result of right conduct would be right If the people acted that way they would always get the right path. Otherwise they would lose themselves in wilderness and fall into a vicious circle That would ultimately give a third party control over their freedom If they wanted to retain their freedom it was necessary to keep their minds cool and create a spirit of brotherhood amongst themselves They must give up all suspicion For suspicion gave rise to suspicion and faith gave rise to faith

23-4-48 D D

CONTENTS

		PAGE
RAJAJI	K. G MASHRUWALA	105
VINOBA S TOUR IN DELHI AND THE EAST PUNJAB	D D	105
TO SUBSCRIBERS OF THE INDIAN OPINION	J DESAI	107
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION	K G MASHRUWALA	108
CONFERENCE OF CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS	J C. KUMARAPPA	109
COUPLET WHICH BAPU RECITED	K G MASHRUWALA	109
UNEXPLORED STATES OF CHHATTISGARH IN C P	A V THAKKAR	110
VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—IV	D D	112

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or, $ 3

Secondary Education

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor : G. RAMACHANDRAN

VOL. XII No. 13 AHMEDABAD SUNDAY MAY 30 1948 TWO ANNAS

M. K. GANDHI

[For the first time the *Harijan* day falls on the 30th the date of Gandhiji's death. The following editorial copied from the *Manas* of 25-2-1948 a weekly of California U. S. A. will be appreciated by readers of the *Harijan*. We apologise to the publishers for reproducing it. —ED]

The death of Mohandas K. Gandhi at the hands of a political assassin left no blemish on the life of India's—and the world's—great man. His violent end coming at the close of an incalculably beneficent career only confirms the popular feeling that Gandhi was a great spiritual teacher, for he is far from being the first reformer to meet this fate. Gandhi was an old man his personal mission—so far as concerns political freedom of India—was accomplished. He had set an example in national and world patriotism for all who knew or heard of him to follow. He had declared his principles, many times on all the issues confronting modern India. And he had, for years, applied those principles with originality and effectiveness.

So Gandhi's life, in the larger sense of his motives and personal capacities, was already complete. These could be augmented only by other men by the people of India, and nothing that they might have done while he yet lived is in any way prevented by his death. It remains for India to fulfil the mission of Gandhi.

A role given to Gandhi by the Indian people and in some measure accepted by him, was that of their "father". The reverence felt towards him was filial in spirit. For many millions therefore the bereavement is intensely personal, a feeling which is undoubtedly stronger than the sense of "national" loss. As the years pass however, it may be recognized that the gift of Gandhi to India was something more than a wise, paternal guidance, it was something greater, even, for India, than his historic demonstration of the moral strength of the philosophy of non-violence which was rather a gift to modern civilization than to India alone.

Gandhi was a great man, first, because of his indomitable will. More than anything else, he embodied the spiritual force of an awakened and concentrated mind, fixed on his chosen objectives. "No one could enslave Gandhi. No one could conquer" Gandhi. Gandhi was a living example of the unconquerable human spirit. He might be imprisoned but he could not be made unfree. In Gandhi became manifest a quality of manhood which holds the secret of the only future worth striving after for modern man. That was his great gift to India—not of the reverential figure of the "father", but the example of a free human being.

It seems unlikely that India will ever have another father. This is an epoch in which India must grow to her own maturity and moral equilibrium, not by adoring her sages but by becoming like them—like Gandhi.

The greatest tribute that India could pay to Gandhi would be to follow his example as a man. This would be more, much more than repeating his words and imitating his actions. The wisdom in his words and the purpose behind his actions will continue to live not from religious devotion to them but from a resolve like Gandhi's, on the part of many each man according to his light.

From Gandhi the people of India may learn also the meaning of purity of heart and unqualified self-sacrifice. But they will not learn it by making a code of his personal habits nor even by a literal following of his exhortations. They will learn it from the principle of *honesty* which came before anything else in his life and from the imagination which he exercised in applying it.

If India can learn these things from Gandhi India may have opportunity to teach them to the world.

Other Side

While some have doubted the wisdom of Shri Vinobaji for departing from the practice of reciting prayers in the language of the original scriptures, here is a letter from a correspondent to Shri Vinoba bringing forth the other side.

Your note on the language of the prayer reminds me of an incident that took place in Santiniketan years ago. You may know that in Santiniketan every morning and evening the inmates assemble together for prayers and chant some Sanskrit *mantras*. One evening a little girl was passing by with her grand father when the prayers were being held. She was a newcomer to the Ashram and had never seen a prayer assembly before. So she asked her grand father what the people were doing and was told that they were praying to God. She then wanted to know in what language they were praying. When her grand father said that it was in Sanskrit she quietly asked "Is it that God does not understand Bangali?"

Wardha, 7-5-48 K. G. M.

VINOBA ON JAIN CONTRIBUTION TO HUMANITY

On 24-4-48 Shri Vinoba was invited to address a gathering for the celebration of the Mahavir Birthday on the Gandhi Ground at Delhi

Shri Vinoba said that Mahavir was born about twenty-five hundred years ago in India The message he gave was not a new one Mahavir was believed to be the twenty-fourth, or last *tirthankar* of the Jains This meant that the Jain doctrine had come into existence several centuries before him There was a prayer in the *Rigved* which said अर्हन् किं ददासि विश्वं भगवन् ! (O Arhan, Thou art kind to this world) In this *mantra* both the words *arhat* and kind *(daya)* which are the pet words of Jainism have been used Shri Vinoba believed that Jainism was probably as ancient as the Vedic religion Of course it was not of very great importance that a religion should be very ancient Even if it was new but contained better exposition of truth, it was more valuable than one which did not do so but was merely ancient It was right thought that was of greater importance and Jainism had made a great contribution towards right thinking

The first well known doctrine of Jainism was of kindness towards all creatures Its second contribution to thought was not equally well-known but nevertheless was very important It was the teaching that a person should keep an impartial attitude towards every question. One should not be dogmatic about any proposition, because dogmatism led to perceiving only one side of the question Jainism taught examination of every aspect of a problem They called it taking full view *(samyaktva)* That was a special contribution of Jainism It was said that as a result of such non dogmatic attitude, the number of Jains was not very large But Shri Vinoba said that in his opinion if Jainism had spread considerably it would have lost in merit Its success consisted in its fewness of numbers Jainism did not aim at establishing a religion apart from Hinduism, but was content to become merged into it by reforming it If the message of kindness to all life and of maintaining an impartial attitude towards all questions was assimilated by the thirty crores of Hindus it would be a success of Jainism The word *Jain* itself meant conquest He who had conquered himself was a true conqueror *Veera* or brave is he who conquers the world but *Mahavir* (i e supremely brave) was he who had conquered himself and had completely merged himself into the heart of the universe as sugar in milk

It appeared Shri Vinoba said from the mediaeval history of India that at one time in schools the teachers were Jains while the students were Hindus In Maharashtra the first lesson of a child commenced with salutations to Ganesha and Siddha respectively Ganesha being the popular deity of the Hindus the Jain teachers taught the student to give him the first salute. Siddha was the name of Mahavir and salutation to him came next This showed what influence the Jains had over society But the humility of the Jains did not allow them to put Siddha before Ganesha The Jains never [illegible] ular rights for themselves They regarded [illegible] a reformers and that was their particular role Thus had indeed brought about a great reform in the Hindu religion and should go along the same path in future It was not by becoming *gurus* but by becoming servants of the people that they could teach and reform Thereby they would be able to propagate their doctrine more successfully

Jains swore by *ahimsa* So did also Gandhiji But the non violence of Gandhiji had produced strength The sectarian non violence of the Jains had not done that, because they interpreted non violence in a narrow spirit They went to the length of regarding even agriculture to be a violent occupation because they said that it involved the destruction of worms and weeds But this non violence of theirs did not prevent them from trading in agricultural products The teachers of Jainism had said however that those who did, caused to do or supported violence were all equally guilty of it, if agriculture was an occupation of violence then trade in agricultural products was equally so

Some Jains had the habit of feeding sugar to ants He knew a kind hearted man who every day went a long way out of the town in order to put some sugar at every place where there was an ant hole Once he saw that an ox came on the spot where ants had gathered to carry away the sugar, and hundreds of ants were trampled under its legs If that good man had not put sugar there these ants need not have died It was then a wrong manner of showing kindness. He who nourished him was responsible also for its creation and destruction It was impossible for man to take up all these responsibilities It was the province of Providence. Thoughtless kindness simply aggravated violence

Gandhiji therefore taught that they should first employ non violence for bringing an end to enmity between man and man They should purify themselves by abjuring jealousy hatred anger and other violent passions. Jealousy was a form of violence. So there should be no jealousy between man and man. Nobody was jealous of an ox or any other animal So it was in the relations between man and man that non violence had to be tested

Non violence was inseparably associated with truth The Jain scriptures laid as much emphasis on truth as on non-violence But there were several Jains who had no scruples in resorting to falsehood in their commercial dealings and still believed that because they were not cultivators, but simply traded in agricultural products, they were free from the taint of violence That was not the method of being free from that taint For, if there was no truth there could be no adherence to non violence He therefore strongly recommended to the audience that they should pledge themselves to truth and to the service of afflicted humanity He asked them to look around them There were thousands of refugees in difficulty Government was trying to mitigate their sufferings but that did not exempt the public from performing their part of the duty If kindness was their particular virtue, it should exhibit itself in the form of some service to

these people If the Jains did this they would be rendering a great service to the cause of their religion

MEAT DIET

After Shri Vinoba had concluded he was asked by some members of the audience to give his opinion on the question of meat-eating Shri Vinoba therefore had to speak again He said that when the Jains thought of kindness meat diet came first to their mind There was no difference of opinion among the wise that meat diet should be abandoned But the question to be considered was how that could be made universal

In ancient times all people including the *rishis* and *munis* (sages, recluses etc) ate meat Later on these wise men felt that it did not become them to live on the flesh of animals In order, therefore to get meat-free diet they began to seek other food and invented agriculture They realized that if man grew food he could reduce his meat diet. Thus the seed of vegetarianism was born in the philosophy of non-violence Similarly they discovered that by taking cow s milk they could entirely free themselves from the necessity of meat diet It was said in the *Vedas* गौमि इरं अमर्वि दुरेवान् ।— ' By taking to the service of cow we have found the way of freeing ourselves from the evil of meat diet The cow provided the ox, which was useful for cultivation, and it also gave milk which made flesh eating unnecessary To the Jains perhaps belonged the credit of popularizing vegetarianism on a large scale Later on *Vaishnavas* and *Brahmans* also adopted it Perhaps there were about three crores of people now who never took meat Others who took it did not consider it good This was a success of Jain thought

If the idea was that all people should abjure meat, it must be remembered that it could not be done by simply carrying on propaganda against it It was necessary first to take measures to produce milk fruits vegetables and other vegetable food materials in large quantities It was only when the poor got these things in full measure that they could give up meat diet There was Shri Vinoba said a river flowing in front of his Ashram at Pavnar Fishermen came there every day and after a full day s labour collected a few fish and maintained themselves upon it with very great difficulty He witnessed that thing every day But he had no heart to prevent them from doing that because he knew that only when they could give the poor people something else to eat and live upon then only could they think of weaning them from flesh eating Even ordinary grain was not easily available at present and in times of famine and short rations the people somehow maintained themselves on fish If they wanted these people to give up that occupation they, (the propagandists) should, as the *Upanishad* said take a pledge of growing more food The Bengalis did not get anything to eat except rice by way of vegetable diet By supplementing rice with fish they were able to maintain themselves If they were asked to give up fish, they must consider what they could give them in its place

The vegetarians had nothing to be proud of for being not flesh eaters The present vegetarians of India had not given up meat eating themselves It had been given up by their remote ancestors who had done it with very great effort and difficulty So far as the present generations were concerned they had acquired it only by way of heredity and habit Their upbringing had created in them such abhorrence for meat that it prevented them from even looking at it But the credit for that belonged to the ancestors The present vegetarians took in place of meat things which the poor were unable to get And still when vegetarians fell ill, many of them freely took injections of animal origin without waiting to enquire what was given to them in those drugs As a matter of fact it was much worse to take an injection of an animal substance than to take it orally because when one took it orally only a part of it was assimilated and the rest was excreted But by way of injection the whole thing got into the blood stream directly So it became absolute flesh eating He who consented to take an injection but refrained from taking it by mouth, did not do anything that deserved credit Consequently before asking people to give up meat eating he would tell them to give up quarrels between man and man and selfishness and falsehood He would also ask them to produce milk and fruit and vegetables in large quantities Thereafter it would be the right time to popularize vegetarianism

He would say one more thing He would ask them to give up any notion of superiority on account of their vegetarianism If a vegetarian thought that he was a better person than a meat eater, it was vanity He would rather prefer a person who out of habit or helplessness ate meat but was humble kind to man and animals and felt that it was his misfortune that he could not give up flesh to a person who though a vegetarian uttered lies lived in luxury and yet believed himself to be so superior to a flesh eater that he would take neither food nor water with him This was all egotism and where there was egotism there could be no spiritual growth

Shri Vinoba said that he had recently received a letter asking his opinion whether roots tubers, seeds and leafy vegetables should be eaten or no The *shastras* were full of fine distinctions on these matters Being books of science it was natural that they should go deep into every matter But as a practical man he considered these things to be of minor importance People entangled themselves in these small details while they forgot the main problems These fine distinctions were proper for those who were advanced in discipline who were so to say taking the university training of life But at present they were in the primary classes It was more necessary to know how much one should eat rather than what he should eat for one's spiritual upliftment A man who took simple *dal* and *roti* which was considered *rajas* (spiritually second class) food but took it in a moderate measure with full control over his palate was spiritually superior to one who took what was considered *sattvik* (or spiritually first class) food but in disproportionate quantities and with great gusto He was aware he concluded that the Jains discussed very minutely the subject of spiritually edible and non-edible food But in his opinion it was more important than that to control the palate and to take food in a proper measure.

24-4-48 D D

HARIJAN

May 30 1948

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Last week I congratulated the Dr Tarachand Committee for their progressive resolutions regarding the medium of instruction at the University stage I wish it would have been equally possible for me to extend the same to his Committee on Secondary Education I regret to observe that the resolutions as reported by the Associated Press of India are extremely disappointing Let me first give some of the items of the resolutions

1 That before joining the first year of a degree course the student should undergo a course of education for twelve years

2 that with regard to the period of graduation of secondary education after a compulsory junior basic course of five years there should be a senior basic or pre-secondary course for three years and then a secondary course for four years

3 that the teaching of the federal or national language should be started at the end of the junior basic stage and should be compulsory throughout the pre secondary stage but may be optional thereafter

4 that English should be optional in the senior basic course except for those who take up the pre secondary course

5 that English should be compulsory at the secondary stage as well as long as it remains the medium of instruction in the universities

6 that the federal language should become a compulsory subject at the secondary stage when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in the universities

I have nothing to say on the first With regard to the other items it appears that the Committee worked in entire ignorance of the decisions arrived at by the other Committee For if it had known that that Committee had already decided that at the end of five years from now all education in Indian universities would be given through regional or State language it should have known that no student of the pre-secondary or the secondary classes would be able to enter a university before the medium of instruction in that language had changed into an Indian language As I observed in my article on that Committee s resolutions the implementation of its resolutions required that the first year courses in colleges would have to begin instruction through an Indian language by the middle of the next year, as there were some degree courses which took five or more years for completion

Another impression created by the resolutions of the Secondary Education Committee is that the Committee was unwilling to leave the unscientific rut which the system of pre-university education has been following in this country for several years Giving up a rut means new adjustments and radical changes and the organizers of the secondary and primary education do not seem to desire it. This is regrettable As has been pointed out by the Basic Education Conference held at Patna, any attempt to reduce the period of seven years prescribed for basic education is educationally unsound and should be resisted Apart from the fact that permanent literacy cannot be achieved within a short period, it is impossible to realise the objectives of social and civil education before the child is at least fourteen years old

The Patna resolution is the result of careful examination and experience of several years The unnecessary haste and short-sighted desire of middle class people to see their children cram English words and recitations as quickly as possible, is the cause behind the demand to bifurcate basic education after the fourth or the fifth year It is unscientific and not in the interest even of the pupils of the class by which it is made and is positively detrimental to the majority

There is another defect also in this bifurcator-resolution The Committee appears to require the pupil to decide at the end of five years whether he was going to complete its studies at the end of the basic education course or whether he was going to the secondary stage also If the former English was to be optional for him If the latter it was to be compulsory Since most pupils would be unable to decide at that stage whether they would go in for the secondary course or no, and most of them would also foolly hope that they would do it if they could, the practical result will be that English will have to be compulsorily taken by almost all school children It would have been simpler to say that at the end of five years English will be a compulsory language in the basic course than to make this semblance of option through bifurcation It would seem that we are not satisfied unless we create somewhere a sort of caste At the end of the five years pupils have to be divided into an English knowing caste and a not-English knowing caste

This is not the end of the confusion Item No 3 makes the study of the federal or national language compulsory at the end of the senior basic stage and throughout the period of pre-secondary stage that is to say, for a period of three or more years But thereafter it will be an optional subject. This means that during the four years of the secondary course time will be given to pupils to forget what little they may have studied during the three years So this is to be the fate of the study of the lingua franca of the country!

We who have passed through the present unscientific system ought to know the great amount of waste of time and energy involved in this practice It might well be called the 'learn

to forget' method of education For students are taught for five years and the bifurcation enables several to give up learning thereafter with the result that they lapse into illiteracy Then some are taught English for three years and several of these will bid goodbye to schools at the end of that period with the result that most of them will remember no more English than what is needed for reading postal addresses This system according to the Committee is to be made applicable to an additional subject namely the federal or national language I strongly feel that the non-acceptance of the advice of the Basic Education Conference which being a body of experts particularly devoted to this problem is entitled to great respect is unwise

To turn again to the resolutions Item 5 says that at the secondary stage English would be compulsory as long as it remains the medium of instruction in the universities Even if this Committee did not know what the other Committee had decided it ought to have known generally that sooner or later the policy of the country would be to give more and more importance to the regional State or federal languages than to English. Apparently, the Committee does not believe in the seriousness of this policy and assumes that whatever faddists might say, English would continue to enjoy the place of prestige as at present.

Both Rabindranath Tagore and Gandhiji had great dissatisfaction for the organizers of the primary and secondary education of our country on the ground that instead of building up education from below and making university education to start from the point where secondary education left, they had fallen into the habit of following higher education in their organization of the lower one This is evident from the Committee's resolution that the federal language should become a compulsory subject at the secondary stage when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in the universities. It should have been just the opposite It ought to have been said that they could not hereafter guarantee that they would be able to provide students for the universities capable enough to follow the English medium of instruction as they were more interested in giving the basic knowledge a sound foundation They wanted to see their students well advanced in the knowledge of the regional and the federal language rather than in English. If the universities required better knowledge of English for acquiring higher education they might make adequate provision by special classes or sessions for teaching that language The function of secondary education was not to be feeder institutions of the universities but it was the function of the latter to continue the thread of education from where it had been left by the secondary schools

I am sorry to feel that the Committee's work has been so disappointing

Wardha, 7-5-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE POISON OF COMMUNALISM

The following is abridged from a teacher's letter

Our Governments have banned communal organizations as illegal But my experience of it is that the rich the members of these organizations do not now parade bills or organize other demonstrations in other respects there is no diminution in their communal hatred They still gather together under the pretext of prayers classes sports, etc and spread the poison of communalism as before They speak in praise of Bapu's assassination and say that the Congress leaders and ministers should meet with the same fate

The only result which I with two or three associates achieved during the last two or three years is that the membership of the Sangha (R S S) remained within one hundred But we failed to make any impression on the students who had heads become members of that body I am afraid that the evil results of their propaganda will increase in course of time

Most of the members of the R S S are students In my opinion it is therefore necessary that in order to stop the poisonous propaganda of communalism the Central Government should order all teachers and professors of schools and colleges in the country to propagate against communalism through their lectures writings sports social functions etc both directly and indirectly '

There is no doubt that extremely unfortunate and dangerous ideas have been nourished in our country for several years past It is not possible to measure the amount of evil which the Hindu and Muslim communalists have done to the country by spreading hatred against one another and filling the tender and receptive minds of children with vicious ideas This poison will continue to endanger the health of the body politic for a long time to come These communalist organizations tellingly illustrate how even the highest university learning deep study of scriptures regular participation in rituals prayers worship *namaz*, etc– and observance of religious practices and austerity if it is devoid of the right development of spiritual sentiments utterly fail to develop in man large-heartedness all-embracing love and a broad outlook by which alone spiritual and moral evolution can be measured Even as a few grains of arsenic would be sufficient to poison a gallon of milk the religious learning of *pandits maulvis* and the so-called liberal education of professors and teachers devoid of clear light and development of noble sentiments have turned even the various religions and the *Gita*, the *Quran* and other scriptures, and religious practices and observances into so many tools in the hands of Satan

Spreading hatred is easy like coming down a slope And all our political organizations have been doing this for several years past Muslim fanatics have spread hatred towards Hindus and Sikhs, the fanatics of the latter have done the same towards Muslims some Harijan organizations have taught Harijans to

hate the caste Hindus. Some *Sanatanis* have done the opposite, Communists and Socialists have created hatred for capitalists as such. Barring Gandhiji none has given the people the message of mutual love and friendliness. It was left to Gandhiji alone to deliver that message, often single-handedly. But he did it with such force that he became intolerable to the propagandists of the cult of hatred and they killed him for it.

There can be no doubt that those who have a full realization of this evil and who have shed all communal vanity from themselves must put forth all their energy to combat it, and to face the same risk which Gandhiji had to.

The correspondent deserves commendation for his efforts but I would suggest that he (and all of us with him) should continuously ponder over the cause of his imperfect success. Since truth is with those who have abjured communalism and since we claim to have done so, there must be other deficiencies in us which obstruct success. We must get over these deficiencies with greatest self-discipline, sacrifice and knowledge. They must go by the rule that if the gospel of goodness and love is unable to overcome hatred and evil there must be weakness somewhere in the votaries, and not in the doctrine of non-violence.

The correspondent desires the Government to pass certain orders. I do not wish to discuss these because I do not believe that an order to do this or to refrain from doing that or repressive legislation and administration can remove evil-mindedness and create goodness. The utmost that such measures achieve is to create a show of outward peace. The evil often goes underground and spreads its poison from within like a septic wound merely healed on the surface. As a matter of fact, the main reason why the so-called Gandhites and Congressites have become a weak force today is in my opinion, the habit which they have been developing of expecting Governments to do what they themselves and the people ought to do. They have been asking for legislation on every conceivable matter. For instance Harijans are not allowed to enter a temple they say 'pass a law to enable them to enter'. there are communal organizations charities, institutions etc., 'pass a law to ban them'. communal hatred has to be eradicated, 'ask teachers and professors to teach in a certain manner', there is black-marketing and profiteering, 'impose controls and increase the penalties'. the Press is misbehaving 'suppress the Press'. people do not take to the *charkha* 'let Government machinery be instituted to propagate it'. In this way the people including members of the Congress have been placing more and more reliance on the Government as if their ideas could live and thrive only if Government came to their aid. This habit will make both the people and the workers weak and diffident.

Just as a good scheme of the Spinners Association cannot by itself produce any yarn, it can be produced only by the people actually plying the charkha so too announcement of a good policy by the Government cannot by itself produce good or remove evil. It can be done only if the subordinate officers of the Government as well as the people search their hearts and sincerely co-operate to implement that policy. If the Hindu or Sikh officers and intelligentsia and their common people, or the Muslim officers and intelligentsia and their common people have developed deep-rooted passions against another community, no order or legislation and no announcement of a good and liberal policy or inter-Dominion agreements could succeed. If we examine the facts deeply, it will be found that this is actually what is happenig in both the Dominions to a considerable extent.

Even the minds of the Congressmen and those who swear by Gandhiji are not quite frank and clear on this subject. I have been reading in papers eminent office-bearers in the Congress appealing to the people to be war-minded and to take to military training in their hundreds as if a war was imminent. I doubt if it is in apprehension of a Third World War. I am afraid that the underlying suggestion is a communal war. It is a preparation for a fight between the Hindus and Sikhs against the Muslims, whether the scene of war is in the Indian Union itself, or on the borders of India and Pakistan, or of India and Hyderabad. Even Congressmen and Gandhian workers are becoming unconscious agents of the communalists.

I would therefore advise all those who have not an iota of doubt about the necessity of uprooting communalism in every shape and form to put in their best personal effort and to face all oppositions and obstacles. As towards Government, they should rest content with the fact that its declared policy and intention is in their favour that the principal heads of the Government, Pandit Jawaharlal and others will stand by them and not by those who are openly or secretly communal-minded. Their Government might be depended upon to take whatever measures it deems proper for making its policy successful. It should be remembered however, that the Government methods of doing a right thing or removing an evil will generally be different from that of a non-violent servant of the people. The Government method generally is to get things done by awarding rewards or threatening punishments. At times this creates an appearance of success. But these methods do not work where it is necessary to bring about a change in the opinions and sentiments of a people. That work can be done effectively only by such servants of the people, as have implicit faith in non-communalism. Since the Government also has the same object, unofficial efforts would be a help to it. They will add to its prestige. What I lay stress upon is that *lok-sevaks* (servants of the people) must give up the habit of looking to or asking the Government to do all these things. That habit will bring success neither to the Government nor to the cause. The main work has to be done by the believers in *sarvodaya* even if all the Government machinery were hopelessly communally-minded.

Bombay, 11-5-48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — V

Addressing the evening prayer gathering at Rajghat on 30 4 48 Shri Vinoba said that the day marked the completion of the third month since Gandhiji's departure from this world Life as well as death of great men bore the same meaning When they lived they lived a life of detachment from the body They lived and moved in the realm of the spirit When they left the body, the removal of the physical burden made the soul force stronger so that it acted as a stimulating agent on all sides. He had been having that experience constantly Gandhiji s memory inspired introspection, and constant observation and inspection The memory of his day should stimulate every one to perform the duties which lay ahead of him and to watch constantly the progress made therein.

Last week Shri Vinoba said he had drawn the attention of the audience to the condition of refugees He wanted to resume that subject that day It was four weeks since he had visited the camps for the first time He had seen their small tents at Panipat and had referred to them in his last speech. Recently he had gone to Burna to look into the problem of those Muslims who were old residents of that place The road to Burna lay via Panipat He saw that the small tents still existed there He had mentioned Panipat by way of illustration only As a matter of fact the small tents were to be found in every place It had been decided to remove them immediately But it had not been done even after three or four weeks The sun was getting hotter every day When he considered the condition of children living in these tents he could compare them only with potatoes placed on fire for being steamed He did not wish to give a detailed description of their pitiful condition. Doubtless, several of the bearers had children and they could imagine what their condition must be He did not wish to blame anybody in particular for that delay because even those whom he might blame formed ultimately a part of his own society — his larger self He would therefore rather find fault with himself

He wished to draw particular attention of Congress workers to this problem Gandhiji had placed the Constructive Programme before the country and had repeatedly laid stress on it The service of refugees stood at present first in the rank of the Constructive Programme There was scope for implementation of all the items of the Constructive Programme in serving the refugees. The Congress had appointed a Refugee Relief Committee for carrying on that work But it would not be right to leave everything to that Committee It was a work for every one of them. Every worker should take part in it They should go from house to house and persuade and find out people who would receive some refugee or another to live with them

The Congress workers had not as yet taken sufficient interest in Constructive Work Disregard for Constructive Work in the past was to a certain degree excusable because in the past the main problem before the country was to get rid of the foreign Government Even those who engaged themselves in the Constructive Programme looked upon it only as a means to get rid of the British Government and they explained the message of the Constructive Programme to the people in terms of its capacity to create organized strength for the achievement of their political ideal That approach did enable the Constructive Programme to proceed to a certain extent but Congressmen generally did not feel interested in the Constructive Programme for its own intrinsic value

They had now got rid of the British Government, and so the Constructive Programme now took the place of first importance in the country for building up the nation Every activity Vinobaji said had two sides — one for destroying the evil and the other for developing the good qualities in society Both had their place but if they fixed their attention only on the destructive aspect, even when time had arrived for paying attention to creative aspect, man as was said in the *Upanishad*, entered the region of darkness At the stage when the destructive side was important it had been a programme which demanded sacrifice and hardships of various types. They had ceased to be demanded now Therefore if the destructive aspect still continued to sway their thinking the workers would degenerate into a life given to luxury and ease That would make the Congress a worthless institution But if they took up the question of refugees and worked for it they would get no opportunity of labouring for them and of making real contact with the masses As matters stood, Congressmen were losing contact with the people The Socialists had left the Congress other young men were disenchanted with it of the remaining, some had joined the Government and some were after securing power If attainment of power raised the mind of the Congressmen, they would soon begin to quarrel among themselves, form groups and weaken the Congress It was far better to dissolve the Congress immediately than to make it a degenerate institution Because if they dissolved it, they would at least keep alive the memory of that Indian National Congress, which was glorious If ease and idleness became prominent amongst Congressmen even the old glory of the Congress would vanish There would be nothing left to remember and be proud of

He, therefore, entreated the Congress workers to identify themselves with the refugee work It would partly them and the needy would be able to get their help If the country rendered them assistance at this period of their unhappiness they would carry a sense of gratitude and love for the country and that would create good national servants from amongst them He would therefore, strongly advise to give other activities a secondary place at that time and make the refugee work their prominent one They would find that by doing so even the other activities gained in the long run It was like taking a bath in the sea and thereby acquiring the merit of bathing in every river

1-5-48 D. D.

VINOBA AT BURIA JAGHIR

[Buria is a small village about three miles away from Jagadhari District Ambala East Punjab belonging to a Sikh Jaghirdar Before the disturbance there was a population of about 12 000 Muslims in this Jaghir Most of them migrated to Pakistan but on account of Gandhiji's efforts about four to five thousand Muslims decided to stay on in India Though they have thus stayed, they do not consider themselves to be quite safe Several refugees from the West Punjab have also settled down in this Jaghir There is a population of about three hundred Muslims in this particular village The rest are still hanging on outside its borders in the Saharanpur District of U P awaiting an opportunity to return to Buria Some military has been posted for the protection of the Muslims but it is contemplated to remove it This has made the Muslims a little nervous Hence Vinobaji's visit to the village on 30 1 48 He addressed a meeting arranged on the occasion The following is a summary of his speech]

Shri Vinoba said that he had been acquainted with the particular situation of Buria and had gone there with the express purpose of meeting both the Muslims and refugees for cementing friendship among them He found that both the refugees from the West Punjab as well as the Muslims who had stayed on were in a miserable plight The former had obtained some lands and houses but they were not as good or comfortable as those which they had left and the Muslims lived in a state of fear When two unhappy men met a bond of sympathy should arise between them He related the well known story of Kunti the mother of the Pandavas When she was asked by God to choose a boon she said 'May I always have हरिदीनता विपत्ति न कदापि' When she was asked to explain the reason for that strange choice she said that if a person was unhappy he could sympathize with other unhappy people and would constantly remember his Creator But in happiness man became hard-hearted and forgot the Maker Shri Vinoba was however sorry to observe that although there were two unhappy parties there, there was no sympathy between them The Muslims were in suspense They thought they would be unsafe if the military was removed That was a thing which their neighbours should be ashamed of They (the neighbours) should assure the Muslims that they were not beasts of prey of whom everyone would be afraid, and that the Muslims need have no fear on their account They should promise to them that they would stand by them if they were molested by others, and would lay down their own lives first before the Muslims suffered injury That was the way of creating confidence

He would also advise the Muslims to give up fear One of the oft-repeated teachings of the *Quran* was that a man who trusted in God did not fear anyone in the world A person could live only as long as God willed him to live and no more Not a leaf moved but by the will of God There should therefore be no room for fear

He entreated both communities to live together as brothers It was a matter of pride for India that there were Muslims who preferred to stay in Hindustan It was a credit to our religion All the religions taught that men should love one another If the majority did not make themselves responsible for the welfare of the minority then they would weaken their Government The Government of India stood for the people of all religions — Hindus Muslims Sikhs, Christians and others provided that they all lived in mutual friendship The Government would give full protection to everyone. The refugees should not worry themselves on the ground that if those Muslims who had left their houses returned the refugees might again become homeless The Government would look into that problem He believed that it was possible to find and the Government would find out a solution so that there was no conflict of interest between the two

In conclusion Shri Vinoba said that he was happy to go to their village He wanted to go to any place where it was necessary to inspire courage in the people Real courage came from within but a suggestion from outside was helpful at times He did not oblige anybody by going there because it was just his duty He was glad to find that both the Muslims as well as the Jaghirdar Shri Ratan Amol Singh put trust in him He was pleased to find that a Sikh had been able to win the confidence of the Muslims there There had been similar instances elsewhere also where the Hindus had protected the Muslims and the Muslims had protected the Hindus That such noble deeds happened inspired the hope that India would go the path of progress

30-4-'48 D D

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

Price *Rs 4-0-0* Postage etc. *0-10 0*

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10 9-47 to 30 1-48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi.

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc. *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
M K GANDHI		113
VINOBA ON JAIN CONTRIBUTION TO HUMANITY	D D	114
SECONDARY EDUCATION	K G MASHRUWALA	116
THE POISON OF COMMUNALISM	K G MASHRUWALA	117
VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — V	D D	119
VINOBA AT BURIA JAGHIR	D D	120
NOTE		
OTHER SIDE	K G M	113

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3.

Urdu Also

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 14 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1948 TWO ANNAS

VIOLENCE vs. NON-VIOLENCE

It was at this stage that Gandhiji came with his programme of non-violent resistance He had already made successful experiments with it in South Africa. But it was a strange weapon even for India Many of the old leaders of the Congress party, and Mr Jinnah was one of them thought it to be extremely ridiculous The upper and middle classes, especially those who had received Western education never took to it very kindly The young university student was often openly contemptuous and placed more reliance on bombs and guns But the rank and file of the nationalist movement took up Gandhiji's programme with enthusiasm. With an unerring instinct they saw in it a way out of the terrible morass they were in It heartened them greatly to know that their resistance to imperialism need not cease because they had no howitzers or bomber planes, and as they practised it they discovered that in non-violent resistance they had a more powerful weapon than all the guns and bombs they had ever possessed

The rest of the story is well-known, but I want to stress a few points In the first place it was no easy success Failures came again and again But we noticed one great difference The failure of a non-violent movement was not followed by that demoralization which inevitably came after the failure of previous violent upheavals I know it from personal experience My mother was an ardent follower of Gandhiji, but in my school days I did not think much of non-violence I joined the local revolutionary organization whose programme was to carry on much the same terroristic activities with guns and bombs as the Irish did in the Sinn Fein days. Our organization had more heroic and noble young men than I have met anywhere else and some of their acts of self-sacrifice will not be easily surpassed in my country But I realized as time passed that our efforts were not leading us anywhere. Our exploits were heroic but produced very little result. Moreover after every failure we receded into greater and greater moral depression By contrast, the women who worked with my mother were producing more positive results by their non-violent efforts Even when they were faced with failure they experienced no feelings of frustration. My experience was that, while violence was more spectacular, non-violence produced more permanent results It was this hard experience which made me change my views

Secondly, the non-violent movement created a spirit of resistance in the country which was unique Previously it was assumed that any resistance was impossible unless you had arms But now people learned that they could resist all sorts of oppression by sheer moral force. Wherever there was oppression or tyranny — by feudal landlords against tenants bigoted priests against untouchables haughty planters against coolies, greedy factory managers against labourers, spontaneous non-violent resistance was often organized by the local people themselves without waiting for somebody outside to give them the lead This was by itself a great achievement The common man in India had regained self-confidence and learned to assert his rights

Thirdly, all section of the community, even the poorest of the poor and the weakest of the weak now found it possible to play an effective role in the national struggle So long as the national resistance was based on violence it was only the young men who could hope to take any effective part But in the non violent movement a most glorious part was played by women and old men and even children In fact nothing has done more to emancipate the Indian woman and give her self-confidence and strength than this non-violent resistance Through non-violence the weakest has found an effective means of offering resistance which in itself is no mean gain

Fourthly, it lifted the struggle between the Indian and the British to a higher moral plain and in that process ennobled both Formerly the Indian considered the British officer as a haughty tyrant whom it was expedient for him to obey ordinarily, but whom he hated from his heart and would even kill if he could. The British officer felt that he was sitting on a volcano and his own safety demanded that he must keep down the rebellious Indians with the utmost severity Gandhiji taught Indians to make a distinction between the British imperialism and the British nation and to hate the policy, but not the person. The British officer in his turn found it necessary to change his entire outlook. He no longer did what he considered his administrative duties with gusto and self-justification but with increasing distaste His conscience no longer supported him in his task of keeping

down Indians. A British officer whom I met shortly before leaving India is a typical example He told me that he had killed many Germans in the first world war and several Afridi rebels on India's North-West frontier But he never felt any compunction It was a fair fight and in any case they would have killed him unless he had killed them But sometime back he had to order his men to disperse a group of non-violent resisters and they had killed two men in the process Since then he had never been able to get over it. He felt like a murderer of innocent men It always haunted him like an evil nightmare Apparently non-violent resistance had successfully undermined the moral defences of this hard-bitten officer And there were many like him This has been one of the greatest achievements of our non-violent struggle It has induced more heart-searching on both sides and it has lifted both sides to a nobler plain That is why you find that today when India is declaring her independence there is greater fellow-feeling between Indians and the British than ever before. Compare this with the moment when America or Ireland achieved independence

You should not imagine however, that our problems will be automatically solved with the attainment of independence On the contrary, our most difficult problems will now really begin For two hundred years all healthy development was stunted in India. All sorts of medieval institutions and reactionary forces which have been swept away in other countries during the last two centuries have been carefully preserved in India under the protective wings of Pax Britannica. The economic condition of the country has gone from bad to worse Now when the common man in India is, at last waking up from his long slumber, he demands quick and drastic reforms, and there is bound to be a lot of trouble Moreover, there are many people in India who do not want a peaceful solution, who do not believe in non-violence and who are only too willing to fish in troubled waters There are feudal elements who dream of getting back their medieval authority There are capitalists who will use, if they can, all the obnoxious characters of American big business. There are ambitious labour- and peasant leaders who dream of being dictators following the models set up in the West. We shall have to carry on our struggle against these and many other difficulties You will hear of more and more troubles in India during the next ten or twenty years The period of transition will not be easy But I have one confidence The common man in India has at least learned to resist injustice — even against hopeless odds — with moral force. The technique of non-violent resistance has taken deep roots in the country and ultimately it is sure to triumph over all forces of violence and disorder much in the same way that it triumphed over imperialism.

I give you one instance of how deep these roots really are Two important political parties in India opposed to the Congress at first began by expressing their contempt for non-violence and openly avowing violence. But now even they have found it expedient to exhort their followers to try non-violent resistance I do not know how far they are really sincere. But I do hope that the terrible counter-violence which the recent violent actions of some of their supporters have provoked has at last made them recognize the wisdom of Gandhiji's teaching.

It is not an easy lesson to learn — especially for the impatient, ambitious and power loving creature that man is But I believe that all the parties in India will soon learn, as I have personally that non-violent resistance produces a much better result and much less reaction in the long run and that moral influence gives one a much greater authority than power can ever do

SAMAR RAJAN SEN

(From the pamphlet INDIA GETS HER FREEDOM *published by Peace News Ltd. 3 Blackstock Road, London, N 4)*

THE HUMANITY OF GANDHIJI

Such men as Gandhiji are all too rare in this world so torn by violence so replete with the forces of hate They are not popular with the militarists and industrialists — their philosophy rings too true — and its ring sounds the death knell of many worldly ambitions As the sun entering our rooms brings to view the cobwebs and the dust accumulated during the night so the rising of such a soul as Gandhiji in our midst casts an all-revealing light into the dark corners of our lives and those of us who have cobwebs and dust to hide shun that Light We draw the blinds and close the shutters till our room is too dark for shadows

Yet it is perhaps for these more than for any others that Gandhiji has his message — I say "has", not "had", for the Spirit of Gandhiji is not dead — cannot be killed Indeed he may wield a greater and wider influence today than he could have wielded while he still walked among us We shall not be astonished to see the great work for which he lived and to which he dedicated his life the minor amplication as well as the spiritual liberty of India realized as a reaction to this foul assassination

In this loss India is not alone Spokes in the Great Wheel of Life raises and nations of men radiating from the common Centre touch at various points the rim of existence — some aspiring upward, some downcast gazing on the ground some looking eagerly to the future others dreaming of the past — each of us have our turn as the Wheel revolves — yet we are we One in that Centre where blaze the Light of inspiration for those who can bear its light. It is the One Flame, the One Centre from which all lovers and saviours of humanity have drawn their strength and their courage their vision of selfless service.

If we find it difficult to enter the mind of Gandhiji consecrated as it was to meditation on *ahimsa*, on *satyagraha* on *shanti* as ways of service how much

more difficult shall we find it to enter into that depraved consciousness of his murderer to see through his distorted vision and to think with him that the mighty forces set in motion by Gandhiji could be halted by a shot? Yet in a sense we must try. It was one of Gandhiji's most outstanding characteristics that he could enter the thought of his adversary and love him as a fellowman, be his nature never so base, be his ideals never so foreign from his own. When, some ten days before he was assassinated an attempt had been made on his life with a bomb at the prayer meeting Gandhiji disowned the praises lavished on him for his calm indifference, saying that he had thought the explosion part of some military practice. And he added says the report in the *Harijan* (1st February, 1948 p 11) that "he would deserve a certificate only if he fell as a result of such an explosion and yet retained a smile on his face and no malice against the doer. From such compassion sprang his compassionate understanding of the manner Prophetic words! Before he fell back unconscious Gandhiji offered the blessing of his *darshan* to his murderer as with pressed palms he murmured *Rama Rama*. This act alone is sufficient to show the depth of his meditation at the time of death. Where our thoughts are, there are we. And Gandhiji was turned within seeking his God — perhaps that assassin but opened a hitherto closed door. Who will say? Speculation leads us nowhere, but knowledge of that Great Man and his ways may lend us consolation. Great as is the physical crime it becomes microscopic when contrasted with the magnitude of the spiritual blunder. For the murderer it amounts to spiritual suicide — for the murdered, may it not have come as a release?

We fear our spiritual leaders — we always have. Their ideals stagger us their hearts are too pure their self-discipline too unbending. Their very *Ahimsa* condemn us. And we sensing our own inferiority shrink, coward like, away. When their Light grows too intense we seek to put out that Light — we think to extinguish it by murder. We forget that there are Fires which burn the brighter as the fuel of calumny is thrown on them. When the Soul is set free that Fire glows with an all consuming, blinding Light as the sun released from the monsoon's dark embrace.

Gandhiji amar ho gaye (Gandhiji has attained immortality), shouted the crowds as the leaping flames reduced that frail body to ashes. From his funeral pyre have arisen such flames as will one day reduce to ashes too the very hatred and fear which led to his taking off. Careless of her saints and *sannyasis*, India takes them for granted — they *seem* so plentiful. And because the demand for the ideal man is so great India is crowded with pseudo spiritual men who live on the credulity of those who do not discriminate. One meets them at every turning of the road. Yet even these charlatans serve their purpose they bespeak the hidden reality as a drop of water proves the possibility of shoreless seas or as the rush light whispers of that miracle of miracles the rising of the morning sun. As in a forest one tree towers high above the rest and in reaching to the light braves the fury of the storm, so from time to time arises a Gandhi who scorns the baseness of the coward's non-resistance and who risks rather to perish in a righteous war than to live secure in the cravens peace.

We shout *Gandhiji Ki Jai!* We don *khaddar*. We think the clothes have made the man we think that words can take the place of action. But to practise the doctrine of *ahimsa*, to live the life of a *satyagrahi* — these are the prerequisites of those of us who would call Gandhiji their leader. For following in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors Gandhiji has insisted that those who would serve him should do so through service of the down trodden those who would truly know him, must study his philosophy. Something in the weakness of human nature leads us to believe that in prostituting a *creed*, we practise a *faith* — and so we shout *Gandhiji Ki Jai!* — we don *khaddar* — we feel only ourselves!

Now is it all over. Or is this but the beginning? Gandhiji has proven by his life that our measurements of the stature of man are false. He has risen beyond all such considerations. The limitations set to the average man's thoughts did not exist for him. The Truth he beheld — unity to him was a matter of experience — and there no race nor creed nor colour nor nationality — no, nor caste was known. In that unity Gandhiji saw the only hope for the world today. In that unity of purpose and of endeavour — in that unity of man, alone lies the possibility of India's coming through this stygian darkness to the light of day. We are in a long long tunnel. Here and there we pass outs in the mountain's side through which we breathe free air and view the distant land — and with that memory that there is light we dive again into the darkness — and into what Darkness! — the darkness of annihilation not knowing when we shall emerge. Too only thing that matters is that we should go *through*. It is so that Gandhiji lived his life consecrated concentrated, intent on the goal he had set himself he entered fearlessly into the darkness. He never claimed to have a unique message to give but regarded himself rather as a window through which a ray of the age old wisdom of the ancients might be brought to men. What each of us would do with that wisdom — that he left to the individual to decide. It was extreme humility, it was his utter self abnegation it was his courage to live up to his ideals even before the most bitter opposition that cost him his life. He loved not wisely but too well. He trusted men even when he knew them unworthy believing that by trust the most depraved might be inspired to redeem themselves. Those of his own community feared that love, feared the truth he taught, feared above all, that brotherhood on which he based his life. For while it meant the coming of peace in the world, it involved the abolishing of caste restrictions and communal isolation. Because he called the Muslim his brother a Hindu brother shot him down!

And the responsibility — how shall we place it? Where shall we focus the "blame"? In so far as any of us have indulged in race or creedal superiorness in so far as we have allowed the colour prejudice to enter into our relations with a dark-skinned brother,

to that degree that [illegible] revengeful or unforgiving whether it be so in individual or to a nation — even though it be but in thought — we are guilty of this crime we are partakers of this murderer's guilt To rightly honour Gandhiji today would be to try even a little to follow in his footsteps would be to try however falteringly, to understand the heart and the compassion which were his guides and which led him to pray not so much with his lips as with his life, that the sins of the world might fall on his shoulders

Cologny-Geneve, D C T
Switzerland

HARIJAN

June 6 1948

URDU ALSO

The *Harijan* of 16th May publishes the resolution of the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha on the question of Hindustani and its script The resolution advocates the adoption of Hindustani as the federal language, and Devanagari as its principal script, and Urdu and Roman scripts for particular purposes In his note thereon Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala supports the Sabha's resolution generally and on the question of scripts sets forth a view, which in effect, gives the Roman script such equality of status with the regional scripts of India as would make it almost the common script of the nation for all practical purposes

The suggested use of the Roman script by the Tarachand Committee on the University medium of education, has unnecessarily started a new controversy in the solution of the script problem It must not be encouraged It would be best to realize clearly that the Roman script has no place in the national scripts of India How many people know it? The attempt to reform it will bring in all the diacritical marks such as appear in the Urdu script Spelling is the body of a word and it has to be learnt with effort In addition to the spelling of a word in one's own script to learn its *romanized* spelling also is unnecessary and wasteful labour The Roman script is not needed by the masses

Leaving aside the question of the Roman script for the moment, what shall be the relative position of Nagari and Urdu? Is it right to decide as a settled fact or policy that Nagari shall be the principal script of Hindustani and Urdu shall occupy a subordinate or second place? In this connection, the eighth clause in the resolution of the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha is very important Indeed, it is possible that the Sabha itself may not have fully realized its importance. The clause runs thus

> "(viii) The Sabha would also like to caution our legislators against being swayed with the idea of raising any of the provincial languages to the status of [illegible] language as such a course is bound to fail as utterly impracticable and unnatural it also means a logical death to the provincial languages sought to be fostered

It is clear that this warning is directed against the attempt to make sanskritized Hindi of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan the federal language of India It is a right warning It means that Hindustani — the national language — is not the language of any particular province or provinces or the style and turn given to it by a particular school of literary writers only But the people and forces and currents of every province have taken and will take part in its development and progress It is this capacity of Hindustani which has made it popular as a common national language Its peculiarity lies in the fact that though it is a language understood and generally spoken by the masses from the Punjab in the north to the Vindhyas in the south, and extending upto Bihar in the east, it is not in its entirety the mother tongue or dialect of the people of any particular region It has been developed both through the Nagari and the Urdu scripts The non-recognition or even subordination of Urdu would mean casting away its achievements and future contribution in the development and propaganda of the national language This would be inconsistent with item 3 of the Sabha's own resolution quoted above If the language of a particular province is not to be made the national language, it is quite clear that Urdu (both as style and script) cannot be ignored or side-tracked If the Urdu script is so treated, it is not possible that such a federal language would "in its scope be wide and extensive, in its form simple and elastic and in its spirit inclusive" Because, it is that script which has contributed no less than the style, to make Hindustani what it is

Gandhiji insisted on keeping both the scripts and both the styles of Hindustani, because he realized that unless it was so, it was not possible to have a national language which every province could accept and feel as its own Let us avoid both the extremes — that of a narrow view of the Hindu culture as well as that of too wide internationalism If we did so, we would at once see that Hindi + Urdu = Hindustani, written in both the scripts is the only common national language acceptable to the people Will the Congress be loyal to this cause at this period of its test? Or will it fail the masses? At the A. I. C C meeting at Bombay Pandit Jawaharlal had to say a few hard words to its members He said that they frequently put forth Gandhiji's name to suit their convenience, but asked whether they cared to accept his views on language scripti communal unity etc I do not put forth this plea for the script and the language in the name of Gandhiji but for an independent and dispassionate examination of his opinion on its merits

Ahmedabad, 17-5-48 MAGANBHAI P DESAI
(*Translated from Gujarati*)

IN SEARCH OF A MAHATMA

I would like to share with the readers the following narration by an esteemed friend with a deep spiritual outlook or the circumstances under which he discovered Gandhiji at the Kumbha Mela of Haradwar in 1915 but understood the full significance of it only after Gandhiji's death

'I had arrived at certain conclusions on spiritual matters and the goal of human activity in the world, but wanted confirmation thereof from the mouths of other *jnanis* (wise men) I had returned to Bombay after a long residence in the Himalayas The Kumbha Mela at Haradwar raised a desire in my mind to visit that place in search of a *mahatma* among the thousands of pilgrims that would gather there So I steered But on my way my old friend, the late Dr Haribhau Dev of the Servants of India Society, entrained the same train with a corps of volunteers going to the same place As I was familiar with Haradwar and its surrounding locality, Dr Dev pressed me to encamp with him and help him in his social service I could not but consent, though I felt that it would then be impossible for me to go in search of *mahatmas* which was the main purpose of my journey As I expected, all my time was occupied in assisting the volunteers in their selfless work. There was plenty of hard work to do as cholera had broken out in a severe form, and there was filth and disorder everywhere The volunteers had to work as scavengers, nurses bier-bearers and what not

'The adjoining camp was Gandhiji's. He was not a *mahatma* then, but, as he was then called, a *karma-veera* (a valiant man of action) That title too appeared to my eyes of those days rather exaggerated, for there was nothing in his outer form or manners that was soldier-like In his quaint Kathiawadi dress and still quainter party of youngsters brought by him from South Africa I confess I did not feel in the least that all my time I had been staying and now and then listening to the talks of one, who was to be later proclaimed by the world a *mahatma* Of course he had some uncommon ways if *mahatmas* are to be recognized by their odd ways His food consisted chiefly of ground-nuts and fruits which was the food neither of the toiling masses of India nor of the well-to-do classes And his way of training his companions was also different from that of ordinary people or of *sadhus* and *sannyasis* Nevertheless, the respect which I had felt for him even before I had met him increased, and later on led me to pay frequent visits to his *ashram*

"But for the time being I felt that the desire which had urged me to go to Haradwar had remained unfulfilled After the pilgrims had dispersed I went to Rishikesh for a short stay, feeling all the way that for want of time I had not been able to go in search of a *mahatma*

Later on, of course, I forgot the matter, and in course of time the desire to go in search of *mahatmas* also abated within me, as I grew firmer in my convictions

'Some time after Gandhiji's death, I began to recall to my mind the various occasions when I had met Gandhiji and the first occasion came to my mind very vividly Ruminating over it it just struck me how strange it was that I did not know that the purpose of my visit to Haradwar had really been mysteriously accomplished! I had gone in search of a *mahatma* and had not only found him but had also lifelong connections with him, and still was not conscious of it I felt like a man, who always sang the well-known tune *bhairavi* correctly but not knowing for years that it was *bhairavi*, thought that he must learn that tune from some musician and suddenly discovered that he had always known it!'

Khar, 28-5-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

NATURE CURE—I

ITS PLACE IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

There is no doubt about Gandhiji's zeal almost amounting to a passion for nature cure although it was not formally mentioned in a distinct item in his eighteen fold constructive programme The Constructive Workers Conference held recently at Sevagram did well in giving it a distinct place In Gandhiji's pamphlet on constructive programme village sanitation and education in health and hygiene are mentioned as separate items and he has given some important hints thereon. This may be regarded as covering the preventive side of diseases Undoubtedly, preventive measures are more important than curative ones But in spite of the knowledge and observance of the laws of prevention, man accidentally or unconsciously commits mistakes and falls a victim to disease. At times he catches it for reasons beyond his control Hence there will always be the need for curative measures also. People would be healthier and happier if such measures were good and effective and ultimately harmless Multiplication of hospitals and dispensaries of the familiar type does not fulfil these conditions It is a general experience that in their attempt to cure a disease even if they appear to succeed against that one, many a time they create another and the apparent cure often proves to be temporary or simply suppressive of prominent symptoms As against this nature cure is total and radical Besides in Naturopathy, during the time the patient is taking the treatment, he obtains knowledge of both the curative as well as the preventive side of his ailment He also realizes the importance of adhering to healthy habits and actually cultivates them as an indispensable part of the treatment Thus, ultimately, nature cure is likely to prove to be the best system of treatment of disease

It is often objected that the available nature cure clinics of our country are so expensive, that only the rich can afford to take advantage of them Also, that the duration of the treatment is comparatively longer than in any system based on drugs, and the patient has to spend a considerable time after it everyday So even those who could afford it are not attracted to it

It will be good to examine this objection in some detail It must be understood that nature cure is a

radical remedy It is also educative Other treatments are, more often than not palliative or suppressive They create a life long drug habit and it is not unusual to find people taking patent or other medicines and injections all their life They appear to move about and attend to their routine work but their bodies become veritable receptacles of various diseases There are no doubt some diseases for which specific medicines show ing quicker and surer results are claimed to have been discovered. But their number is very small, and is confined to a few acute ailments They are hardly if at all, able to cure any chronic ailment and in these nature cure decidedly bring about better results Though the initial period may appear to be long and expensive, the totality of experience is that on the whole it is not more expensive than treatment by drugs, and that its efficacy is undoubted

This explanation is not meant to suggest that nature cure methods do not require to be made simpler and cheaper to bring them within the reach of the poor and the villagers It is neither possible nor desirable to have a physician for every village It is more important to teach people the laws of living in conformity with the laws of nature and cultivate healthy habits from childhood That is to say to avoid highly spiced hot foods and take instead simple clean and nutritive balanced diet, in a measure just enough to keep body and mind in good order to insist on clean water and fresh air to establish a balance between bodily and mental work to stand sit and walk erect to be neat and clean in person and also to keep the house and surroundings clean and tidy These things do not cost money if one puts the principle of self help into practice

No amount of money can bring about all these things without self help and persevered cultivation of good and healthy habits. We may take, for instance, the present day wall to do men at considerable cost they take all sorts of rich foods and tasty dishes but still they are not well-nourished The reason is that the food which they take is not chosen for its nutritive or health preservative value, but for its capacity to satisfy a palate spoiled by indulgence and for showing off their riches They overeat, and yet, their diet being unbalanced they remain ill-nourished. On the other hand there are vast multitudes who do not get enough to eat To say to these people that they should have protective foods, such as green vegetables seasonal fruits milk and ghee is mockery Thus one class of people suffers, on account of its ignorance and bad habits by over-eating and indulgence and the masses who force the bulk and who are poor and are equally, if not more ignorant suffer from mal-nutrition So we have to fight both ignorance and poverty A nature cure worker if he wants to work on constructive lines, must tackle both these problems He should teach people to grow more food, vegetables and fruits in their fields and country-yards the domestication of honey-bees, the scientific method of cow keeping the method of making compost manure from village refuse night soil and urine and maintenance of wells and tanks in a clean condition to ensure pure water supply

Considerable educative and demonstrative work will have to be done on these lines People can get more food value from things that are available, if they make wise instead of wasteful use thereof For instance, if they use hand-ground flour and hand-pounded rice instead of machined flour and rice they would get more food value from the same amount of feed grains Similarly if food is not over cooked or fried they would get better returns from the same amount consumed.

The roots of many a disease are mainly two deficiency of necessary nutritive and other elements required for the upkeep of the body or congestion caused by accumulation of foreign matter in the body For remedying these water earth compresses, cooling eye dieting and occasional fasting are decidedly better remedies than drugs It is thus possible to bring nature cure remedies within the reach of villagers and the labouring classes. For this purpose experiments must be made upon villagers in rural areas But the pity of the matter is that as things stand it is difficult to get even water sufficient to give to the patient the various baths prescribed under naturopathy In several villages even drinking water is scarce. Consequently only remedies other than baths may have to be made use of But the water problem will have to be tackled by the nature cure worker

Gandhiji had greatest emphasis on *Ramanama* in the treatment of disease He held that a man with faith in *Ramanama* would naturally lead a simple and disciplined life, he would rarely fall ill, and if he did, he would not be upset or nervous but would remain calm and peaceful believing that he must have broken somewhere or other the laws of Nature and must therefore, pay the penalty for the breach He would completely resign himself to the will of God and not be worried by his illness He would not hanker after getting this treatment or that but would be content with such Nature cure treatment as was easily available to him Gandhiji during his last days went even further and said that *Ramanama* was the best and the only remedy of all ailments Naturally I put forth this view on his authority It would be presumptuous on my part to speak of it in a manner as if I had a realization of this faith Frankly, I am a child in this matter

So far few constructive workers have taken interest in nature cure After Gandhiji's release from the Aga Khan Palace, he told the workers that the various items of the Constructive Programme were not independent of one another but were closely inter-connected. Their integration indicated the way of life which he envisaged. The constructive worker, be he a worker in *khadi*, or village industries, or *Nai Talim* or any other item, had to take the whole village as a unit and strive to make it self sufficient in most matters Thus alone, real Swaraj starting from and having the village at its centre could be established Nature cure being a very important item in the Constructive Programme, constructive workers must try to pursue it in their own life and thereby pave the way for introducing it in the villages.

N D. PARIKH

CENT PER CENT SWADESHI
By *Gandhiji*
Price *Rs* 2-0-0 Postage 0-6-0

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI
By *Mahadev Desai*
Price *Rs* 4-0-0 Postage 0-11-0

GANDHIJI'S MARTYRDOM AND FUTURE OF INDIA

The death of Gandhiji has spoken to the heart and mind of India several messages None more potent however than this Religious bigotry and fanaticism are man's worst foes, these are irreligious forces which spring from ignorance and egotism This is evident today and the living heart of Gandhiji throbs forth this truth through his death Whether Indians, especially the Hindus, will make good use of the message remains to be seen

The hour is ripe to sound a call for a calm consideration of what should be done to atone correctly for the sacrifice of Gandhiji so that the blood of this Martyr may water the garden of Peace and Unity in the India he loved (and of which India he had a vision) — India the spiritual Mother and Messenger of the world

Indians have tolerated the spread of the tentacles of communalism into every aspect of their national life, until today the country is cursed with communal organizations and institutions of every kind — clubs swimming-baths, hospitals gymkhanas hostels refreshment stalls charities educational institutions and what not Among such institutions are some not directly inimical to India as a whole but even they, confining their good work to an exclusive communal sphere, threaten the building of a united India.

The failure of the country's two major communities to come to a settlement delayed Indian self government for years and has resulted in the division of the country into two dominions on outfriendly terms But even the major disaster of partition, even the ghastly tragedies that followed that raising of a dividing wall in our common dwelling, failed to bring us to our senses It has taken the supreme sacrifice of Gandhiji's precious life to expose religious creedalism in its true colours as the fomenter of murder and bloodshed Today only those blinded by bigotry can fail to see in communalism and caste the abhorrent evil forces they are

As long ago as 1909 Gandhiji wrote

"If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by the Hindus they are living in a dreamland The Hindus Mohammedans, Parsis and Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen, and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest '

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru deserves the gratitude of every Indian for the firm stand that he has taken against the notion of the "Hindu Raj'

Religion is the power which unites man to man creedalism is only a maker of cliques In recent months men calling themselves Hindus Muslims Sikhs, have played the ruffian and the brute disgracing the religions they profess and bringing shame upon our common Mother

Years ago Gandhiji wrote

"Religion is dear to me and my first complaint is that India is becoming irreligious Here I am not thinking of the Hindu and Mahomedan or the Zoroastrian religion but of that religion which underlies all religions I am not pleading for a continuance of religious superstitions We will certainly [illegible] but we can never do so by disregarding [illegible]

It is not a reaction towards materialism that can cure our ills It is not religion that has failed, but orthodoxy under whatever label religion must be strengthened and this can only be by weakening the stranglehold of creeds

Universal brotherhood is the key note of religion and the real test of brotherly feeling is what we feel for our neighbours however different their views from ours India is sect-ridden Hindoism is caste-ridden She cannot rise to her full stature until the unity between her sons is realized

The separate communal organizations check the natural instinct of thinking men and women to group themselves fluidually in terms of all their present common interests — political social, artistic and humanitarian These natural groupings normally are diverse changing and overlapping It is abnormal to make them exclusive by confusing the secular with the religious and making sectarian conformity the test of personal acceptability There can be no fundamental and lasting division between men of good will, seeking truth and mutual understanding The seekers of the Light are one The communal grouping is unnatural and unsound and its destruction is the patriotic duty of every Indian

The different communities have more interests in common than they have points of difference The problems of India are universal problems — poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, preventable disease, illiteracy with the resulting inefficiency and superstition inadequate housing transportation and marketing facilities and now the vast problem of refugee relief and rehabilitation Which of these affects one community and not another? What community would not benefit from their solution? Self interest demands the pooling of the energies of all for the construction of a better India

Now when tragedies of recent months culminating in the shameful murder of Gandhiji by a fanatic have aroused the country as nothing else could have done to the perils that lurk in communal organizations now is the time to free our country from them and their threat If this is not done Gandhiji and all that he stood for, instead of serving as a beacon to our steps will in no long time fade into the limbo of oblivion

What specific ways are there to break the communal shackles?

(1) Face and admit the evils that communalism has brought on India Remove from our own minds and hearts the feelings that create minority problems Condemn anti-social, unjust and cruel acts by or against whomsoever committed

(2) Forget misdeeds of members of other communities

'Let no one ever mention about the past We have all lost some one so let us not bring back the things that hurt us Beginning today we find we are one people only that we live apart in different villages but let us keep that relationship alive within us

(3) [illegible] husband or become [illegible] political [illegible] it a communal basis [illegible] must be one and for all and in sincerity abjured The fancied separate interests of groups are a delusion and a scare. Let all the people be encouraged to work together for a common aim

(4) Do away with communal sports gymkhanas and clubs

(5) Sectarian and communal education should be strenuously discouraged Stop the poisoning of the minds of children and older students with the communal virus

Stop at once State grants to communal educational institutions at any level The universities have a major role to play in educating for tolerance and a united India and we should no longer tolerate Hindu and Muslim Universities (the root of the word means whole !)

(6) Histories with a sectarian distortion must be rigorously banned

(7) Refuse support to exclusively communal charitable institutions in recognition of the claims laid upon us by our common humanity our shared nationhood transcends the claims of any partial group

(8) Abolish by law the communal classification of railway refreshment stalls Boycott restaurants which cater to a single community until their communal label is removed and their doors are opened to all

(9) Abjure communal considerations in public appointments and private employment patronage of stores etc.

(10) Free the Hindi Urdu language question from its artificial communal implications

(11) Eliminate reference to the community of the individual in newspapers in hotel registers etc and, as soon as possible even in census reports "I am an Indian' — and *bust*!

Gandhiji said on January 12th on the eve of his last fast to try to bring about true unity among us

I yearn for heart friendship between the Hindus Sikhs and Muslims. It subsisted between them the other day Today it is non existent It is a state that no Indian patriot worthy of the name can contemplate with equanimity

Let us prove worthy of the martyred Gandhiji by repudiating communalism and all its works and by building an India united and regenerated as the best monument we can erect to him who gave his life for all of us But all that will follow if the will to unity is there and if the emphasis is placed where it belongs on duties and responsibilities instead of, as so largely at present on so called 'rights

Even a few Indians who have risen above distinctions of caste and creed, studying together the ideas which ruled Gandhiji's life and work, would be able to use those ideas for the betterment of the country In the final analysis it is ideas and not legislation, which rule the world

(Abridged from Theosophical Fre Tracts No 12 dated 21-3-48)

QUESTION BOX

SERVICE WITHOUT FUNDS

Q How may an ordinary man, having no capital except his personal labour serve the poor without begging for funds?

A There are a number of services which do not need funds For instance sweeping cleaning a village or a street regularly needs only time and labour but no money A person has to consider only his physical strength and the amount of time he can regularly devote for this work and do this work as a regular routine He can fix anything between half an hour to two hours for this kind of service and be satisfied with cleaning the portion only of the village or street

Another kind of service which does not require money is service to needy individuals E g there is an invalid with none to help The servant of the people can fetch water or do something which needs more strength than that man possesses and thus render him help In another house there is a man down with disease and he is not being properly nursed He can nurse him, and bring medicines for him. This way of befriending the poor requires only love and labour not money It is an error to believe that their services could be worthy of being called 'public service' only if a nursing-home was founded and the sick and the convalescent were brought there for treatment These institutions are also necessary but they necessarily require funds

A third service which is very important and yet requires no funds is one's high moral character and prayer He who sets an example of high and noble character serves not only himself but also his people He can also pray, and if he possesses the capacity to draw others can invite them to pray with him if he is a good singer or a reader he can sing and read to them elevating literature and without show or fuss they can all form a band of seekers and practisers of truth

Labour is a great item of wealth Money can assist labour, but is powerless without it But there are a few other items of wealth without which labour too cannot achieve much These are strong body and health, clear intellect, pure life, noble heart, unselfish loving temperament and capacity to feel at home and on equal terms with all whether young or old, rich or poor A man must possess some of these items of wealth at least in order to render efficient service Most people have some of these at least latently One must find out one's own capacities and use and develop them

Bombay, 10-5-48 K G MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
VIOLENCE v NON VIOLENCE	SAMAR RAJAN SEN	121
THE HUMANITY OF GANDHIJI	D C T	122
URDU ALSO	MAGANBHAI P DESAI	124
IN SEARCH OF A MAHATMA	K G MASHRUWALA	125
NATURE CURE — I	N D PARIKH	125
GANDHIJI'S MARTYRDOM AND FUTURE OF INDIA		127
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	128

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or, $ 3

Linguistic Partitions

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 15 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JUNE 13 1948 TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

Q Even if the knowledge of Sanskrit may not be quite necessary for attainment of Truth or efficacy of prayer the retention of Sanskrit in prayers rituals ceremonies etc even without understanding it has saved it from total extinction even under extremely adverse circumstances. Now that we have gained our own shall we not encourage the language of our ancients who have given us the Vedas—the stores of knowledge? To say that the Vedic hymns and other compositions in Sanskrit should be recited in their translations into modern languages is to rob the soul of our country

A There can be no intention of neglecting or not encouraging the study of Sanskrit It is to a very great extent the raw material of Indian languages, and a good study of it will always be needed But it should form part of our literary activities, and get a place of honour in the study of languages I do hope it will be studied by a greater number of people than now But, having regard to the very great number of subjects which form part of studies in modern education, the number of those who can attain even moderate scholarship in Sanskrit, will I am afraid, be not very large even with greater spread of education Millions of people will go without knowing even the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit words. If religious prayers have to be effective—i. e provide real spiritual food to the praying individual, and if religious scriptures are meant to enlighten those who read or recite them, they should cease to be unintelligent semi-superstitious practices Prayers and scriptures whether original or translated, must reach the people in a language which they understand and can master—not through study of grammars and books so much as through their use in ordinary life.

The respective needs of literary attainments and religious growth should not be confused There need be no fear of the soul of the country being robbed or lost if the character, intelligence, and knowledge of the people is enhanced, even though they do not understand a word of Sanskrit What the questioner regards the soul of the country is really its conservatism

Vile Parle, 4-6-'48 K G. MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—I

[Shri Vinoba was at Ajmer from the 9th to the 15th May and had to address meetings at several places during those days Some of his speeches are summarized below from D D's notes]

(1)

9 5 48 At a gathering for distribution of prizes to the students of the Mahatma Gandhi High School Shri Vinoba asked the students to remember that India's special contribution to knowledge was the knowledge of the soul (*Atmavidya*) It was the highest knowledge, all other knowledge being subsidiary to it *Brahmacharyashram* i. e. to say the period of life meant for absolute devotion to study with self control and discipline was particularly enjoined for the acquisition of this knowledge. It was the knowledge of the spirit which made other sciences fulfil their purpose in life in the right manner Without it, these sciences became worthless, and even harmful Shri Vinoba also

Sindhi culture Hindi culture, Gujarati culture etc or to lay too much stress upon the knowledge of the languages of their original provinces It was possible that Ajmer might not be able to provide the best teaching of the Sindhi language But, in his opinion, the students would not lose anything if in its stead they mastered Hindustani The difference between Hindustani and Sindhi was not very great after all If the poems of Shah Latif were published in *Devnagari* characters, those who spoke Hindustani would be able to understand them well The speaker had made some study of the Sindhi language and he could say from his own experience that all the languages in Northern India, such as Marwadi, Punjabi, Sindhi etc., were in a way but dialects of Hindustani Both Sindhi and Hindustani had grown from Sanskrit If the difference of script did not put an obstacle, a Sindhi could study Hindi in a week There were hundreds of words including root verbs, which were common to both the languages. Consequently, if Sindhi students learned Hindustani they would not find much difference between the two If the Sindhi language led them to the *Sindhu* (Indus) the Hindi language would lead them to the *Hindi Mahasagar* (Indian Ocean) The knowledge of Hindustani would introduce them to the wider literature of India, and make them more fitted for the service of their country They should learn Hindustani well and with its help merge into the life of India, as sugar does into milk

Sindhis were known to be an adventurous people They travelled distant countries quickly acquired knowledge of the local languages and made successful trade The boys should show these qualities in Ajmer also They should remember the old proverb "When you go to Rome do as the Romans do" They might find that the customs in Rajasthan differed from those of Sindh They should not insist on retaining their own customs If they wanted to serve India, they should become full Indians They must love their Sindh but not be vainglorious about it There was a difference between love and pride If they wanted to be proud they must be proud of being Indians, and there too, their nationalism should not reach the point of vanity because over and above everything they were all human beings, and they must not forget that great fact

He was given to understand Shri Vinoba said that their schools were to close from the next day for the summer vacation The summer vacation was an innovation of the British rulers The English professors not being able to bear the tropical heat of India, needed to go out and therefore closed the institutions during that period. But there should be no vacation for knowledge just as there could be none for eating Man needed knowledge even more than food During summer the English professors reverently went to a cool place, but most of the Indian teachers and students had no place to go to Since they had to stay at home they should know that the temperature of the school building would generally be lower than that in their homes and that the attention to study made one forget the discomfort of heat Shri Vinoba was of opinion that there was no need for summer vacations in India, and requested

India a vacation was needed, if at all, not in the summer, when generally they had no work at home, but in the monsoon during the period when weeding was done in the fields. Students should, therefore, urge that their time should not be wasted by making them sit compulsorily idle during the summer But in case summer holidays were inevitable he would advise them not to waste their time but to learn during that period something which was new and not taught to them in the schools

(2)

On the same day, Shri Vinoba addressing a public meeting on the open ground of the Mamia Usmania High School said that the occasion for his visit to Ajmer was the urs of Khwaja Pir Gaudhip had promised to attend the festival, but was unable to fulfil that promise He therefore thought it was his duty to perform this pilgrimage

Such religious festivals ought to be an occasion for joy and satisfaction to all people, but it was unfortunate that an atmosphere had prevailed in India which made one afraid of celebrating even such religious functions. The country was passing through such evil days that the occasions of *Dasrah* or *Id* instead of becoming a matter of universal merriment raised apprehensions of communal disturbance and breach of peace As a matter of fact, the feeling of hatred had nothing to do with religions. Men with political ambitions mislead the masses in the name of religion Men with true faith in religion [illegible] give vent against such evil advisers

Ajmer was inhabited by people of all religious denominations It was a centre of various religious movements There was the celebrated *dargah* of Khwaja Pir it was also a place of pilgrimage for Hindus, a great centre of the Arya Samaj, and the Jains were also well known. The result should have been that as people of every religion lived there there should be greater joy in the life of Ajmer because every religion gave a message of mutual love

The *Gita* clearly laid down that everyone should perform his own dharma, and allow others to perform theirs Every one must worship in accordance with his faith

The *Quran* said the same thing It said that God sent His prophets to every nation and all the prophets of the world belonged to the same fellowship Saints of all the religions were one at heart The apparent religious differences were the work of people other than saints

The Jains held that words could not express Truth fully Each religion or sect disclosed only one aspect of Truth and one could not see the whole Truth by looking at only one of the aspects Truth must be examined in every one of its aspects but even so the different aspects were not opposed to one another

Arya Samaj placed great faith in the *Vedas* It is said in the *Vedas* 'एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति' (Truth is one but its votaries give it different names) The different religions were but different ways of paying homage to that Truth Islam had one way of worshipping Christianity another Amongst the Hindus it [illegible] All the same Truth was one, and also, according to the *Vedas* there should be no conflict in the various forms of worship.

The New Testament said the same thing Jesus had said to his disciples that they should not think that they alone were his disciples and that he lived only in their house he had many houses to live in Thus Jesus taught his disciples *sarvadharma samabhava* (equal regard for all religions)

There was no conflict amongst different religions If there was it was between religion and irreligion All religions should unite in combating irreligion, which were spreading in the world If the various religions fought amongst themselves disbelief in God and religion were bound to spread.

In Ajmer one could see all the different forms of worship which prevailed in India He would rather wish that the members of each religion joined with others in their worship and gave room to every form of worship in their hearts They would thereby make India stronger and a guide to the world

(3)

The third speech was delivered at Hatundi on the same day Hatundi is a village at a short distance from Ajmer Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya and his colleagues had founded an *ashram* at Hatundi some years ago At present, a women's institution is being conducted there under Shri Haribhau's guidance Addressing the inmates of the *ashram* and the villagers of Hatundi Shri Vinoba said that though he knew the

ashram and its organizers for several years, he had not been able to visit it before. He said that apart from other reasons his inability to visit that *ashram* was due also to the fact that Gandhiji who was their common father took care of all these institutions and there was no occasion for him to feel any anxiety for *ashrams* going on at various places. He now came in their midst in the spirit of brothers meeting together after father's death, in order to get and give mutual consolation and strength. Bapu had left a large estate for them. Usually some bought for obtaining a share in the estate but the kind of estate which Bapu had left was such that few sons had the courage to claim a right in it. His estate required of the claimant a duty to qualify himself for possessing it. They—Bapu's children—could not now afford to lead a life of ease and light heartedness, as perhaps, they could while he was alive. Bapu's life had been played out before their eyes. His estate consisted of his ideas. Everybody could take them but taking them meant working out those ideas in one's own life. The saying that 'the son was an alias of the father' meant that the son had to be like his father. Bapu had told them that in order to serve the people it was necessary to discipline oneself with some vows and rules. Such vows and rules were like a master. If observed assiduously they helped one's development.

Turning to the residents of Hatundi Shri Vinoba advised them to make the fullest use of Haribhanji who lived among them. The sun grew in the east and travelled over the sky on its ordained path and cast light over the world till it set in the west but it was for the people to make use of that light. One who wanted it to enter his home would have to open his doors in order to allow it inside if one wanted to read by sunlight he would have to open his book. If he wanted to benefit by its rays he would have to sit in the sun. The sun itself would not compel anyone to make use of its gifts. The same thing was true of a river. Those who wanted to make use of it should go to the river and make its fullest use. If instead of people going to it, the river itself were to go to the people's houses the people would get afraid and tell the river "Please do not visit us we will go to you when we need you." In the same way, people should make use of Haribhanji as they thought proper. If they were happy even without him he himself would be quite content and be at ease. If he could do something to make there better he would be happier still. It was for the people to decide what benefit they should take of Haribhanji's presence.

That was also the meaning of Swaraj. Swaraj meant that the people now had the freedom to do what they liked. So long as they were slaves, they had to be what the rulers wanted them to be. Now there was none to obstruct them in their self-development. They themselves constituted the Government. There was time when India was ruled by Hindu, Muslim Sikh and other rulers. But that did not make any difference in the life of the people because in the villages, there was the rule of the villagers themselves through their own *Gram Panchayats* (village councils). They were not concerned with the changes in government, which took place at Delhi. Just as in the home a child looked only to its parents and did not care who ruled at Delhi in the same way the seven lakh villages were like seven lakh children living in different homes. If their parents were to live in Delhi, how could they look to their welfare? It was not possible for a parent to look to the welfare of seven lakhs of children. What Shri Vinoba meant to convey was that they should seek their parents in their own *panchayats*. Education sanitation food housing and their daily necessities should all be conducted and organized by the people themselves in their own villages. When people dug their own wells removed their own dirt wove their own cloth and guarded their own villages there would be Swaraj in every village. That was, in short the way to bring Swaraj at home. Haribhanji could give them more details and help them in this work but it was for them to work for it. Haribhanji could not do it for them. God had blessed every one with eyes ears hands legs etc. Every one must make use of these. If intellectual ability was delicious they could take mutual aid but the responsibility of doing so lay on them. They should establish Swaraj at Hatundi by doing all these things. If they did that, they would be able to see the Kingdom of Heaven established in this world.

9-5-'48 D D

(Summarized from the original in Hindustani)

"Gandhian Plan Reaffirmed"

This new book by Principal S N Agarwal (published by the Padma Publications Limited, Bombay) is as the name suggests and as Dr Rajendraprasad says in his Foreword to it, "a continuation of and supplement to the *Gandhian Plan* which was published by him in 1944. Gandhiji wrote a foreword to the book saying "I commend the treatise to the careful attention of every student of the present deplorable condition of the country." In this book the author as Rajendrababu observes, "takes note of the criticisms that were offered to the first publication and tries to meet them, and deals with the subject in all its aspects and draws his conclusions and suggests his own solutions to the problems that arise." To quote him again, 'the volume is a very valuable contribution to the literature on a subject which is of such practical absorbing interest today. While we have a plethora of books written in the right orthodox modern style we do not come across much that gives in a short compass the Gandhian Plan of Life. The volume is therefore doubly welcome.' I whole-heartedly endorse this remark. The book deserves to be studied by all constructive workers, nation's leaders and representatives and students of economics, politics and social service.

Bombay, 23-5-'48 K G M

CENT PER CENT SWADESHI
By *Gandhiji*
Price *Rs* 2-0-0 Postage 0-6-0

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI
By *Mahadev Desai*
Price *Rs* 4-0-0 Postage 0-11-0

HARIJAN

June 13 1948

LINGUISTIC PARTITIONS

'From the way the Andhras and the Tamils are behaving, the unity of India even to the extent it is manifested now is bound to be broken and it is not impossible that before long all are at each others throats It is outstanding to be told of the distinctive culture of this or that language and language group of different regions of India, while really our culture is an integral one coming as it does from the Vedic times Even in Shri Rama's time the story of which is our earliest record of the State of India, even Ceylon was culturally the same as Ravana was said to be a great scholar and master of the Vedas

"Nothing will be more ruinous to our unity and destructive of our culture than the present lissparous tendencies among the various people of the different provinces, whose only basis of difference is the language that is spoken Under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, its well meant approval of dividing the country on a linguistic basis has produced inter communal and inter-provincial jealousies to a degree not known even during regimes which existed on the 'divide and rule' policy People talk of Dravidian supremacy or Andhra supremacy and so on Unless the present tendencies are nipped in the bud, things will go ——

'In this connection, the existence of provinces of an autonomous nature is bound to prove a great evil There should be no Governors provinces After all there is an all India body which legislates for the whole country, and the function of provincial and local bodies may well be limited to putting into effect the laws of the whole land It is unworthy of an Indian to entertain the idea that provinces, linguistic or otherwise, have separate interests running counter to the centre By a simple process while every language may be allowed to keep its identity it can be made to keep in the background its identity in the larger sphere i e India and give up feelings of provincialism

"Everyone in India should feel and act as an Indian and not as a Madrasi or a Bengali or a Punjabi When we move about in India we do not feel and should not in future be made to feel that we are getting into an alien country termed State. But if the temper of the people goes on as it is it will not be far when provinces will become hot beds of intrigues designing to enlarge their borders. There may still be people longing for the Chola Empire or Vijayanagar or a Pandya Kingdom

"To sum up we should (a) scrape provinces (b) make districts administrative units and electoral districts for an all India Legislature (c) allow all principal languages to grow and prosper through suitable educational and literary institutions and (d) have *Hindi* or *Hindustani* as India's language with English as a compulsory second language for particular purposes

"We have a tradition of the unity of Bharat varsha and its culture handed down to us from generation to generation It has stood the test of time and various internal and external stresses inspite of a multitude of languages Why should we forget that glorious heritage and talk in terms of separatism on a linguistic basis? Unity is strength and Truth and *Ahimsa* demand it

The above is from one contributor

Another from Bellary also supports the same thesis Strongly protesting against further partitions of provinces on the ground of linguistic differences, he quotes with approval the following remarks of Dr K N Katju

'The gravest misfortune of India is its division and the demand for formation of provinces based on religious and linguistic considerations Every man at least every Congressman should be engaged in building up a democratic State where the problem of minorities and majorities should be based on political and economic considerations To suggest an approach to this great problem of minorities and majorities on linguistic considerations is a very dangerous proposition Unity is the demand of the day and we should not think in terms of provincial favouritism

Then after discussing at length the past history of the movement for linguistic partitions he says,

"In a weak moment the Congress conceded the principle of separate electorates in 1916. It similarly conceded the linguistic division in a fit of absent mindedness. Having paid for it dearly, it has gone back on separate electorates It is time it undoes the mischief of the other Major cause of trouble and friction in provinces today is the creation of linguistic provinces not co-terminous with the political unit The Congress must take the full blame for this and retrace its steps.

He proceeds to illustrate how linguaism is as ruinously heading towards fratricide as communalism

'People who lived together in harmony are divided into two warring camps. In my own areas minority though nearly as large as the majority and economically more powerful cannot address a public meeting in their own language though everyone knows and understands it . Congress pamphlets published in the language of the minority on Gandhi Jayanti Day by one Congress Secretary are burnt by another Secretary publicly and there is no relief . . These were put up with, during the freedom struggle in the interests of Congress unity Open clashes may now be expected now that freedom is won Already the crusading zeal of each linguistic group is manifesting itself in the fight for boundaries. Can there be any satisfactory boundary? How many large minorities who lived in peace and amity with their neighbours will suddenly find they are in the enemy's camp threatened with extinction of all that they hold dear? Can there be any worse manifestation of the disease that has been spread

in the name of linguistic division than that the best exponents of Karnatic Music the Tamils among whom Thyagaraja lived and sang in Telugu should now declare war against Telugu songs some of the best in that school of music?

One can realize that Pakistan and Linguistan (or Bolistan division on ground of languages) are allied diseases in the body politic by noting that while the former was advocated on the *two nation* theory, the latter (has been so done) on the ground that each linguistic group was a *sub nation* Not to see the kinship between Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and the Linguistic Advocates at this critical juncture is to fall into a grave error They are all architects of disruption

He suggests

'The only solution of the linguistic problem of the country in terms of the Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights is while working for a national language as an inevitable necessity of our new nationhood to establish universities under Central direction for each separate linguistic area where the language of the area will be given an equally honoured place with the national language This is the utmost to which respect for regional languages can go without disintegrating the State or creating vexed problems of majorities and minorities

'In a personal discussion with late C Vijayraghavacharlar in 1955 the great constitutional scholar expressed his abhorrence of Linguistic Provinces from a different angle Mr Vijayraghavacharlar complained that Linguistic Provinces would make our unity still more thin and take us back to a loose 'confederation and make us an easy prey to the first designing aggressor This should certainly be avoided at a time when unity is the supreme need

The Language of the Legislature It is one of the cheap dictums of demagogic slap trap in defence of their one language one State' doctrine that it is an essential pre requisite of democracy that the discussions in the Legislature must be in the language of the people

The gentlemen are obviously unaware of the existence of bilingual Legislatures in Canada South Africa Australia and other countries They do not see the *reductio ad absurdum* of their theory for there can be no Central Government at Delhi which is truly democratic in their sense as there is no one single language fit to be the language of the Central Legislature It is a case of the 'invention plaguing the inventor It is good for them to remember that political Government in modern days is a highly specialized art and will require a class of well-equipped professional politicians who should certainly be masters of at least 2 or 3 languages There can be no doubt that the language of the Government — the Legislatures and of Courts — in the whole of India must essentially be the National Language side by side with the regional language if unity has to be preserved

I do feel that the basic idea in the above contributions deserves to be considered if not all their specific suggestions Though the work of Constitution framing has proceeded to such an extent and on ideas carefully nourished for a long time it must not be regarded too late to revise our ideas and review the whole matter The first contributor's suggestion to scrap the provinces and make districts administrative units may not be considered practical It will be inconsistent with the policy adopted towards the Indian States, where smaller States have been induced to amalgamate into larger units of the same status as a province But it should not be impossible to have multilinguistic provinces, with all the necessary facilities for the development of its several principal languages. The solution suggested by the Bellary correspondent is worthy of consideration We must avoid both the extremes having too many languages in a legislature, whether Central or Provincial as also of insisting upon having only one Difference of language like that of religion must not become a disruptive factor

Khar, 31-5-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

No Compulsion

Sometime ago I received a complaint from C P and Berar that some enthusiastic heads of Government offices and firms had deducted ten days' salaries from the monthly payroll of the members of their staff as their contribution to the Gandhi Memorial Fund without regard to their convenience or wishes as if it were an obligatory tax I have received a similar complaint again from Karnatak They irritatingly enquire if such compulsion is in order and justifiable particularly in connection with a memorial to Gandhiji

There can be no doubt about the answer Though an appeal has been made to every citizen to pay at least his ten days' income to this fund none can be compelled to do so Everyone is free to pay any amount he wishes or even decline to pay, if he has no urge Though it is desirable that the fund should be collected as quickly as possible, still if anyone wishes to defer his payment or to pay in instalments suitable to him he is at liberty to do so One who does not earn or cannot save cash can pay in the form of self-spun yarn representing 80 hours' labour say about 30 hanks Only I would advise all who wish to pay that they do so as rapidly as possible — not for the convenience of collecting the fund but because सत्यस्य त्वरिता गतिः good deeds must be executed quickly — before the occasion or urge is gone I communicated the complaint to Dr Rajendraprasad as soon as it was first received He assured me that it was never intended that heads of public offices or firms would coerce or compel any of their subordinates to pay anything against his wish He regretted that anyone should have done so

Vile Parle 3-6-'48 K G M

LEST WE FORGET

VI

HOW WE CELEBRATED THE WEEK IN 1926

Gandhiji left India in 1893 at the age of 23, and in the 4th year of his age he landed at Apollo Bandar on Friday January 8 1915 (Samvat 1971 Paush vadi 7) I had the good fortune to be one of those who went to welcome him home and who ran after his car for some distance I had the privilege of living in the Satyagraha Ashram at Kochrab in the first year of its existence Gandhiji had not yet discovered the spinning wheel We therefore did not spin but toil we did for instance I ground corn with Gandhiji on October 2 1915 as the entry in my diary shows We also fetched water from the wall on the opposite side of the road along with Gandhiji I was also in the Ashram at Sabarmati in 1926 and was a humble participant in the celebrations the description of which by Shri Mahadev Desai is summarized below V G D]

Five groups decided in their respective quarters to work the spinning-wheel day and night from 4 a m. on the 6th to 7 p m. on the 13th, the rest working their own wheels and also working a loom day and night from the morning of the 6th to the evening of the 13th

The wheels and the loom worked away day and night without for a moment going wrong or stopping, and without any one who attended to them at night ever falling ill Especial enthusiasm was evoked on the day when a youngster of 16 one day worked at his wheel for 14 hours and registered his yarn score at the evening prayer It was 4444 rounds or 5925 yards That spurred others to emulating his exploit with the result that five more champions entered the lists, the most successful of them scoring as many as 9119 rounds or over 12,160 yards of 17 counts having been at his wheel for 22 hours and 30 minutes at a stretch, spinning at a sustained speed of 540 yards an hour

But the pioneer was not to be baulked of the fruits of his first unique achievement He did on the last day 7000 rounds thus topping the list in the whole week's individual outturn, his score being 17,244 rounds or 22 992 yards, *i e* nearly 3 000 yards per day

All the time that the boys did not spin they gave to cleaning ginning carding and slivering the cotton that they and their elders turned into yarn during the day

The result of the last day's spurt [was as follows]

	Total rounds	Average per head	Day's total	Rounds
Men	44 493	840	Average per head	1 43,898
Women	27 468	887		1 170
School Children	65 485	2339	[The same on ordinary days	271]
Infants	6 432	585		

The result of the day and night working of one loom, 5 men and women sitting at it in turns, was as below

Total hours of work	180
Total persons	40
Total outturn	190 yards of 21 width

The oldest members of the Ashram viz Gandhiji and Kasturba Gandhi scored a total of 3 829 and 4,226 rounds respectively and the youngest—a grand-daughter of the oldest—scored 4 323 rounds

HARIJAN SEVAKS MEET

A meeting of the members of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi met at Kengeri, near Bangalore at the invitation of Swami Vishwanand Secretary of the Mysore State Branch of the Sangh on 12th 13th and 14th May, 1948 Among the thirteen members of the Board who attended the meeting from various provinces were included Shri V Bhashyam Iyengar, Smt Lilavati Munshi, Shri B S Murthy Shri A K. Menon Shri A V Thakkar and others Shri V Bhashyam Iyengar presided over the meeting This was the first six-monthly meeting of the Central Board as up to now they used to meet only annually

The members representing the various provinces gave reports of their work and narrated their experiences In addition to the routine work in all the provinces the following features were brought to the notice of the meeting

(a) Most of the provincial Governments had passed legislation for temple entry and removal of civil disabilities of Harijans and the other Governments shortly propose to do so

(b) all the Governments have allotted increased funds for education of Harijan boys and girls and for other amenities to Harijans

(c) the Orissa Government has taken upon itself the entire financial responsibility of running hostels for the education of Harijan boys and girls through the Harijan Sevak Sangh and has introduced the principle that all Government hostels should be composite hostels open to Harijan and caste Hindu boys and girls alike

(d) the Mysore Government has undertaken provision of house sites and building materials on a large scale costing there Rs 13 lakhs in the year 1947-48

Thereafter various propositions brought by members were taken up for discussion

The special feature of the meeting was that the members that gathered from various provinces discussed questions of policy to be followed or revised all over the country in the matter of the Harijan welfare and the abolition of various types of untouchability still obtaining in rural parts Now that the various administrations of provinces as well as States and State Unions have passed or are shortly passing legislation for the admission of Harijans in Hindu temples and for the removal of all social disabilities there remains little to be done by the legislatures At the same time much larger sums of money are being spent by the provincial and State Governments for providing educational facilities and for economic betterment of Harijans Also the Draft Constitution for India provides that, unless continued, all electoral privileges for Harijans should endure only for the next ten years The Sevaks assembled therefore discussed how to bring

about the fusion of the two sections of Hindus—Harijans and Non-Harijans—and to consolidate them into one whole and thus to bring them much closer together. Of course the system of caste which is up to now the fundamental rule of Hinduism, should go if all social inequalities created by the caste differences are to disappear fully. With this end in view it was proposed that the various Government provisions relating to temple-entry removal of social disabilities should be implemented by active work and propaganda amongst caste-Hindus and Harijans and that this work should be undertaken by a band of specially trained missionary workers. The proposal for the training of such missionary workers was passed and the details of the same were left to be worked out by a special sub-committee and a scheme prepared by the management of the Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya in this behalf was referred to this sub-committee.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh conducts a very large number of students free hostels all over the country subsidized by Governments. A proposal was brought forward to admit 25% of non-Harijan Hindus on the same terms and conditions as Harijans in these hostels and to request the Governments to do the same in their own hostels, and this was hotly discussed. All the pros and cons were brought forward by the sympathizers and the opponents of the proposal. The gist of the arguments of the opponents was that they did not wish their privileged position of certain sums allotted for their welfare being thus attacked by non-Harijan Hindus who were not suffering from the disabilities which the Harijans suffered from. They further argued that when in or about 1940 Section 93 Government (Madras) of that day admitted Christian Harijans along with Hindu Harijans for the educational benefits given by the Madras Government it was the Harijan Sevak Sangh that protested against the Madras Government's proposal. How is it that now in 1948, the Harijan Sevak Sangh should itself propose that a percentage of non-Harijan Hindu students should be admitted to the same benefits which were conferred on the Harijans on account of their specially unenviable position to those who were not suffering in that way? Ultimately the matter was postponed for consideration at the next meeting of the Board to be held six months hence.

A resolution to the effect that Harijan Sevak Sangh and its provincial branches should undertake the running of more industrial schools was also passed.

The party had an excursion on the morning of the 14th. They were taken to the technical and vocational school conducted by the Government of India for the disabled ex-soldiers at Jalahalli—eight miles from Bangalore where about 375 ex-soldiers are being taught various trades and industries. The party also saw the Mysore Government factory for manufacturing insulators on a large scale from China clay, felspar and quartz and where porcelain crockery is also manufactured on a small scale.

Bangalore 14-5-'48 A. V. THAKKAR

PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

There is a reference in the *Harijanbandhu* dated 18-4-48 to the high rates charged by cultivators for grains supplied to their agricultural labourers. The cultivators have been appealed to charge moderate rates and to pay a living wage to their labourers. While there is everything to be said in favour of this appeal I am afraid the problem has to be examined in its wider aspects. Not only the labourers but the cultivators also should get a living wage. Let us take the analogy of a textile millowner and the mill labourers. Mill labour, being organized, is able to exact increasing wages from the employers. But ultimately these wages are passed on to the consumers and the employers have hardly to suffer on this account. Is that the position of the cultivators in relation to their labourers? Do the prices of agricultural produce as obtain today bear any relation to the living wage of the labourers and the cultivators or even to the cost price? Has there been any scientific basis for fixing up prices of agricultural produce so far? This is the crux of the whole problem.

Even when Government have fixed prices during this period of rationing and control, they have been guided by the price index of different articles taking 1939 as the base year. Now although the price index may reveal a greater rise in the prices of food grains than in those of other commodities the comparison is misleading. It is based on the assumption that the prices of food grains as obtained in 1939 were ideal from the agriculturists' point of view. We know it was not so. These prices neither made agriculture a paying business nor provided a living wage to the agriculturists. In fact there has been no basis at all, scientific or unscientific, for fixing the prices of agricultural produce. That has not been the case in regard to prices of industrial products. The industrialists maintain records and show the cost price of their product based on the cost of the raw material, labour charges, depreciation of machinery, interest on capital, insurance and other running expenses. To this they add their margin of profit which will enable them to lead not only a decent but a high standard of living and yet leave a bank balance for them. This principle has been accepted by Government while fixing prices of such articles.

Is this not a good enough criterion to be adopted in the case of agricultural produce? Should not the agriculturists aim at a decent standard of living, let alone a high standard of living? It is encouraging to note that this principle and something more have been recommended by the Krishnamachari Committee appointed by the Government of India on this very question. In effect it lays down (1) that the prices of agricultural produce must bear relation to its cost, and (2) that there should be parity of incomes from industry and agriculture.

It further emphasizes that agriculture which is the mainstay of the nation suffers from all the disadvantages at present and is the least protected industry of all. The holdings are uneconomic, crops

are visited by frost pastes and diseases irrigation facilities are negligible all these resulting in a very low average production per acre And last but not the least the prices paid for this produce are anything but fair

This question has to be examined from yet another angle Commercial crops like tobacco bring more remuneration to the agriculturists than food crops This has been regarded as going against the interests of the nation If the agriculturists are to be dissuaded from growing of crops like tobacco the remedy lies not in issuing pious appeals to them but in adjusting the price mechanism which will take away all temptations for taking to such crops

This is a question which should engage the pointed attention of the social worker interested in bringing about a balanced economy between our villages and towns The scientific basis for fixing of prices of agricultural produce has to be evolved At present the Government relies on the indifferent data supplied by the *patwaris* Let our social workers take the initiative in the matter and get a few typical cultivators in selected areas to maintain proper records from this point of view Incidentally this will provide a revolutionary point to the agriculturists for the programme of bringing about economic equality which is the demand of the age

Nagpur 10-5-48 JHAVERBHAI PATEL

THE REAL SOLUTION

Speaking at the Food Conference Premier Reddiar of Madras stated that the Government will have to take the responsibility of making grain available to about 25 to 30 million people in his province alone Why is India in this predicament four years after the war? Is there nobody to hang for this?

At the same Conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said

> The solution of many of our problems depends upon increased food production For some reason or other enough attention and energy has not been paid in the past towards the realisation of this end which has never been in dispute

In an agricultural country the Agricultural Department should stand between the people and starvation The money spent on this department is like an insurance premium guaranteeing against food shortage If in spite of spending enormous amounts of the tax-payers' money the citizen periodically faces starvation there is something wrong somewhere and the guilty party has to be liquidated forthwith

As it is we think of palliatives to meet exigencies and not of a satisfactory solution we are asked to import more food and to export other articles to get food

In an old country like ours the pressure on land is already great. Priority should always be given to food production The Indian Delegation to the seventh session of the International Cotton Advisory Committee recommends that in view of the short supply position of long staple varieties of cotton (mill raw materials) the existing acreage should be expanded. In other words cultivation of other crops are to give place to long staple cotton Such is the position in regard to Virginia tobacco also Then where are we to grow more food?

What explanation has the Agricultural Department? Has an enquiry been called for? As far as we are aware this department is more or less absorbed in producing raw materials for mills leaving the food producer to fend for himself In New South Wales in the Murrumbridge Irrigation Area, they obtain an overall rice yield of 1 75 tons per acre and it is reported that even 4 tons to the acre have been obtained under ideal conditions In Victoria they obtain about 430 cases of tomatoes per acre. What has our Agricultural Department to show against these achievements?

A time has come when the Agricultural Department should be reorganized The work connected with raw materials for mills and commercial crops should be detailed out to another Land Exploitation Department' This Department should be maintained solely from contributions and taxes laid on beneficiaries and not from general taxes The section concerned only with the growing of food for the people should be entrusted to the Agricultural Department which should not be allowed to dabble in any other problem

The Department should be presided over by a food grower and not by an I C S officer Such a head of the Department should be given not a money remuneration but a plot of ground to live on

Only then we shall know where we stand in this vital matter and the Agricultural Department can truly watch the interests of the agriculturist and the citizen J C KUMARAPPA

[Shri Kumarappa always writes strongly whenever he feels keenly When the style becomes a habit it is likely to lose its effectiveness and there is fear of his criticism being ignored particularly if it is not followed up with some effective action I hope those to whom the above article is particularly addressed will not ignore his criticism Agricultural economists are agreed on the absolute necessity of reorganizing the Agricultural Department Sir Manilal Nanavati, for instance deeply regrets that we have not yet realized that Agricultural Economics is a science distinct from Industrial Economics, and affects the welfare of a far greater part of Indian population, than the latter But as industrial labour is urban, more organized and vociferous and suitable for party politics it has not only predominated our policies but as Shri Kumarappa says even made agriculture subservient to industries —K G M]

CONTENTS

		PAGE
QUESTION BOX	K. G. MASHRUWALA	129
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—I	D D	129
LINGUISTIC PARTITIONS	K. G MASHRUWALA	132
LEST WE FORGET—VI	V G D	134
HARIJAN SEVAKS MEET	A V THAKKAR	134
PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE	JHAVERBHAI PATEL	135
THE REAL SOLUTION	J C KUMARAPPA	136
NOTES		
GANDHIAN PLAN REAFFIRMED	K G M.	131
NO COMPULSION	K. G M	133

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs 5 Six months Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 6 or 14 sh or $ 5

Offices and Salaries

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 16 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 20 1948 TWO ANNAS

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT CONTROVERSY

The *Harijan* of 6th June publishes Shri Maganbhai Desai's article *Urdu Also* He apprehends that the suggestion of the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha relegating a subordinate position to the Urdu script will result in killing or strangling not only the Urdu script but also the contribution of the Urdu style to the development of the Hindustani language He suspects that this might be an intended result.

I requested the Organizing Secretary of the Sabha to clarify its position I give below a translation of relevant portions from his letter

The Sabha has recognized the importance of Urdu to a certain extent and accordingly gives a place to it in the (Sabha's) propaganda There can be no question of opposing it

The Sabha thought it necessary to refer to it in the tenth clause of its appeal on this very consideration In as much as there is today and will remain in future considerable sea of Urdu, it would be unjust not to recognise it or to kill it. We agree with the opinion that the younger sister must not be driven away or strangled But it is equally necessary at the same time to know its proper place in the country

'The import of Clause 8 of our appeal is as follows

' The regional language shall be the medium of instruction in every region from beginning to end All official and non official business of that region shall be carried on through it inside the province.

"This clarification automatically defines the limits of the Federal language It will be the language of the Union Government, the Central Legislature, and of all inter-provincial matters In our opinion, though there will be a definite frame of that language, we must develop it further according to our needs and help should be taken from every prominent language for doing this. We agree that one of these will be Urdu also

"What is known as Hindi and which is current in some North Indian provinces cannot become the National Language of India in its present literary form Its present form only signifies that, like Bengali, Gujarati Marathi and other provincial languages, it too has evolved a particular artistic form of literature But our national needs cannot be fulfilled by the artistic style of any provincial literature Consequently, it would not be proper to accept Hindi as it prevails.

' The sanskritization of the Federal or National language might lead to two consequences In order that the style of a language might become correct it must be easy to speak Hence it would be good to take common and easy words of various Indian languages in the National Language If you want to sanskritize and make a difficult language it would be bolder and more honest to make Sanskrit itself the National Language

"It is feared that a sanskritized language will adversely affect the further growth of well-developed provincial languages There will be confusion in meaning, and disorder in syntax etc and to that extent it will obstruct provincial languages and literature In order to make the provincial languages the future medium of education and provincial administrations it is necessary to fully develop them, and so all such obstructions should be removed.

"On the question of the Roman script, we believe that for international purposes, it would be more convenient to use Hindustani in the Roman script rather than English Foreigners would thus be enabled to learn Hindustani without first knowing the script which they might learn later on On account of the facilities of type writers, telegrams etc, the Roman script might also be employed internally for a short period

We feel that in deciding these matters we must take into consideration expediency economy and popular convenience

I have received reproofs from Shri Maganbhai Desai and several correspondents for my lending my support to the Roman script, particularly through the *Harijan* papers To several people the question of the National Language and script has become a subject of delicate sentiment. It is indicative of a desire to restore pre-Islamic and pre-British conditions I suggest that they must not think of the subject with passion or with the apprehension that perhaps their languages and culture will be the worse for foreign mixtures It is far better to import foreign languages, words and scripts than foreign luxuries and articles which impoverish our land. I am unable to look at this subject with passionate emotions but try to think of it from the point of *Sarvodaya* as I understand it.

My suggestion amounts to granting freedom to the people to use according to their convenience in their own region and with people of their own

region either that regional script or perfected and standardized Roman script, and in inter-provincial or all-India matters either the Devanagari or the Urdu, or the Roman script It need not follow that in practice the Roman script alone would almost become the National script. I accept that thereby it will become the common script of all languages But, I believe that to a large extent the Indian scripts (including Urdu where that is taught as the main script) will remain the principal ones and the Roman script will take the next place The study of the Roman script will come after mastery over the regional scripts has been attained And my suggestion will make Hindustani literature available in the regional scripts also To a great majority that will be quite enough. They will be spared the necessity of learning too many scripts But as long as the Roman script is not perfected and standardized, even those who have to use it for any purpose, will not love it, and it may not become very popular And for practical purposes the position will be as indicated in the Sabha-Secretary's letter quoted above But if, as Shri Maganbhai Desai apprehends, the Roman script does become the most used script in free India it will only mean that that script will have established its value and utility to a greater extent than the other scripts and, in that case let us not grudge it its rightful place

I think greater scope should be allowed for the use of Hindustani in the life and affairs of India than the Sabha has indicated It may well be employed as the medium of instruction exclusively or alternatively with the regional language in certain spheres of higher education and in all-India institutions, that is, those meant to provide instruction to students from all over India, even if they technically form part of a regional university In so far as it may be necessary to recruit professors from outside the region they may be allowed for a certain period to teach through Hindustani instead of the regional language, which they would be expected to master during the period. The option of using English must not be allowed after the period of grace I, therefore, all the more agree with Shri Maganbhai Desai on the import of item 8, and I am glad to be assured by the Sabha that it fully realizes that a sanskritized Federal Language will adversely affect the development of the various provincial languages. Nay, it will obstruct its own development and utility But, the passion for sanskritized Hindi has developed so far that some correspondents have gone to the extent of drawing from Gandhiji's article *Neither Anger, nor Attachment* (18th April), the conclusion that towards the end of his life Gandhiji had revised his former views and come to realize that sanskritized Hindi with the Devanagari script was the proper form and structure of the National Language ! Let me reproduce his words

" . . . . . When people clamour on all sides that the National Language of India should be Hindi and that it should be written in the Nagari script only it is my duty to show that this claim or demand is not right . . .

I accept that among all the scripts, the Nagari stands first in merit . . . . But when the lovers of the Nagari oppose the Urdu script I scent in it hatred and intolerance . . .

To conclude even if I were alone to say so I am quite clear that ultimately neither sanskritized Hindi nor persianized Urdu will win the race Hindustani alone can do so Only when we have given up our internal quarrels, shall we forget these artificial controversies and feel ashamed of having created them

Khar 25 5 48 K. G MASHRUWALA

PERPETUATING GANDHIJI

We are all members of a society living in groups as in a big family where the family lasts for all time while the individual members may be living for a while and then passing away Not deterred by the death of individuals, the family continues So what we do for the wellbeing of the whole family is more lasting than what we do for a mere living individual

Gandhiji passed away on the 30th of January last His body has gone away from us but the permanent part of his life and work we want to perpetuate For this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund has been started The purpose of this fund is to collect money only to perpetuate the ideals for which Gandhiji had been working.

The work that Gandhiji has done is not merely for the poor people of India but also for the downtrodden of the whole world Hence whatever feeble effort we may make in our own little corner, we must remember that it is a part of the work that is going on not only at our place but all over the world. Because of that everybody would want to do not only what they are doing by themselves but also would want to associate themselves with the work that others are undertaking

One way of doing this is through a common organization through which we may contribute our services, thoughts and money The Gandhi Memorial Fund is started for this purpose of facilitating many people to associate themselves in bringing about a social order of human families of the type that Gandhiji envisaged This work can be undertaken in three ways.

In the first place we give our whole attention and time to the work representing as it were Gandhian ideals in our day to day life and propagating them to others

In the second we mainly lead a life of our own and do what little we can in our personal activities religiously and strictly, never going against the Gandhian ideals

In the third form we ourselves may not be able to do very much but we contribute towards it in money and in kind, as necessary, so that others may be able to do that work

A word of explanation may be given on each of these three methods of contribution. Then we

can choose what way we can contribute in any of the three ways, all of them or separately

The one thing that Gandhiji had been working for is propagation of the ideal of truth and non-violence. This comes in in all out ways of living and in everyday dealings that we have with our fellow beings For instance, in the Gram Udyog Sangh our work is mainly to see that truth and non-violence are brought into the economic life For example, if you go and buy toddy and drink it then you are probably bringing in great distress to your family and therefore toddy drinking is against this principle It is easily understood that a drunkard commits violence towards his family But people do not understand that the same type of violence is committed by us when we go to the rice mills or to the flour mills. Paddy as it comes from the earth has got many nutritive elements in it, but when it is passed through a mill and polished all the nutritive elements are removed and only the chaff is left out for our consumption Therefore, by using milled rice we are harming the health of our children Similarly, we give less nutritive food to our children if we feed them on milled flour, etc and to that extent we are doing violence to our children just as the drunkard Similarly sugar-cane juice as it is got out of the cane is good food but when we make sugar out of it everything else is removed except the heat-giving part

That is why *gur* making, paddy husking and flour-grinding are given the first place in our Udyog Bhavan, because of their importance in out economic life to bring non-violence and truth into our lives

Now you will see how, just as the drunkard throws away all the resources of the family for something which puts his mind out of gear, we deprive the family of all the nutritive elements of food for something that satisfies the palate or a misguided aesthetic sense

So it is that our Sangh also is working towards non-violence and when we propagate the idea of self-sufficiency, which also goes to propagate Gandhiji's ideal of *ahimsa*

Then again we say we must not use foreign goods or mill-made goods The mill gathers the riches from the poor and enriches the capitalist That is one reason why we should insist on wearing *khadi* When we spin and make our own *khadi*, our resources remain with us and in the case of mill cloth we give our resources to the mill owner just as the drunkard gives away his resources So we see in how many ways we are supporting violence If we do not want to support violence we must not buy foreign articles or the mill-made goods That is the way in which we can bring about Gandhian ideals into our everyday life Everybody can work to bring the Gandhian ideals of *ahimsa* and *satya* in our everyday life

These are not mere metaphysical subjects for meditation and contemplation but realities facing us every day

In the first method those of us who are giving their whole life to propagate this mode of life with all their strength, intelligence and other resources are contributing them to perpetuate Gandhiji's memory

Some of us may not be in a position to give out whole life and thought for this work but we may be able to do that partially that is in our own personal life At least at home we follow these principles In so far as we are doing this we also to a certain extent are propagating non-violence and truth

While we are doing this we would also have a share in the first part of the work in the work that is being done by people who have dedicated their lives wholly for this purpose. People who have dedicated their lives for the work have to be supported by a portion of out earnings It is for this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund is formed, to collect money from those people who would like to contribute something to propagate Gandhian ideals.

They have suggested that each person should contribute at least ten days' income in the year to this fund. Those who want to associate themselves to a greater extent can do, but this is the least

Ordinarily when a big person passes away a memorial generally a material memorial, is built for such a person. For Gandhiji we want to put up a memorial which will be propagating the principles for which he stood

By contributing to the fund we are not giving charity but are helping to build up a world of non-violence and truth In this noble venture out money will be used We hope our readers would want to co-operate in this just as zealously and eagerly as they would want to remove the evil from the family of a drunkard and with the same eagerness do some meritorious work not only for India but for the world as a whole.

And some of us may not be having incomes out of which we can give the money Then we may contribute in self-spun yarn For this purpose 79 hanks can be given as a unit If you do not want to have an introad on your money resources, this is the alternative Such yarn will be exchanged to them for money by the Charkha Sangh.

These are the three ways of contributing to this memorial and it is much more important that we ourselves bring the great principles of Gandhiji in our everyday life and set up an example to our neighbours. In doing so we shall all be helping in ushering in a society based on non-violence and truth This is a noble enough ideal to deserve our all out effort

J C KUMARAPPA

CENT PER CENT SWADESHI
By *Gandhiji*
Price *Rs.* 2-0-0 Postage 0-6-0

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI
By *Mahadev Desai*
Price *Rs* 4-0-0 Postage 0-11-0

HARIJAN

June 20 1948

OFFICES AND SALARIES

One of the evils of the past from which we must break away as early as possible is the linking of offices to salaries Public services have been organized not only on the principle that holders of responsible positions must be adequately provided for during their period of service to enable government to recruit efficient men and also to enable the officers to faithfully devote all their time energy and attention to the duties of their office but further on the principle that along with every increase of responsibility the salary maintenance allowance, residential accommodation etc must also go on increasing until the last stage of office is reached Every service is assumed to be based on the contractual system, and money is regarded as the only means of appreciating the services rendered by an officer of the State or getting the best out of him.

Some years ago the Congress passed a resolution that after a stage there should be no increment of salaries, whatever might be the importance of the office in the State A maximum of Rs 500 per month was fixed under the then value of currency In the present conditions that figure might have become altogether inadequate It might be changed and another substituted to suit the present price of money To my mind the important thing therein was not the figure of 500, but, firstly, that after a stage there was not to be a necessary link between office and its salary, and secondly, that our scales of payment must suit the purse of a poor country

Both these ideas appear to have been now abandoned by the Congress Governments and the framers of the Draft Constitution The second schedule of the Draft deals with salaries of some of the most important offices of the State, like the President Governors, Ministers Speaker, Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts etc The salaries of the following officers are specified in exact figures as follows

President Rs 5 500 per month *plus* allowances
Governors Rs 4,500 " " "
Supreme Court Chief Justice Rs. 5 000 other Judges Rs 4,500
High Court, Chief Justice Rs 4 000 other Judges Rs 3 500

The allowances of the President and the Governors are I presume meant to enable them to receive and feast guests and meet calls of a politico-social nature.

The British soon after their arrival in India quickly discovered one of the weak points of our nation. Pompous display of riches, through *darbars* processions, festivals, and other crowd-gathering functions impressed our people as nothing else did. The poorest among us, living a miserable and half-starved existence from year's end to year's end, suddenly became lavish in his expenditure and gorgeous in the display of his artistic sense, when there was a marriage or death or other important event in the family He even sold or mortgaged his property, borrowed dress, ornaments etc, and until lately some even entered into an agreement of lifelong service to meet these expenses The poorest tried to emulate his richest casteman The Britishers thought that unless they maintained a 'splendid' type of administration, it would not be respected by the people

We have preserved intact this national weakness of ours both in joy and in sorrow The way in which we celebrated the acquisition of Dominion Status on August 15 and performed the funeral rites and ash-disposal ceremony of Gandhiji was on a scale and on tastes comparable with — not to say throwing into background — similar functions in the times of the Moguls and the then severely criticized Coronation Darbar of Lord Curzon When Gandhiji went to the Round Table Conference, he took care to see that he appeared as befitted the representative of a poor country When Gandhiji died we took care to see that his remains were disposed off and his *shraddha* was performed as if he was the Father of the most prosperous nation in the world

It is on ideas underlying these displays that high officers are paid and their establishments maintained. We want to impress — impress our own people as well as foreigners — and want to impress them not with our simplicity and sterling qualities of intellect and character, but with splendid *pulsas* and *tamashas*. To make these possible it is necessary to link progressively high offices with progressively high salaries

I do not ask for a puritan standard of life But I do ask for a moderate standard of life, which should not be exceeded in public life. There might be a link between office and salary up to a certain stage, say until a public servant became fit to be appointed a District Officer — Magistrate, Judge Collector, Superintendent of Police etc Thereafter, none should be entitled as of right of seniority to be promoted to a particular office Merit alone should guide the selection and the selection should make no change in his monetary gains The appointment to a position of greater responsibility is itself an appreciation of his worth And the higher appointment brings with it greater prestige and respect, making additional payment superfluous If the appointment to a superior office necessitates additional out-of-pocket expenses like greater amount of travelling receiving more public guests etc. these might be provided for But otherwise there is no reason why there should be any difference between the salary of a puisne judge and the chief judge of a High Court as also between them and similar officers of the Supreme Court and a District Judge. The selection of a person to the

office of the chief Judge of the Supreme Court is in itself an appreciation of his abilities and services as against his brother judges and members of the legal faculty But the appointment does not require him to bring a different kind of acumen or technique or to put in more amount of daily work to discharge his new office than what he had to do as a Judge or an advocate And though the other judges of the Supreme Court may have to work under him and take orders from him, it cannot be said that they would have to expend less energy and use a lower quality of legal knowledge than the Chief Justice Whatever superiority a Chief Justice might possess over his brother judges, it cannot be valued in terms of money If there is need to satisfy vanity a higher officer might be conferred with an extra honorific title But there is no reason why every superior office must automatically carry a bigger salary The same arguments apply to the salaries of the President the Governors, the Chief and puisne Ministers etc

Another absurd rule which accompanies this system is that a temporary appointment carries with it temporary increments of salary Thus if a Governor goes on leave for a week or a fortnight and the officer next in rank to him officiates for him for the period, he must get an extra allowance for that period, as if he was going to put in twelve hours of work during the period instead of his usual six or seven or would be required to pay his son's college fees and the salaries of his personal assistants on a higher scale during the period! The sooner this false link is snapped the better

A new tradition must be established making young men aspire to responsible offices and positions not for the salaries they bring but for the opportunity they give them to develop their personality along with the service to their country And the example must be set from the top

Wardha, 10-6-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

TRUSTEES' LETTER TO PYARELALJI

DEAR PYARELALJI

As you may be aware the Trustees of the Navajivan Trust have undertaken to bring out an authoritative biography of Bapu and also to collect for preservation and in suitable cases for publication his archives, published and unpublished manuscripts, private correspondence etc. They feel that you will be the fittest person to undertake the job That was Bapu's expectation too They would like you to take it up. You will have full freedom to handle the work in the way you think best and the Trust will give you all the facilities that you may require for your work Will you please let us have your reply as early as possible?

Navajivan Trust
Ahmedabad, 8 5 48

Yours sts
JIVANJI D DESAI
Managing Trustee

GANDHIJI'S BIOGRAPHY

The Navajivan Trust have done me the honour of asking me to undertake the writing of Gandhiji's biography I have gladly accepted the invitation not for the honour but as a sacred duty which to me is also a privilege and a joy The formal invitation was, indeed, unnecessary The work, at any rate, of writing personal reminiscences would have been undertaken in any case as an inner necessity Twentyeight years of the closest unbroken association have imposed an obligation which may not be shirked. It was Gandhiji's expectation too Had Mahadevbhai lived the writing of Bapu's biography would have been our joint enterprise His cruel and untimely death not only threw the entire burden on me, but further added to it an obligation further to do justice to his own memory Bapu saw it and in order to lighten the burden in his characteristic way at one time during our incarceration in the Agakhan Palace even agreed to collaborate in the future task. The plan was that I should prepare and place before him the skeleton of important events and episodes in chronological order and he would dictate notes or provide such information or comments in regard to them as I might want. But that was not to be First came Ba's fatal illness than his own illness ending in our dramatic release The breakneck pace of events after our release ruled out the resumption of the plan and there the matter rested until during my last stay with him at Delhi, a few days before the end, a curious chance set me off to writing the first chapter of my reminiscences of him and I had the supreme satisfaction too of discussing it with him But he was taken away before he could revise the unfinished piece.

The work which was thus almost unconsciously commenced in the exuberance of a carefree spirit has now to be continued and finished under the crushing burden of sorrow and bereavement accentuated by the feeling that be on whose co-operation above all I had counted is no more It is with a gnawing sense of my limitations that I have approached the task It calls for monumental industry, prayerful thinking and research An infinite amount of preliminary spade work will have to be done before the actual writing can commence. It needs the whole-hearted and willing co-operation of many I know I shall not be able to do full justice to it unless that co-operation is coming forth in an ample measure. Gandhiji's was not a life apart. He lived for and through those countless fellow beings whose lives he had moulded by his personal example and by his spoken and written word It was one of his favourite dicta that the true interpretation of and commentary on one's life was provided by the effect it had on one's environment, particularly on the thoughts and lives of others It would greatly help my work if all

* The letter of request is given in this issue

those, who had the privilege of coming in contact with him or had any correspondence with him would record their reminiscences, make copies of his letters and send both to me under registered cover care of the 'Navajivan Karyalaya P B No 105 Ahmedabad marked 'BIOGRAPHY" at the left hand top corner of the cover The originals of Gandhiji's letters should accompany the copy They would be well taken care of while they are in the custody of the Navajivan Karyalaya and safely returned under insured postage to the sender as soon as the copy is compared and checked with the originals Reminiscences may be written in any language the writer chooses, care being taken, so far as possible to keep a copy before posting If any sender desires his reminiscences or correspondence to be kept confidential in part or in full his wish shall be unreservedly respected

I may add that if any friends wish to offer their services for collaboration in research work or as Hindi, Gujarati or English stenotypists or for making copies by hand from Hindi and Gujarati or for otherwise assisting in office work they should communicate with me stating their terms and the nature of assistance which they are qualified for and desirous to render

Then there is one more thing in which people can help As the public are aware the old files of the *Young India Navajivan* and the *Harijan* Weeklies were all taken away and destroyed by the Government during the 1942 'Quit India' struggle The Navajivan Karyalaya is anxious to bring out in due course a definitive edition of Gandhiji's complete published and unpublished writings Those who have in their possession complete or incomplete files or loose back numbers of any of Gandhiji's weeklies or any of his writings or writings about him now out of print, should send the same to the Navajivan Karyalaya as a gift or for a consideration which they may name in order that gaps in Navajivan Karyalaya's records might be filled up and complete sets of the files in question got ready for reference and use in the office or for research workers and students at large A complete list of the items needed will be published in the *Harijan* Weeklies from time to time by the Manager of the Navajivan Karyalaya

Deheradun, 2-6-'48 PYARELAL

Shri Mohini Adv(r?)ani

Gandhiji's account notes receipt at New Delhi of a cheque of Rs 5000 on 27-5 1946 from a friend of the above name There is no letter or particulars, and enquiry from Gandhiji's assistants has not been able to throw any further light regarding either the donor or the particular purpose, if any for which the donation was earmarked

The undersigned will be obliged if the donor will enlighten him on the matter

9 6-48 C N SHAH
Manager, Ashram Sevagram,
(Wardha, C P)

NOTES

Equalizing Social Status

Different correspondents have reported noteworthy instances illustrating how the movement for the equalization of social status of all castes is taking root.

1 Shri Devchand belongs to the caste of *mochis* (shoemakers) of Kadod (District Surat) There was a marriage at his place After the guests had been fed the local *bhangis* (scavengers) in accordance with their usual habit came to the place to beg and collect remnants from the plates Shri Devchand could not bear this He invited the *bhangis* in, made them wash their hands and arranged seats for them in the same way as he had done for the guests of his own caste, and gave them a regular feast Not only his caste people but those of the neighbouring caste of fishermen also, have for this time being resented Shri Devchand's act and the latter have passed a resolution that they should no longer assist *mochis* in the disposal of their dead at funerals Undaunted Shri Devchand has taken the further step of employing *bhangis* in his domestic work It is expected that his caste-people as well as those of the fishermen caste would get reconciled soon

2 Similarly the *Patel* (village headman) of Orsa (Kamrej Baroda State) not only invited and feasted Harijans at a marriage in his family but also took them to the bride's house as his honoured guests with the marriage procession

3 Shri Mangaldas Shah of the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati is surprised to note the disarming tidiness and orderliness that has been introduced by two *bhangi* girls of the Ashram Boarding in their homes He could not believe that he was in *bhangis'* huts when he visited their houses last May They were superior to several caste houses that he had visited in Gujarat

The Other Side

As counter-balancing this bright side is the insolence of the *savarnas* Hindus of Kalol Taluka in the North of Gujarat. For years they have been harassing the Harijans in the use of public motor buses Last year a sort of satyagraha movement had been conducted on this issue It succeeded technically, but without change of heart on the part of the *savarnas* Some kind of harassment and pin-pricking has always gone on, with the connivance or helplessness of the police Further harassment has again commenced recently The police officers whose duty it is to prevent this, belong generally to the *savarna* caste and share the prejudices of their caste-fellows The result is that the Harijans trying to travel by the buses are often beleaguered, forced to alight in the midst of their journey even at night and in unsafe places This taluka is inhabited by people of criminal tendencies The Harijans so deserted on the way at times become victims of these people I hope that the responsible Government which has now succeeded the official Government of Baroda will discharge its responsibility towards its Harijan subjects as one of its immediate acts and put an end to this injustice in no uncertain manner

Wardha 8-6-48 K G M

GANDHIJI'S LAST CONVERSATION WITH A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

[Mr Kingsley Martin a British Press Correspondent, was the last foreign journalist to hold conversation with Gandhiji. The following notes of the interview, which took place on 27 1 '48 in the presence of A K. and myself were taken by the former They were read to Gandhiji on the next day and approved by him.
—J C.K.]

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE WEAK AND THE STRONG

Gandhiji explained how the freedom movement had not been a non-violent movement in the highest sense of the term If it had been the non-violence of the strong no butchery such as had taken place recently could have come about He discovered this while he was on his pilgrimage in Noakhali and ever since this discovery he had been impressing the fact on everyone He felt that non-violence during the struggle for independence was an expedient e g resistance to the white man was undertaken in a non-violent manner simply because we had no military strength with which to offer battle.

Gandhiji went on to relate how he had resisted a certain millionaire in South Africa who had introduced him at a public meeting as a mere passive resister and weak because as an Indian there he was landless and without any rights. Gandhiji objected to this description and said that real passive resistance had been miscalled a weapon of the weak After all Jesus Christ had been called the prince of passive resisters Could he, in any sense of the term be called a weak man? People forget that soul force, the only weapon of the truly non-violent man, was a weapon of the strong.

NON-VIOLENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION

In reply to the correspondent's suggestion that many people looked upon non-violance as a good opposition weapon in politics and that they could not understand how it could for example be used as a positive weapon in Kashmir today or against a man like Hitler who just killed everybody and stamped out opposition in that manner, Gandhiji laughingly replied that he was not in charge of the Government and therefore could not guide their policies nor did he think that the members of the present Government believed in non-violence He recalled how Maulanasaheb had said, "when we gain power we shall not be able to hold it non-violently' Gandhiji said that he had laughed to himself at that time and related the moral of Tolstoy's story of *Ivan the Fool* which had always remained with him Hindu scriptures, Gandhiji said, had scores of such stories but he quoted *Ivan the Fool* because the interviewer might have read the book Ivan remained non-violent even when he became king Gandhiji pointed out how the truly non-violent man can never hold power himself He derives power from the people whom he serves. For such a man or such a government a non-violent army would be a perfect possibility The voters than would themselves say, "we do not want any military for our defence' A non-violent army would fight against all injustice or attack but with clean weapons. Non-violence does not signify that man must not fight against the enemy and by enemy is meant the evil which men do, nor human beings themselves He went on to say that if he were the leader of Kashmir like Sheikh Abdulla, he would have such an army but Sheikh Abdulla quite honestly and humbly thought otherwise

PARTITION OF KASHMIR

On the correspondent suggesting a solution of the Kashmir issue on the basis of separation, e g the predominantly pro-Pakistan area like Poonch going to Pakistan and the Kashmir Valley remaining in India Gandhiji had no difficulty in giving a firm answer in the negative. He held firmly that India or any part of India could not be divided in this manner It was an evil that must not be allowed to continue "Take, for example, Hyderabad, will you separate the town of Hyderabad from the rest of the State? Such pockets exist all over India and separation would then become an endless process spelling the ruination of India.' The interviewer pleaded that the position of Hyderabad was not wholly analogous Any State on a border area was surely different But Gandhiji maintained that it was not possible for States even on the border to be either cut up or separated or even for them to call themselves independent And when the correspondent mentioned Gilgit, Gandhiji recalled that he was in Kashmir when the city of Shrinagar was illuminated On asking what the illuminations were for Gandhiji was told that they were celebrating the accession of Gilgit to Kashmir He was sad when he heard the news because he wondered how long Kashmir would hold Gilgit It had been a big bite even for Britain. Britain's policy of keeping on adding to her territories in India had not been either a wise or right policy If Kashmir accedes to India, it will be because of the will of the people as a whole and they will do so well knowing that Gilgit is no part of the Indian Union today There are people who say, "they will reconquer Gilgit." All sorts of complications would then arise Gandhiji said that Britain had made of India a political whole and India must continue as such

TRIBAL PEOPLE

In reply to a question as to what Pakistan could do with tribal people Gandhiji said ' I would accept a challenge of conquering the tribal areas but as a non-violent man. I would not bribe them, nor kill them I would serve them. Have not missionaries allowed themselves to be eaten by cannibals?" The correspondent exclaimed "Alas! there are no Gandhis in Palestine in Russia or in the U S A!' to which Gandhiji laughingly replied, "so much the worse for them!'

POLICY OF DISMEMBERMENT

In reply to a query as to why Poonch going over to Pakistan was not impracticable and that a war between India and the Frontier would be unending, Gandhiji replied that it would be a very bad example to others There were pockets

everywhere for example Murshidabad in West Bengal The real difference between the policy of the Indian Union and that of Pakistan was that the former never believed in dismemberment while the Pakistan leaders did. Gandhiji quoted the example of Kathiawad Pakistan wanted to vivisect Kathiawad by getting Junagadh to accede to that Dominion Vivisection of Kathiawad which is indivisible was quite unthinkable The whole basis of partition was in his opinion wrong Gandhiji admitted that two distinguished persons had suggested the idea of partition of Kashmir to him but he had said a very firm no' for the reasons he had already explained

In conclusion he asked the correspondent to study things deeply and not superficially He (Gandhiji) himself was working for a heart union between Hindus and Muslims not only in India but in Pakistan also and would continue his efforts in that direction A K.

THE RIGHT WAY AND THE WRONG WAY

A sister, who is a devoted servant of the Harijan cause writes

> I heard on the radio last night that some Calcutta Councillors have tabled a resolution for constructing a marble statue of Gandhiji.
>
> Gandhiji positively disliked such memorials. He considered it waste of money When people in Bombay wished to erect a huge statue of him at the India Gate, he at once wrote against it Besides every one has seen the condition of statues in all big cities Crows sit on them and people also spoil them in a hundred and one ways Can we bear to have all that happen to the statue of our beloved Bapu? He was no ordinary man By putting up a statue in an open public place we shall be committing a great wrong against his sacred memory
>
> Besides there are much better ways of putting up memorials to him which I am sure, would please his soul and give it peace All his life he lived for the poor and their interest was nearest to his heart In this big wealthy city of Calcutta I sometimes come across scenes which make me bow my head in shame For instance I sometimes find a whole family including little babies, living in an obscure corner of the pavement of some palatial house Day in and day out in rain and in sun, in winter and in summer, they have no roof over their heads while just on the other side of the wall the children of the owner of the house have all the luxury that man can desire Are not these human beings like us? Have they not the right to a bare shelter? Do we even think of these poor wretches whose whole life is spent on the road on the stairs of the railway platforms under the arches of a bridge, on the foot paths? The man who thought of them is no more Once I asked a Councillor to accompany me to a Harijan *bustee* to see the condition of these poor wretches with his own eyes — he represented that ward in the Council — he refused point blank. He had no time even to go and see where for canvassing votes he could go there daily!
>
> 'If we wish to consecrate the memory of the 'Greatest friend of the Poor' let us build a house for these men women and children
>
> Again very often in the *bustees* you come across cases of leprosy sickness but there is nowhere to send them to They need medical help very badly but there is no such institution which would serve to their help free of charge They need clean air, clean clothes medicines, fruit and milk But there is no such good luck for them.
>
> Let us build a first class sanatorium for them It should be exclusively for the poor The rich should have no access to it It should be just for those who cannot afford any medical help Let us have a memorial that would please him not a memorial that would pain him

What this sister says is worthy of careful attention I was myself the other day in the *bustee* where she is carrying on her mission of mercy and I know how bad the conditions there are And yet there are worse *bustees* in the City of Palaces It would be a criminal misuse of money to spend it on erecting a statue when there are so many deserving causes dear to Gandhiji's heart calling for attention. The cost of a statue could easily rehabilitate an entire Harijan *bustee* Rajaji has already spoken his mind The Chief Minister of Bengal is a humanitarian Philanthropy is dear to his heart. I know how in spite of the tremendous burden that rests on his shoulders, he still sets apart a part of his time to render free medical service to the poor because Gandhiji wished it. Let him in consultation with H E the Governor devise a suitable form of memorial commensurate with what Gandhiji stood for and which he would have liked.

And what is true of Bengal equally applies to other parts of India There is talk of erecting temples to Gandhiji It would be nothing short of a sacrilege and Sardar Patel's denunciation of it has come none too soon. Let us not perpetrate it in Gandhiji's name

Chandpur 22-2-48 PYARELAL

[This came to my hands only last week. But the subject is one which is still alive. — K G M]

Wardha, 11-6-48

CONTENTS PAGE

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT CONTROVERSY	K G MASHRUWALA	137
PERPETUATING GANDHIJI	J C. KUMARAPPA	138
OFFICES AND SALARIES	K.G MASHRUWALA	140
TRUSTEES LETTER TO PYARELALJI		141
GANDHIJI S BIOGRAPHY	PYARELAL	141
GANDHIJI S LAST CONVERSATION WITH A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT	A. K.	143
THE RIGHT WAY AND THE WRONG WAY	PYARELAL	144
NOTES		
SHRI MOHINI ADV(?)ANI	C N SHAH	142
EQUALIZING SOCIAL STATUS	K G M.	142
THE OTHER SIDE	K. G M.	142

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 4 Six months Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3.

Unrestrained Provincialism

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 17 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1948 TWO ANNAS

BAPU AS A DISCIPLINARIAN

It was on Christmas Eve that I sent him an offer of my services. He promptly sent for me and said that I should be prepared to go out with him and give an unconditional offer before he could consider it. The next day I did this, adding that in his interests as well as mine I might remain on six months' probation. He sent a terse reply to his own handwriting: "You should report yourself for service tomorrow at 10-00 a.m.—Bapu." I was overjoyed—yet the order came to me with a shock of surprise as it did not give me any time to settle certain personal affairs not to take formal leave of the Congress President and the General Secretary under whom I was employed during the preceding five months. But my offer was unconditional and his call peremptory. So I had to leave letters of apology at the A. I. C. C. office and on the 30th of December reported to him as ordered—only ten minutes earlier as he pointed out to me.

Twice during the first twelve days I went late to Birla House, once with permission and the second time after leaving word with a co-worker. That provoked the sharp question from Bapu as to how often I wanted to be late. I replied that a few urgent matters called for my attention but he simply reminded me of my contract. Eventually as a compromise he agreed that I could be late but only to attend to basic human needs, not otherwise.

On the New Year Day Bapu asked me to examine the translation of his A. I. C. C. speech of June, 1947 and I left it with him at night suggesting a few verbal amendments in the margin. The next morning he wanted me to see which corrections he had accepted and asked me to bring the same copy from Shri Kalyanam. As it was raining, I shouted for it to a third person standing outside the latter's room but he brought instead the final typed copy. I began reading it. Bapu had the habit not only of giving a precise order but on insisting on an equally precise compliance. So he quoted a Latin proverb to me meaning that a delegate must not delegate his task to a sub-delegate.

Bapu: I replied, 'some functions by nature are delegable and others not. I could never have done all the work I did during my 30 years Government service if I had rigidly followed such a maxim.' Bapu said that there I had authority to enforce strict obedience to which I replied that here I expected a stronger uniting force among our staff, viz. love and loyalty to a common cause and a common master. Not satisfied Bapu observed that I was indulging in vain disputations instead of recognizing my error as was actually proved by the fact that the wrong copy had been brought. He reminded me that I had come to him as a child and he trusted my word and would treat me as such. I reaffirmed that I was a mere child—a playful and peevish one at that!

On or about the 23rd January, as I was reading to him my notes taken from newspapers, Maulana Azad came in and I withdrew. At the close of the interview Bapu wanted to bring to Maulana-saheb's notice one item of news—the report of an Indo-Pakistan League formed with sinister designs—and beckoned to me to bring my note-book. It took me five minutes to trace it. As I was going home that night, he took me to task for wasting five minutes of Maulanasaheb's time saying: 'You have severely distressed me by your carelessness.' I felt sullen. After all I thought I could only do my best which I felt I was faithfully doing. The next day I disclosed my mind to Dr. Sushila Nayyar and said that I had no desire to cause distress to Bapu. He should accept me as I was and bear with me and my failings—or let me go. It was sweet of her to have consoled me and said that they were all happy that I had joined them and that it behoved us also to bear with Bapu as we would with our own father. I was comforted and as Bapu was convalescing, I entreated her not to broach the matter with him. But she, as Bapu's own little daughter, could not keep a secret and went and told Bapu all about it. So as I came the next day and offered my *pranams*, he pacified me and very gently said that I should keep smiling even when he was annoyed. I said: 'Bapu, I was notoriously careless in arranging my papers in the Government of India and I shall tell you some tit-bits about it later. This is a sixty years old habit with me and is apt to repeat itself though I shall try to mend it. But if it distresses you, you can give me the sack.' Bapu replied, with a beaming smile that he had no desire to break the six months' contract and would regard it as a breach of promise on my part if I did so.

For many things the memory of this meeting will abide with me as a priceless treasure and I shall have occasion to revert to it. Suffice it to

say here that he sent me away light and happy as a child, and I prized even his rigid discipline if only because it brought in its wake the healing balm of his exquisite love and sweetness Indeed I discovered that he was verily a Bapu to us—tender and affectionate though sometimes severe and exacting by virtue and right of his paternal authority

New Delhi, 14-2-48 P B CHANDWANI

MYSORE NOTES—I

I

1 EXEMPLARY CHARITY

While touring in the north of Mysore State in May last for the Kasturba Trust and Harijan work combined I came across an act of exemplary charity by two friends who cannot be called very rich or prosperous. They have built a Colony of pucca houses with roofs of Mangalore tiles for 14 Harijan families in the midst of a forest in the Western Ghats The Colony consists of houses for 14 Harijan working class families a Bhajan Mandir for them, a well for drinking water and also an approach road at the total cost of Rs 32,000 Out of this the Mysore Government gave a grant of Rs 8,000 and Shri Krishnayya Bhakta and his partner, village Agumbe District Shimoga paid the rest This was opened on the 19th May, 1947 by the late Dr T C M Royan, the then Minister of Mysore State The fact that the Harijans so well-housed are their casual or permanent workmen does not diminish the worth of the act. For, such excellent house accommodation is provided by very few capitalists who have large Coffee and Tea plantations in the hilly parts of Mysore State and where the labour brought there from South Kanara District is reported to be greatly exploited by them.

2 A PLEASANT SURPRISE

I was taken to visit a Kasturba village centre in the village Kantarajpur, Hassan District (Mysore State) There I learnt that twenty Harijan families of that village were doing the work of copper-smiths from the copper sheets and circles supplied to them by the merchants of the village. I saw them doing this kind of work in their houses and saw the iron implements and hammers with which they prepared them. I was told that they were now earning from Re 1 to Rs. 4 per day per family for about 6 months in a year I was told that during the war years copper sheets and circles were not available and hence they were practically starving Fortunately, they could get raw material now and thus could stand on their own legs and make more money

In the District of Garhwal all carpenters tailors smiths and other artisans once went by the generic name of Doms, but now by the honorific name of Shilpakars or artisans, thanks to the Late Lala Lajpatrai Here the merchants have made the Harijans artisans. Thanks to them also

3 A VILLAGE REFORMED

On the 20th of May 1948 I visited 11 village centres of Kasturba Trust in the Mysore State One of them was in the village of Karle in Hassan District The centre was 2½ years old and the following summary of the report of the work done there by Shri Thimappa Gowda, the Secretary will be read with interest

> Nearly twenty years ago this village was the home of horrible drunkards and jail birds Not even a day passed without a hand to hand fight in this village They used to worship the Devil god by killing hundreds of he-buffaloes in the belief that thereby they could ensure bumper crop In the year 1941 after completing his education Shri Thimappa Gowda settled down in the village and began to persuade them to give up bad habits As his father was the headman of the village, his words carried respect and the young men of the village began to rally round him. They took an oath not to drink.
>
> A Co operative Society was started nearly five years ago in 1943 through which cloth, kerosene and agricultural implements were supplied during the hard days of the war. Shri Thimappa was able to persuade the elders to give up the sacrifice of the he buffaloes which they practised once a year Being the only educated young man in the village, the elders looked upon him with awe He took advantage of this and pressed them to give up drinking completely and also to do village reform work and succeeded to a great extent in doing so
>
> In September 1945 Srimati Yashodhara Dasappa sanctioned a Grama Seva Centre for the village The Gram Sevikas began the work of improvement in this village and have done considerable and highly commendable work They stopped the practice of the villagers drying cowdung cakes on the outer walls of the houses. They managed to get numerous pits in the street filled up by the villagers with stones etc and got side drains, a well and a bridge constructed The cost may be estimated at about Rs. 4,000 They taught the women of this village to drop their shyness and to mix freely with the educated women on equal terms to keep their houses and surroundings clean to comb their hair well and to bathe at least twice a week. They conducted adult literacy classes for the women. Now nearly 20 girls can read well They carry on medical relief work and conduct a *Balavadi* with nearly 70 children (more than half of whom are girls) with distribution of mid-day refreshments to them every day The villagers have contributed 1300 seers of paddy for this purpose Shri Thimappa started Subhash Sangs to help the Gram Sevikas in their village improvement work With the help of these Sevikas he was able to persuade people to admit Harijans in the village temple. In the month of March last the Hon. Minister Shri K. T. Bhashyam led the Harijans to this temple. The villagers have come forward to donate Rs. 1000 to build the Gram Seva Building and Mr Magappa Gowda has donated the land for the said building. The Government have now sanctioned nearly Rs. 10,000 for several village improvement works

In these parts only *ragi* and paddy are grown and no commercial crops are being raised Though the step might have been wise as a policy, the

fact remains that even during the war period the villagers were not able to earn well and as a result remain poor even today. The centre requires funds for carrying out various items of its programme

A. V THAKKAR

LEST WE FORGET

VII

THE FEAR OF DEATH

[This is my translation of a Gujarati article by Gandhiji which appeared in *Young India* of October 13, 1921 V G D]

I have been collecting descriptions of Swaraj. One of these would be Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain Swaraj, and cannot retain it if somehow attained

English people carry their lives in their pockets. Arabs and Pathans consider death as nothing more than an ordinary ailment they never weep when a relation dies. Boer women are perfectly innocent of this fear In the Boer war thousands of young Boer women became widows, but they never cared It did not matter in the least if the husband or the son was lost, it was enough and more than enough that the country's honour was safe What hooted the husband if the country was enslaved? It was infinitely better to bury a son's mortal remains and to cherish his immortal memory than to bring him up as a serf. Thus did the Boer women steel their hearts and cheerfully give up their darlings to the angel of death

The people I have mentioned kill and get killed But what of those who do not kill but are only ready to die themselves? Such people become the objects of a world's adoration They are the salt of the earth

The English and the Germans fought one another, they killed and got killed The result is that animosities have increased There is no end of unrest and the present condition of Europe is pitiful There is more of deceit, and each is anxious to circumvent the rest

But the fearlessness which we are cultivating is of a nobler and purer order and it is therefore that we hope to achieve a signal victory within a very short time.

When we attain Swaraj, many of us will have given up the fear of death or else we shall not have attained Swaraj Till now mostly young boys have died in the cause Those who died in Ahmadabad were all below twentyone. No one knew who they were If Government resort to firing now, I am hoping that some men of the first rank will have the opportunity of offering up the supreme sacrifice

Why should we be upset when children or young men or old men die? Not a moment passes when some one is not born or is not dead in this world. We should feel the stupidity of rejoicing in a birth and lamenting a death Those who believe in the soul, — and what Hindu, Musalman, or Parsi is there who does not — know that the soul never dies The souls of the living as well as of the dead are all one The eternal processes of creation and destruction are going on ceaselessly. There is nothing in it for which we might give ourselves up to joy or sorrow Even if we extend the idea of relationship only to our countrymen and take all the births in the country as taking place in our own family, how many births shall we celebrate? If we weep for all the deaths in our country the tears in our eyes would never dry This train of thought should help us to get rid of all fear of death

India, they say is a nation of philosophers, and we have not been unwilling to appropriate the compliment Still hardly any other nation becomes so helpless in the face of death as we do And in India again, no other community betrays so much of this helplessness as the Hindus. A single birth is enough for us to be beside ourselves with ludicrous joyfulness. A death makes us indulge in orgies of loud lamentation which condemn the neighbourhood to sleeplessness for the night. If we wish to attain Swaraj, and if having attained it, wish to make it something to be proud of, we must perfectly renounce this unseemly fright

And what is imprisonment to the man who is fearless of death itself? If the reader will think it out a little, he will find that if Swaraj is delayed, it is delayed because we are not prepared calmly to meet death and inconveniences lesser than death

As larger and larger numbers of innocent men come out to welcome death, their sacrifice will become the potent instrument for the salvation of all others and there will be a minimum of suffering Suffering cheerfully endured ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy. The man who flies from suffering is the victim of endless tribulation before it has come to him and is half dead when it does come. But one who is cheerfully ready for anything and everything that comes escapes all pain, his cheerfulness acts as an anaesthetic

I have been led to write about this subject, because we have got to envisage even death if we will have Swaraj this very year One who is previously prepared often escapes accidents, and this may well be the case with us. It is my firm conviction that Swadeshi constitutes this preparation When our Swadeshi is a success, neither this Government nor any one else will feel the necessity of putting us to any further test.

Still it is best not to neglect any contingency whatever Possession of power makes men blind and deaf they cannot see things which are under their very nose, and cannot hear things which invade their ears There is thus no knowing what this power-intoxicated Government may not do So it seemed to me that patriotic men ought to be prepared for death, imprisonment and similar troubles

The brave meet death with a smile on their lips but they are circumspect all the same. There is no room for foolhardiness in this non-violent war We do not propose to go to jail or to die by an immoral act We must mount the gallows while resisting the oppressive laws of this Government

HARIJAN

June 27 1948

UNRESTRAINED PROVINCIALISM

A correspondent has drawn attention to a circular issued by the Secretary to Government Revenue Department Bihar addressed to forty-eight Mining Concerns The following is the text of the circular

'Dated Patna, the 15th January, '48

Subject Employment of Biharis by the Holders of Mining Concerns in the District of Singbhum

Sir

I am directed to bring to your notice the provision of the Provincial Government's new Mineral Policy No Mining lease will in future be granted to any person/Firm unless he/it is willing to make all one manual appointments on the recommendation of a Board to be constituted by the Government They have come to this decision because of the frequent complaints that Biharis" in general and local people in particular do not get suitable appointments It is true that such a term is not embodied in the existing leases held by them but Government desire to impress on you the desirability of giving effect to this policy of Government I am to request that you will be good enough to report to Government what action you take on this letter

I have etc.

Secretary"

The correspondent alleges that although it purports to be in the interest of the Biharis it is really a crusade against the Bengali-speaking minority against whom the circular will actually operate

I do not know how far the correspondent is justified in making this insinuation, but I do think that the circular is not at all in order If the Constitution of Free India is going to recognize the right of every Indian citizen to reside and settle in any part of India then I believe, it carries with it the parallel obligation that no member of the Union shall pursue a policy which will prevent a settler from obtaining in that state a means of livelihood for which he is fitted. I have grave doubts whether a Government of the type contemplated by the Congress can interfere to the extent of asking business firms operating in its province to employ the members of its staff from a particular class of citizens only I should consider this to be rather unusual encroachment on the liberty of employers to select their assistants

So far with regard to the circular To the Bengalis of Bihar, I should say, as I would say to the Marwadis Gujaratis Sindhis and other emigrants to another province, that it is their duty to merge themselves completely with the life and people of the province into which they migrate It is not at all desirable and in the interest of a nation that persons should preserve a separate provincial entity in their new domicile. The Bengalis, Gujaratis Marwadis, Sindhis etc. must become complete Biharis if they want to make Bihar their permanent home. It is the duty of the people going from one province into another and settling down there not to create a minority problem whether communal, provincial or other They must learn and speak the language of the new domicile as well as any indigenous resident, and also adopt to the greatest extent possible the same dress and mode of living The Bengalis and other non-Biharis of Bihar who feel aggrieved by the attitude of the Biharis may well be asked how it is that in spite of having settled down in Bihar for centuries they still remain Bengalis Marwadis Gujaratis and not full Biharis? If they insist on retaining their Bengalism Marwadism etc the Biharis cannot be blamed for regarding them as strangers among them They too must move forward to be entitled to equality

I have mentioned Bihar here, but the same principle applies to every other province and it has become of increased importance at present, where every province is faced with the problem of rehabilitating refugees from Sind Punjab etc The sooner the refugees merge themselves with the life and people of their new region, the better and easier will be the solution If they ask for creation of *Naya* Sind and *Naya* Punjab districts, *tahsils* or towns in every province they will create insoluble problems.

Wardha 15-6 48 K. G MASHRUWALA

PROPPING UP 'JAWARI'

[This is the account of a lesson given to students of the 7th Grade in the Sevagram Basic School

—D P]

We woke up to a thickly covered December sky Shri Aryanayakam, the Secretary of the Hindustani Talim Sangh and the head of the institution at Sevagram, lost no time in gauging the situation Many *jawari* plants had been laid low by the rain The threatened shower would destroy them permanently The call of life sent the previously fixed programme by the board, and immediately after breakfast fields were humming with young voices busily propping up fallen plants

I also took my class to our allotted field. Its shape was a rectangle beside a right-angled triangle The various sides were measured and put down on the board placed by the side of the field and the area of the field calculated The distance between two plants was measured and the number of plants found out We knew the time at our disposal and so the target for each boy was fixed

Obviously the above gave us the opportunity to revise methods of measuring distances and area calculation, the Four Simple Rules of Arithmetic, the Unitary Method, the Rule of Three etc, and at the same time it taught the boys the habit and appreciation of the advantages of pre-planning and division of labour — that is it taught them the principles of efficient work

The boys stood in one row and proceeded straight to the opposite side, each looking to the plants in the rows entrusted to him They were

village boys so they knew why they had to do I also had my own rows to look after to provide the children with the example of hard and efficient work. Only now and then I had to abandon my line to restrain some restive child or to stimulate observation by frequently exchanging remarks with the students The stems had grown very tall but the ears of the corn were very small Why? A number of plants had to be tied together Why? Green *jawari* is a delicacy for the village Many boys stole some. Others reported against them That provided me with an excellent opportunity of giving them the definition of stealing and the social and individual dirt it involved. They also learnt that true friendship did not mean hiding each other's faults Reporting could however be justified only if done in a friendly spirit and only after duly warning the person concerned Otherwise, picking holes in others was an unedifying task It created pride in oneself and irritated instead of reforming the other party

The way each worked provided me with an index to his mood and character the quickness with which he selected the right plants to be tied together, the neatness with which he tied them, the steadiness with which he worked etc

At the stroke of the bell the boys came and gave the number of plants each had propped up to the Class Minister (*varg mantri*) who noted it down in his register

In the afternoon they had to forego their rest and finish the work that had been left unfinished due to the laziness and irresponsibility of their comrades In society all had to suffer for the sins of a few—a price that man had to pay for his gregarious instinct

Afterwards we retired to the class room (the scarcity of shady trees in Sevagram makes them necessary) to elaborate the various lessons learnt in the field. The boys were told to ask questions about their work in the morning. These were noted down

The question of plant-feeding brought in the earth the sun and the air and that of food absorption brought in capillary action The question of manure brought in its train the composition and decomposition of human and animal excreta refuse etc. Definitions of elements compounds, chemical action came in Nitrogen oxygen carbon dioxide, etc. had to be explained The similarity and connection of human life and plant life bound together in one cycle was also brought home to the children The question of overgrown stems and small ears of corn led to the explanation the field was on the site of trench latrines, so the plants got too much food in the beginning By the time they grew the ears of corn the food had become exhausted In the case of trees the exhaustion did not take place because the roots of trees went much deeper and were spread out over a much wider area The ugliness of small ears of corn at the end of such long stems brought in the question of proportion as an essential of beauty

The plants were kept at a fixed distance from each other so that each could have enough food without encroaching upon the 'private property' of its neighbour All plants were given equal space to grow In human society some had too much and some too little That was why the communists believed in equal distribution with slight variations necessitated by the variations of life

When a fallen plant was made to stand erect it had a tendency to fall back in its old direction When however, it was tied to another plant with the tendency to fall in the opposite direction, the 'actions' and 're-actions' of the two neutralized each other So students got the idea of force and the equilibrium of forces

Singly the plants had fallen down, but when tied together they regained the strength to stand up It was similarly true of human life 'United we stand, divided we fall' Indian history and histories of the other countries of the world provided ample evidence of that

The drops of water on the leaves led us to the cohesion of its surface particles. When a plant was disturbed the water drops on the leaves moved separately and ultimately fell off That led to questions of force, momentum, acceleration and gravity

Of course the structure of the *jawari* plant came in Where it was grown and why? brought in Geography Its comparatively inferior food value led to what food value was, how it was measured and a host of other questions which children asked or which I could stimulate them to ask

The place of *jawari* in the economy of our country and of the world led us to realms of Economics Its importance to a poor country like India and especially to the Deccan plateau explained to boys the care with which every grain was husbanded

There were so many common points noticed between the *jawari* plant and human life that the essential unity of all life was very easily brought home to the children The pantheists and most religions called this 'unity in diversity' as God or due to God the all-pervading Principle

So the boys had rendered a definite service to the community They also learnt to react to life dynamically and methodically The occasion provided exercise for and thereby trained a very large number of physical and mental faculties of both individual and social importance It led to the acquisition of some knowledge of practically every subject Economics, Politics, History, Geography, Botany Physics, Chemistry Arithmetic Geometry, Bacteriology Physiology Dietetics Morality Religion, Philosophy Aesthetics and could lead to others which my ignorance alone prevented me from entering The boys learnt all this concretely and in an integrated, that is, living manner And all this to the dance and music of nature!

It may seem surprising that one of the simplest life processes could be so rich in educational potentialities Yet it should not seem so The simplest act of life calls forth the whole man with his instincts and habits, that is with all his knowledge that has become digested into habits It lays him bare Now I understand how Gandhiji could judge a man by the way he swept the floor washed his clothes or even sat. And yet our educationists refuse to see that the Basic method of education is the

most natural, the most sensible and the most economical method. It may have been imperfectly practised, its potentialities only partially laid bare. But even so, it is a thousand times better than the avalanche of waste represented by our abstract method of struggling with compartmentalized knowledge, torn from its context in life and thereby rendered unrecognizable

Calcutta 29-4-48 DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—II

(4)

FIRST VISIT TO KHWAJA PIR'S DARGAH

10-5-'48 The *Urs* festival of Khwaja Pir's *Dargah*, which is the greatest Muslim shrine in India, was held from the 10th to 17th May this year. Vinobaji visited the *Dargah* on the morning of the 10th. Although he was appointed to speak in the *Dargah* on Friday the 14th May, he had to comply to the request of the people who had gathered there to address them a few words.

Shri Vinoba asked the people to forget the tragic events which had recently taken place in India. It was always best to forget evil things. It was memory of evil things which turned men into brutes. The saints had taught them that they should remember God, do good things and forget misdeeds. It was incumbent upon Hindus and Muslims to live in amity as before. The *Dargah* was a holy place. It should be possible for everyone to resort to it without fear, and he who feared God need fear none else. Life in this world was short, and none could live longer than the appointed day by harbouring fear. Fear could enable him only to forget God and his own higher nature. A man often did such evil things in a moment of fear as he himself would be amazed at later on.

The Hindus and Muslims like all other creatures were made of the same earth. Whether after death they were cremated or buried, they all became dust. It was impossible to say from that whether it formed part of a Hindu or a Muslim. "Dust thou art to dust returnest," was the truth of the body. The intervening period of physical life was a period of strife. It was called *fitna* in the *Quran*. God has sent men to this earth in order to test them. God tested the rich through their riches by seeing whether or not they made good use of their money and helped the needy. God tested the poor through their poverty by seeing whether or not they kept up their courage in adversity.

The summary of all religious teachings was that those who performed good deeds got good reward, those who sowed evil reaped evil in turn. With implicit faith in that teaching everyone must fearlessly worship his Maker. He would ask them that they should visit the *Dargah* for saying their prayers without harbouring the least fear. By God's grace they would have no trouble.

(5)

EQUAL REGARD FOR RELIGIOUS PLACES

Addressing the evening prayer meeting at Ajmer the same day, Shri Vinoba said that he wanted to relate what he saw and learnt that morning. He had walked up that morning to Taragarh to see the *Dargah*. On his way to the hill he came across a *chilla* (a place where one practises austerities for forty days). The Muslims were pleased to take him round all the places and he saw that they felt comforted by his visit to them. At the Dargah he saw an inscription that the Marathas had contributed towards the erection of the two buildings there. He was not surprised to read it, but was certainly glad. They should remember that it was a time when the Marathas were constantly at war with Muslims and yet they thought it proper that they should help the Muslims in their religious practices, and caused that inscription to be made with an amount of self-satisfaction. That was one of the good lessons which Swami Ramdas the Guru of Shivaji had given to the Marathas. Shivaji had declared war against the tyrannical rule of his times and had obtained independence. But Swami Ramdas had taught him that nevertheless he should pay equal regard to all religions—including the religion of those with whom he was at war. They could see that reverence for every religion had permeated Shivaji throughout his life. Whenever he got an opportunity he visited *masjids*. Swami Ramdas also did so. Shivaji had also made good arrangements for the *Haj* pilgrims. Thus he used to show his regard for Islam. The speaker mentioned all these particulars in order that they might also take a lesson from that account.

Since the partition there was no longer any political fight between the two communities in India. The Hindu Mahasabha had also recognized it and resolved to that effect. There was now in existence a State which everybody could claim as his own. It was the duty of everyone to make that State strong. It was necessary for that purpose to maintain peace throughout the country. Under no circumstances should one take the law in one's own hands. He wanted to urge that even if there was a political strife members of every community must show respect to every other religion. He compared the religion to one's mother. A child did not choose a mother. The lady who gave it birth became *ipso facto* its mother. It obtained its nourishment from her and it is that mother whom it has to respect and serve. One who respected one's own mother would also respect the mothers of others. He who had no respect for others mothers would not pay sufficient respect even to his own.

All religions led to God. They were like different roads one seemed to go to the east, another to the west but still everyone leading to and terminating in God. Consequently, one should join the festivals and devotional congregations of other religions also with respect and pleasure. They should also study the high and noble thoughts expressed in different scriptures. They had just heard the *Al Fatiha*—it was the first chapter of the *Quran*. It prayed that God should show them the right way and not a wrong one. Wrong ways there would be many, but the right was only one. The scriptural utterances by showing the right path carried them to God whether their language was Arabic or Sanskrit or Tamil. In a word religion was sojourn for the realization of Truth. It was difficult to have the full view of Truth during one's lifetime. But even if one could see one of its sides one would reach the goal of life.

He had heard Shri Vinoba said that the *urs* for which he had come was being held at Ajmer since a very long time and that it was visited by saints of other religions also. Guru Nanak had also visited this *Dargah* and prayed in it. People therefore should take full advantage of that holy place. Taking full advantage meant that all the people who lived there must be united at heart. There should never be a quarrel amongst them in the name of religion. D. D.

HOW TO ABOLISH CASTE

Two outstanding resolutions formed the main feature of the Constructive Workers Conference at Sevagram (1) an unequivocal reiteration of faith in the purity of means for achieving pure ends, and (2) a determination to work for establishing a society after Gandhiji's dream in which there was no caste and no opportunity for exploitation

Both caste and exploitation of man by man are ancient institutions. From earliest times man learnt, through his own ingenuity to devise means and methods to appropriate the fruit of another person's labour assuming at the same time the role of the master or benefactor whom his less intelligent brother must always subserve. The process soon hardened into established rights and privileges in human society, based on birth and rank and superiority complex on the one hand, and permanent disabilities due to lack of opportunity, inferiority complex and the stunting of human growth on the other. As a result various forms of slavery and semi-slavish institutions grew in society which have disfigured the record of the entire human endeavour and blackened the course of human history

Caste, as obtaining among the Hindus is perhaps the worst specimen of such complexes. It has degraded and disintegrated us as perhaps nothing else has done throughout the course of our social evolution It has bred among us, as among the ancient Jews, an utterly false sense of social superiority and made us vainglorious and exclusive in respect of our eating, drinking and modes of living Our behaviour with others is in strange contrast with our professed high culture It is repugnant to every moral sense and degrading in the extreme to human dignity Unfortunately, through its persistence for centuries it has so hardened itself that it has come to be regarded not only as natural but God-devised and incumbent on all.

Gandhiji carried on a relentless crusade against untouchability in our midst for thirty years Untouchability was only an extreme form of Hindu exclusiveness and superiority complex The virus permeates the entire Hindu society, in forms more or less virulent. Gandhiji fought untouchability tooth and nail and sought to demolish its foundations by calling himself a Harijan and accepting a scavenger's status voluntarily He thus dealt a mortal blow to the superiority complex of the so-called caste Hindus and raised the status and the stature of the lowliest A similar crusade is now overdue for the abolition of caste from among the Hindus in every shape and form

It may be conceded that in large cities and towns caste distinctions among Hindus are seen to be respected more in their breach nowadays than in their observance, that the caste Hindus eat publicly all manner of things, including 'prohibited foods', in cosmopolitan company at restaurants hotels, clubs and at public functions without hesitation, that widow-marriages and inter-caste or inter-sub-caste marriages too are contracted in fair numbers But this change is restricted even in urban populations to a small circle the great bulk of the community in the villages remains unaffected and static

Even the city dwellers' pretentions at reform are generally only skin-deep They violate orthodox caste injunctions with impunity out of doors for self-indulgence, in travelling for convenience and at public functions for coming in the limelight There or in the name of medicine, they might take even 'prohibited' foods and drinks But they dare not do so in their native villages in the midst of their own society or they will dine with a Harijan at a public function but dare not engage a non-Brahmin cook, much less a Harijan, in their own household Their heterodox behaviour is thus superficial and showy It is no reform but only indulgence and can have little moral value

Recently a movement has been afoot in America in which a few high-souled Americans, unable to bear the inequities practised by the whites against Negroes and other coloured inhabitants, renounce their status as whites and elect voluntarily to have the status of the coloured by making a solemn declaration to the effect before a Government registrar, and thus incur the disabilities and indignities involved in the position. A somewhat similar movement on the part of caste Hindus, I think, is overdue in order to demolish caste if we would have a casteless society

Here are a few practical suggestions

1 Abjure caste with all its privileges and discriminations by way of a solemn public declaration. If Government should appoint an officer for that purpose it could be done before him otherwise it could be done in the office of an institution engaged in carrying out this reform and before the council or headmen of one's caste, sub caste or community and through newspapers

2 Organize cosmopolitan gatherings where caste Hindus and Harijan families together with Muslims Parsis, Christians etc will jointly cook simple vegetarian food and dine together, giving their names and addresses, together with photographs of the gathering if possible with due publicity in newspapers and to the heads of their respective caste organizations,

3 Insist on inter caste marriages

4 Decline to accord recognition to caste by not attending its calls, paying its levies or customary dues or by otherwise complying with any of its injunctions

5 Employ a person of the so-called low castes, preferably a Harijan, as cook or other domestic servant instead of a Brahmans or caste Hindu, whenever a servant is employed for domestic purposes,

6 Decline to mention one's caste before law courts or in forms of applications etc of all public or private institutions and agitate vigorously for the abrogation of the caste column from all forms and records

7. Refuse to receive or grant any scholarship, distinction, office, vote or other benefit coming from charities institutions or organizations based on the caste ideal or restricted to further caste interest to the exclusion of other sections of society and refuse to associate with such exclusive bodies in any manner or capacity,

8 Sooner soon [illegible] all organisations whether religious social political [illegible] economic which stand to safeguard or further the interests of a single caste sub-caste or community to the exclusion of others.

Vapi 20-5-'48 SWAMI ANAND

NOTES

Harilal Gandhi

Shri Harilal Gandhi, the eldest son of Gandhiji, expired on the night of the 19th instant at Bombay Two or three days before his death someone informed one of his sons-in-law that he was very ill in some locality in Bombay After two days he was traced in a T B hospital where he died the same night He leaves behind him two daughters and a son. He was round about sixty

Wardha 21-6-48

Badshah Khan

The Frontier Government has sent Khansaheb Abdul Gaffar Khan to prison under a sentence of three years When a Government cannot do better than put its best incorruptible and sincere patriots of its State into prison it passes a vote of censure against itself It is not less effective although not immediately followed by resignations

Wardha, 21-6-'48

Frontier of Love and Co-operation

The following is reproduced from a report of the A. P I dated June 18 Calcutta, of the reply that H E Shri Rajagopalachari gave to a farewell address given to him by the Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr Iswar Das Jalan

> Referring to Mr Jalan's remark that West Bengal was a frontier province and that it was one of the duties of the Governor General to see that the frontier was well protected Mr Rajagopalachari said that they were thinking too much of the frontiers between India and Pakistan In another sense somewhat different from what was generally meant he would say that it (West Bengal) was really a frontier — a frontier where they could experiment on the practice of good understanding and mutual help and co-operation — a frontier not against aggression, but a frontier of co-operation
>
> West Bengal, Mr. Rajagopalachari added, had the advantage of a commanding situation, from where her people could practise the art of uttermost co operation towards those who were divided from them. Thereby West Bengal was a frontier for the practice of the new message which Gandhiji wanted there to accept The central treats had not that advantage he said, and it was very difficult for East Punjab to practise this towards West Punjab as a consequence of what had happened in the recent past.
>
> "The people of West Bengal" he continued, "can show to the world that a frontier can be a quite different thing from what they had hitherto imagined — an outpost for love instead of an outpost for alarm. I do mean all this most seriously, because I have tested the talents of your people and I feel that you have the resources here and you have the [illegible] affection and good understanding [illegible] the people across the frontier You have therefore every good chance of success and I wish you Godspeed in these frontier activities

History of Satyagrahashram

During his incarceration at Yeravda in 1932 Gandhiji commenced to write on 5-4-'32 a *History of Satyagrahashram* in Gujarati He could carry on the work only until 11-7-'32, on which date the writing abruptly came to an end even the last sentence remaining unfinished He could not recommence the work ever afterwards The manuscript, as it is, has been published by the Navajivan Press recently with an introduction by Shri Kaka Kalelkar It is hoped that in course of time it will also appear in its translations

Both the words *History* and *Satyagrahashram* are used by Gandhiji in a special sense *Satyagrahashram* does not mean exactly the institution at Sabarmati known by that name, but is closer in concept to words *Brahmacharyashram Grihasthashram* etc of the Hindu order of life. Gandhiji himself defines the word Ashram as corporate life with a religious attitude

The word *History* also does not have the usual conception of a chronological account of various events changes, activities personalities, births deaths etc of the institution at Sabarmati or elsewhere To a great extent it is a record of the various shapes which the concepts of *satya* (truth) *prarthana* (prayer), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacharya* (self-control) and other observances took shape in course of time, either in their application in life or in their ideological import, during the period immediately preceding the record In doing this too it does not profess to give a chronological narration of these changes Gandhiji does allude now and then, to how certain permanence or change in ideas came about, but generally he gives his final opinions on these matters on the date of record It is a matter of great regret that he could not complete this writing But even the incomplete record as it is, is very very educative and interesting and, time and space permitting, I may give a few samples from it now and then for the English readers of *Harijan* pending its full translation into English

16-6-'48 K. G M.

Erratum

In the issue of *Harijan* June 6, 1948 page 123, column I, line 20 delete 'compassionate'

CONTENTS

		PAGE
BAPU AS A DISCIPLINARIAN	F B CHANDWANI	145
MYSORE NOTES—I	A V THAKKAR	146
LEST WE FORGET—VII	M. K GANDHI	147
UNRESTRAINED PROVINCIALISM	K. G MASHRUWALA	148
PROPPING UP JAWARI	DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR	148
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—II	D D.	150
HOW TO ABOLISH CASTE	SWAMI ANAND	151
NOTES		
HARILAL GANDHI	K. G M.	152
BADSHAH KHAN	K. G M	152
FRONTIER OF LOVE AND CO OPERATION	K. G M	152
HISTORY OF SATYAGRAHASHRAM	K. G M	152

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 3 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3

Congress in Office and Outside

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII. No 18 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY JULY 4 1948 TWO ANNAS

NOT SERIOUSLY MEANT ?

I have received letters and articles from educationists of several years' standing referring to my articles on the Medium of Education at the university stage and on Secondary Education They have found fault with me not for writing what I have done but for not writing sufficiently strongly on these matters

On the question of Medium of University Education they say that I congratulated the Dr Tarachand Committee for a step which was forced upon it and not taken by inasmuch as the Committee was expressly told by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the Government had decided that English was to remain the medium of education for five years only and that the question to be decided by it was whether thereafter education should be imparted through the federal language or through the regional languages. Thus the Committee had no choice left to depart from the five year period But it is alleged the Committee did not see eye to eye with the Maulana Saheb s policy and what they have done is to do their best to frustrate that policy so that at the end of five years Government should be compelled to allow a further period for the English medium If the Committee had accepted the Maulana Saheb s direction heartily it could not have, with any show of reason, proposed that English should be exclusively the medium of instruction and examination for five years. It should have the critics say, seen what I have suggested, namely, that they must make the beginning of imparting education through Indian languages from the very next year or at the latest after two in the First Year classes But they have simply recommended that they should make preparations for the change during the next five years How will they do it? Is it possible that if they do not begin teaching through an Indian language from an earlier period, it would be possible for them at once to take the final year students of the year 1953 to classes where lectures were given in Indian languages? If the intention is that after five years they will begin from the First Year class and then proceed year after year to a higher class, it means that they are making preparations for making out a case for extension of the English medium for a further period of five years

I confess I did not read this meaning as they say, "between the lines I am unwilling to entertain the suspicion that the Tarachand Committee's resolution was not intended to be seriously carried out, though I saw some defects in it and also propaganda in the Press by educationists who are unwilling to give up English and who feel nervous about the results ensuing from the abandonment of that language as the medium of education They almost think that India will revert to the dark ages the moment it gives up the English medium Some of them think that India will cease to be one if English was given up They also seem to have curious notions about the development of a language They seem to think that a language has to be first developed in a lexicographer s or philologist s library before it can bring out respectable literature or deal with technical subjects of Science or Law They do not seem to have an adequate idea of the contribution, which peasants labourers artisans petty traders etc make in coining technical terms and enriching the vocabulary They forget that language develops with actual use and the necessity to use it. They do not realize that education could be given in the mother-tongue or the national language although the actual text-books to be read as also the technical terms to be used for the time being are either English or English and Indian both

I would like to place before them the experience of the Gujarat Vidyapith in this connection Though the experiments were of short duration and the workers were only a handful and though it too suffered from not having all its professors earnest enough to teach through an Indian language so that English persisted in some of the subjects yet the progress it made was fully satisfactory During the few years of its active working one professor published a translation of a text-book on Economics Though that book was not original it laid the foundation of thinking on economic subjects in the mother-tongue with the result that we have now an original text-book on Economics by Shri Narahari Parikh May be, as is the case with books written in Europe this book will be considered as representative of one particular school of Economists But it is, nevertheless a complete text-book. Another professor Shri R V Pathak produced an original book on Logic and a third on Advanced Accounting There were also good books on Commercial Geography and Statistics, and original works on Education Philosophy etc Some of these books are prescribed as text-books by the Bombay University and the Education Department. The Gujarat Vidyapith also produced besides its popular dictionaries of the Gujarati and Hindustani Languages glossaries of

[illegible] in Physics Chemistry, Economics [illegible] and some other subjects Without the [illegible]ledge of English, Muni Jinavijayaji Pandit Sukhlalji and Pandit Bechardas edited works in the Prakrit language Some of these received high encomiums from scholars in Germany and England The late Professor Dharmanand Kosambi who had lived in U S A and Russia, and knew both English and Russian, never thought that he could not deliver his best lectures on Buddhism in Hindi or Marathi The Constitution of the Gujarat Vidyapith was drafted originally in Gujarati and its wording has not raised any difficulty in its interpretation

I confess that during that period, most of us held views about the coining of technical terms similar to what several protagonists of Indian languages hold today namely of coining as far as possible Gujarati or Sanskrit words for even international and current foreign words Consequently some of these books were couched in new technical terms We have revised our opinions since and come to hold that in the best interests of the nation, the rejection of every foreign word was advantageous neither to the growth and enrichment of our own language, nor to our people, nor to the cause of education So our attitude towards foreign words has become more liberal than what it was about 25 years ago

We have grown to these opinions by experience And so when I say that the introduction of an Indian language as medium of instruction at any stage whatsoever is not an unsurmountably difficult task, I say so with a degree of confidence. I believe that the professors and teachers of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith and the Kashi Vidyapith will fully support my propositions from their own experience The contribution of the professors of these Vidyapiths in the shape of excellent text-books in their respective languages is by no means mean All that is wanted is the will. Given that, within a few months, the professors and teachers, unless they themselves had not merely crammed their prescribed text-books, would find that teaching in their own tongue was the easiest and the most natural way and that the want of text-books and of ready-made technical terms was not, after all, so great a handicap, as they think it to be. Apart from the fact that perhaps more books are already available in the various Indian languages, than the learned professors are aware of, and that at any rate there are sufficient books for making a beginning, I submit that until you begin actually to teach through your own languages, you will never be able to produce good text-books whether original or translated

I wish to warn the authorities ruling the various universities and the Governments concerned that they would be doing the greatest harm to the people and to their own reputation if they thought of deceiving the nation by resolutions which they did not mean to work out.

The question of Secondary Education I shall deal with next week

Wardha 21-6-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

DIFFICULT TO PLEASE ALL

When I adopted Shri B F Bharucha's suggestion to mention the words "Founded by Mahatma Gandhi" on the title-page of these papers little did I realize that I was inviting a flood of letters with advices and rebukes not mutually reconcilable. Here are a few samples

Change 'Mahatma Gandhi' into Mahatma Gandhiji', as the former is not sufficiently reverent

'Drop the word 'Mahatma' and say simply Gandhiji', as the title was distasteful to our dear Bapuji

Put a photo of Gandhiji along with the name'

'Drop the words Mahatma Gandhi Simply place his photo underneath the words Founded by '

Drop the words altogether and instead put an outline map of India on the title-page with a miniature photo of Gandhiji in its heart to symbolise his relationship with India.

Drop these superfluous words India has not forgotten and will not forget that these papers were founded by Gandhiji

Give up this trick of exploiting Gandhiji's name to attract customers for your papers Instead of it, make them more deserving by printing old or unpublished writings of Gandhiji also anecdotes about and tributes to Gandhiji Give of and speak about Gandhiji more than other subjects

'Do not make *Harijan* an organ of writers like yourself and do not fill it all with Vinoba It is the duty of Gandhiji's nearer companions like Pyarelal Sushila Nayyar, Kumarappa Rajkumari and others to contribute more frequently to it even if they are busy with other activities. They owe this to Gandhiji and the readers of *Harijan* '

"Give a decent saying of Gandhiji instead of these permanently printed words every week

These suggestions remind me of the story in Aesop's Fables of the father and the son who lost their animal in trying to please every adviser who met them on the way

I accepted Shri B F Bharucha's suggestion as a pertinent and innocent statement of fact. These simple words may not now be removed. It is unnecessary to give a photo I regret that it should have occurred to any one to insinuate an ulterior motive in this simple act. I am rather over-conscious of my limitations than is good for my mission, my usefulness to the people, or any personal growth I am fully aware that *Harijan* will not thrive, if it does not deserve to even by reprints of Gandhiji's articles and by printing anecdotes about and tributes to him, nor by the mere writings of his nearest companions, if the papers do not supply a present necessity in our life, far less will it thrive by the mere printing of the four words under the title This is not to suggest that the various suggestions have no worth. All those named as also myself will surely take appropriate note of the suggestions But it is impossible for me to promise that I shall be able to please every one. I wish to please the readers, but it

would be as a bye-product My first concern will be to serve the cause of Truth Non violence and Restraint and to serve the people even at the risk of displeasing them at times If God wills He will allow me to work Otherwise, let His will be done, not mine

Wardha, 17-6-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—III

(6)

11 5 48

SINDHI REFUGEES

Addressing the prayer meeting Shri Vinoba said that he had been moving among the refugees for the last two days. They had lost everything in Pakistan. Some arrangements had been made for them but they were unhappy still, and Shri Vinoba believed that their unhappiness was real. They complained that the local people did not show that sympathy towards them which they had shown in the beginning He would request the people of Ajmer to have larger hearts. In order to understand the feelings and inconvenience of others one must look upon them from the point of view of those persons that is in the case before them, from the Sindhis' point of view. Though they could not keep the Sindhis in their former prosperous style, they should at least be able to get the sympathy and the goodwill of the people. Even sympathy and good will gave consolation to a person in difficulty, even if the difficulty itself could not be fully removed.

He also wanted to say a few words to the Sindhis Having regard to their large numbers, they should understand that it was no easy matter for the people of Ajmer to give them complete satisfaction. They, too, had their own difficulties—A refugee had told him that there was no reason why the people of Ajmer should find it difficult to accommodate them because several Muslims had left Ajmer and they, the Sindhis, had taken their place. Shri Vinoba agreed that while some people had arrived others had left. But they both to gether did not solve the problem, but rather rendered it more difficult, because those who had left were artisans and labourers and those who had arrived were businessmen. The result was that those who were needed in Ajmer had left and those who were not wanted had come in, thus making the problem doubly complicated. The only way to solve that difficulty was that the refugees should be prepared and have the courage to become artisans. Then only could they live there with happiness. A person was received as a guest if he stayed for a couple of days only. If he looked to become a permanent member of the family, he would be expected to take part in the household work and management. If he did not do so, the host would lose the enthusiasm to keep him Shri Vinoba was aware that amongst the refugees there were some who were aged and had during their whole life done nothing except trade. It was necessary that they should get some business occupation but they could get it if, instead of insisting on living together in one place they distributed themselves in several towns and cities. Those who were still young he would advise to turn artisans and be prepared to do physical labour

Shri Vinoba added that he did not [illegible] to the Sindhis only. It was a problem [illegible] whole of India. If young men did not have [illegible] in doing honest labour and [illegible] themselves products of articles of necessity but looked only to commerce and services India would have be free from economic unrest and disturbances both of which were going increasing every day Some say the disturbances might appear as Hindu Muslim riots but on another day they might take the form of Sindhi Marwari riots or something else. Though the forms might vary the main problem remained the same viz. that the poor people who were burdened with the obligations of producing goods and becoming objects of exploitation did not have even a full load while others who did not take any part in the actual production of goods not only had more to eat but even aspired to live a life of ease and also to lay by something for the future. India was a great land whose population was already 30 crores and was ever increasing There was hardly an acre of agricultural land per head If therefore the people did not simultaneously grow in bodily labour and productive industries they could never be happy. It was said that there was happiness in heaven that they could ride there in palanquins. Shri Vinoba said he had no love for such happiness. He did not want a heaven in which one sat in a palanquin carried by others He wanted a heaven where every man walked on his own legs worked with his own hands, rode on the shoulders of nobody else and took the fruits of nobody else's labour The Vedic sages had said कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः (Aspire to live a hundred years by performing actions in this manner) It meant that he alone was entitled to live who worked He who had no faith in labour and pursued pleasures, became entitled to death Some people were short lived because of extreme poverty and overwork some were short lived because of indigestion caused by a life of idleness and ease. The condition did not show a good social order God had given man hands to work with and the intellect to guide him in that work Each one must use both the gifts if India was to be happy Otherwise the problems which would arise in future would be so great as to make the present refugee problem quite a minor one. He prayed to God to save us and give proper guidance.

D. D.

Inter-Communal Marriages

1 Shri Vrindavan Chandra (*Brahmana*) a *khadi* and village worker of Orissa since 1937, with Shrimati Saraswati Devi (Harijan) of Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhari's Sevaghar at Bari-Cuttack in Orissa, on 17-6-'48

2. Shri Gaursbyam Samantarai (*Kshatriya*) of the Jivram Khadi Vidyalay at Bhadrak (Orissa), with Shrimati Sitamani (*Brahmana*) daughter of Shri Kripasindhu of Talpada (Orissa) on 12-6-48

3 Shri Indravadan Thakore (Hindu) Editor of the *Prajabandhu*, Ahmedabad, with Shri Khurshed Medora (Parsi) also of Ahmedabad

Wardha, 18-6-48 K G M

HARIJAN

July 4 1948

CONGRESS IN OFFICE AND OUTSIDE

I notice on all sides that relations between the Congress in Government Offices and institutions and those outside them are far from cordial So are also the relations between those holding offices in Congress Committees and those who are outside of them Each section is jealous of the two others

Then there are also two other classes of Congressmen who are outside these all, one, of persons who have served the Congress during their younger days with earnest devotion and loyalty in order to achieve the goal of independence and the establishment of a just and pure administration The attainment of independence has instead of bringing them joy and peace, made them dejected and unhappy, because they feel that the great Congress institution which they helped to build up and grow strong had failed the people on the attainment of power and, by reason of internal demoralization is not fulfilling those noble ideals which it had proclaimed before They witness with sorrowful eyes that the Congress organization has become a handy tool for achieving selfish ends and consolidating powerful political groups They themselves have ceased to be active workers but cannot rest in peace while they see corrupt practices rampant on all sides. The second class is the ordinary citizen. He is not interested in this or that party or group What he desires is good Government—courteous behaviour, speedy disposal of people's applications and an administration which is uncorrupt and so ordered as to enhance the convenience of the people Not only does he not see any improvement in these matters, he feels that the matters are getting from bad to worse There are some people whom no amount of money could buy but there are less of those on whom no amount of influence could work May be that Government heads have good excuses for explaining these drawbacks. But that is no consolation to the people who remain unsatisfied The result is that the name of the Congress is daily getting unpopular among the people

I think that the main situation is recognized by all to be so My purpose in mentioning the fact is to seek the reasons for this regrettable state of affairs and find a solution for it.

Some of the main reasons for jealousy between the Congress in office and the Congress in Committees are to my mind the following

The holding of office has become less a burden to the holder than a source of profit—both monetary as well as prestigial Every place in a Government institution or officially appointed committee brings to the holder some allowance salary power of conferring benefit upon others making appointments or getting others to do something for himself which he could not have got done otherwise The duties which he has to perform are comparatively light and curiously enough, where the responsibilities are great and serious, the manner of appointments followed even in the Congress Governments is in spite of its ideals to the contrary, on the principle of caste and communal representation. Thus in the issue of tickets to candidates, appointments of ministers, even appointments of small temporary committees, everyone thinks in terms of a person from this community or region and a person from that community or region rather than in terms of a person of this capacity and a person of that capacity This is so because party consolidation demands it and because every place is a 'job' The result is that only a few are free from eagerness to obtain some office And since the number of offices though ever increasing is still not as great as the number of people who expect them, those who are left out become a disgruntled body Disappointed in getting office, they try to secure it in the executive bodies of the Congress Committees and to make these bodies work as rival institutions to the Congress in office Thus a sort of diarchy has been brought into existence The Congress Committees want to control the Congress in office and the latter want to preserve its own position and power against the former

Thus the Congress Committees are also seats of power, and so every man with a political ambition wants to be on these Committees But there too the number of aspirants is far greater than the places to be filled up and so come into existence various groups within the Congress. These groups are formed not on differences of ideology or approach but on personal loyalty to one or other rival leaders The former grouping has been expressly prohibited under the new constitution, leading to secession of the Socialists So the only different types of groups that are possible are those around particular persons In any case, the Congress is unable to present itself before the people as a united self-disciplined body Everywhere there is a group in opposition to the group in power, and the opposition between the two is not less bitter or critical mutually than between rival political parties formed on difference of principles Perhaps it is worse Because, the only thing that they do is to lower the prestige of the Congress itself in the eyes of the public by carrying on propaganda of a personal nature against their rivals Both groups are mostly composed of the same type of people and resort to similar methods to displace the other The group in power vainly tries to destroy the other by resorting to disciplinary action whenever it can get an opportunity to do so No institution can have a healthy growth under such circumstances, and if the Congress would keep its past glory and add to it, it is very essential to have group politics absolutely extinguished from its body When parties are formed by rival leaders claiming allegiance to common principles and still fighting among themselves they not only do disservice to the people

but ultimately kill the institution to which they belong I regret to say that I find that in several provinces this is actually taking place Congressmen must realize and take serious notice of the fact that with the rising generation, i e with those who are in the latter teens and in twenties an opinion has been gaining ground that the Congress is becoming ineffective and is not worthy enough for a young man to belong to Unless the Congress purifies itself it will dwindle into a body of persons almost in the pay of a few influential persons It might be able to retain power for a time because of the great respect which the whole nation including the young men, has for some of the top ranking leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad, Shri C Rajagopalachari etc. But, then Congress will shine with a lustre borrowed from her children instead of making her children shine with a lustre received from hers This power will not last long, and once the Congress is thrown out it may never be able to get strong again

The necessity of raising the morale of the Congress and making it an institution of service and self-sacrifice is greater than that of making it the ruler of the country If it is to exist as an institution for the good of the people it must be capable of attracting to itself the best elements among the youth of the country, those fired with high ideals and spirit of service It was not the expectation of power that those who are 55 and more now joined the Congress movement under the leadership of Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Bannerji Lokamanya Tilak or Gandhiji, between 1903 and 1918 They joined it when it was unsafe to belong to it when to belong to it meant some loss or sacrifice or personal dedication The Congress must not lose that virtue even when it is vested with power

If to become a Congressman was risky in 1905 to 42, it should be still more risky to be so when it governs India The risk should be of the type exemplified in England in the career of Dr Hugh Dalton A slight dereliction, even unintentional should mean dismissal of the most needed man in the Government.

But this does not exhaust the reasons contributing to the deterioration of the Congress There are others also which are perhaps of a deeper origin and may well be the cause of the causes mentioned here

I shall speak of them next week

Wardha 14-6-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

Sanskrit Journals

The undersigned will feel obliged if any reader will inform him if there are in India at present published any journals in Sanskrit, and if so, which and where Some years ago he had seen a few numbers of a weekly published from Benares called *Sanskritam* He would like to see a few specimen numbers of it, if available

Wardha, 24-6-'48 K. G M.

MOTHER TONGUES v. NATIONAL LANGUAGE

All are agreed that the natural and true medium of instruction for a child is its mother-tongue and that it should be the medium at least up to the end of the High School course The opinion appears to divide itself at the University stage

Thanks to Gandhiji's unique effort it has been now agreed that English has to go as the medium. It only persists as a relic of the past and as the sign of our unpreparedness to change it immediately But what should replace it ? The question demands quick and clear reply

There are mainly two schools on this question—(1) the mother-tongue school and (2) the national language school The mother-tongue school maintains that universities for various regions of Free India are being contemplated and planned As a matter of fact, regions themselves are newly taking shape, and a new map of India is emerging under the stress of the great Gandhian Revolution of our generation All hope and try to evolve such regions as are linguistically at least one unit Therefore, it is more proper to say that not *regional* but *linguistic* universities are being planned for They have to decide their medium of instruction as the politicians have to decide the formation of linguistic provinces Nobody can refuse to admit that linguistic provinces and regional universities are vitally inter-linked and they may be mutually helpful each in its own way But should they be co-extensive ? Should a province be only on a linguistic basis? What about multi-lingual provinces then ? The question is, no doubt, fraught with great complexity and many vital dangers But that is more political and administrative It must not confuse us on the educational side We must boldly restore to our great regional languages the status which is naturally theirs

The second viz the national language school says that at the university stage the medium may better be the *Lingua Indica* Hindustani. It will ensure national unity facilitate better supply of able professoriate a broader field for its choice and easy migration to students from one province to another They fear that though the natural and scientifically true medium is the mother-tongue, like the separate communal electorate, it might breed linguistic disruption

Is this fear well founded ? Again are they all agreed on the question of the National Language ? Is not that question itself a matter of communal and cultural disruption among them ? Also is it at all a practical proposition to adopt Hindustani immediately as the medium for the universities, at least outside the Hindustani areas ? Comparatively speaking, are not the provincial languages better equipped today than Hindustani ? These are some of the questions that face the second school and its stand And it cannot answer them without compromising itself and its position But I must leave out this point here

The crux of the problem is really deeper than the plane from which it is discussed The real difficulty is that we are taken unawares in this field too, as in so many others of our national life We are not prepared to execute this reform of the mother-tongue medium, much more so for Hindustani. Therefore, the supporter of Hindustani simply harps on the fear of disruption without making any preparation for executing his idea, and the supporter of the mother-tongue also piously proclaims his belief, but as it were, helplessly succumbs to the existing—viz. English and it seems without remorse He also does not work for executing his idea. The result is that English persists and nobody seems to be sorry for it

How then can we proceed with our linguistic universities? What should we do to arrange the transition from English to the provincial languages? What should be the line of work during this interim period of transition from English to the mother-tongue? The Father of the Nation, the seer that he was, foresaw this all and gave us the surest way out of the difficulty He said

> "There seems to be mania for establishing new universities. I do believe that there should be such universities if these rich provincial languages and the people who speak them are to attain their full height.
>
> 'At the same time I fear that we betray ourselves into undue haste in accomplishing the object The first step should be linguistic political redistribution of provinces. The separate administration will naturally lead to the establishment of universities where there are none.
>
> 'There should be a proper background for new universities They should have feeders in the shape of schools and colleges which will impart instruction through the medium of their respective provincial languages. Then only can there be a proper edifice. University is at the top. A majestic top can only be sustained if there is a sound foundation"
>
> —*Harijan*, 2-11-'47

And as he says further on let us not run for "a pile of majestic buildings and treasures of gold and silver,' which is not what makes a university but sit down to do what is first first. We have to devise a new pattern of a university for free India One of the chief things to do for it is at least to work out the change-over from English to the mother-tongue It requires planned approach and solid work This is not going to rain upon us from heavens The existing universities should begin to work for it We must be frank to ourselves that any quick and revolutionary change from the existing is not possible For that 'it should have a large reservoir of teachers to draw upon" which we do not possess Without that the new universities, in spite of our best intentions in the world, are bound to be mere poor replica of the existing on a smaller regional basis How are we to get necessary teachers necessary text-books in the regional languages? It is no use going on debating over the medium question That stage is past The existing universities must begin to change the medium of their instruction and examination from whichever point they can And the new universities, if at all they come into being, cannot do so and have no justification for it unless they promise to work through the mother-tongue and not English Let it be remembered that the existing universities are what they are because of the one thing the introduction of English as the medium of instruction by the English in 1858 The change sought to be made by Free India is to be visualized in that background It means freeing the soul of our people from the baneful dead weight of a medium foreign in almost all senses of the word

Ahmedabad 4-5-'48 MAGANBHAI DESAI

SANSKRIT THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

The subject of a national language of India has for many years been the subject of intense public debate and will soon come up for final decision before the Constituent Assembly In view of its vital importance to the welfare of the Indian people widest discussion is to be welcomed In December last addressing the session of the Inter-University Board I suggested that Sanskrit might be suitable for use as our national language That suggestion had a mixed reception and by those not favourably disposed, it was said that it was a dead language and it would be difficult to learn I note, however, that Shri Vinoba Bhave speaking last month before the New Delhi Ladies Club (vide *Harijan* dated the 16th May 1948), recognized that in the olden days Sanskrit had been the medium of inter-provincial intercourse in India, and he very rightly referred to the great example of Shankaracharya in this connection Shri Vinoba, however expressed the opinion that "the work amongst the masses could not be done through Sanskrit, so the only language which should become the national language was Hindustani'. In the same number of the *Harijan* is published the appeal addressed by the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha to the Constituent Assembly with comments thereupon by the editor It seems to me that in this discussion insufficient attention is paid to one particular aspect of the matter which is of crucial importance, and that is the role which we want to assign to our national language. If it is merely intended that the national language should be that language which should be used by the Central Government in its Secretariat and in its official correspondence with the units of the Federation and also if possible, in the Central Legislature and the Central Supreme Court of Justice, then of course the problem is very much simplified. Any particular language may be chosen for this purpose Any person desirous of entering the service of or having any business relations with the Central Government would make himself familiar with that language, and I presume that in all units of the Federation arrangements would be made to carry on correspondence with the Central

Government in that particular language I say so because it is noticeable that throughout all this public discussion opinion seems to be unanimous that the Provincial or regional languages should be encouraged to the utmost, and should form not only the medium of instruction in the schools and colleges but should also be the official language in the Provincial Legislatures Law Courts, and Administrative Departments With this development of regional languages, the growth and development side by side of a national language which should be commonly understood and spoken throughout the length and breadth of India would be a very difficult proposition Every language not only requires preliminary acquisition but also habitual usage for its mastery My experience in Orissa convinces me that unless and until the national language is either effectively imposed upon the people in every unit of the Federation, just as English was imposed throughout the country in every province by the British rulers or as a language which makes a wide popular appeal to the Indian mass mind, it is difficult to achieve the end Even if you teach the national language in schools people will soon forget it for want of usage. The currency of English language even in a very limited circle in India has been induced by its continuous usage in official circles and domestic life in every province and it is continuously propagated through a strong English press and platform Do we or do we not desire our new national language to replace the English language with its usage widened a thousandfold? If we do, then the national language should be used not merely for purposes of the Central Government but should also be used effectively in the daily life of the people Otherwise, the wide spreading of the national language will remain a mere pious hope It is true that Hindustani is spoken widely in Northern India It is my mother-tongue all my predilections are in its favour But in non-Hindustani-speaking areas, I apprehend, it does not make a popular appeal. In such areas we do not find a single newspaper published in Hindustani, nor is it used on the public platform nor do people use it for domestic intercourse, just as English is even now used daily among the English-knowing people throughout India Even radio broadcasts from different centres are in the local regional language! It was from this point of view that I thought that Sanskrit has a great advantage because among the vast masses of the people it is considered the traditional language of culture and it has in our past history occupied the position of a national language. It excites universal reverence Leaving aside Tamil, almost all the provincial languages are either founded upon it or have drawn vastly upon its treasure-house of words and phrases If you limit the national language merely for purposes of inter-provincial intercourse, Sanskrit should serve that purpose admirably And then I go further and say that one who knows Sanskrit will find it very easy indeed to acquaint himself with most of the provincial languages without much difficulty It may sound a paradox, but it is nevertheless true that knowledge of Sanskrit opens the doors wide to the knowledge of almost every provincial language in India I am myself imperfectly acquainted with it, but I am assured by competent scholars that it would be easy to devise methods by which it can be learnt without great difficulty

Puri, 22-5-'48 KAILAS NATH KATJU

[NOTE Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, our Governor till now for Orissa, and hereafter for West Bengal, ponders carefully before he presents a case When he pleads for a cause, it cannot be lightly dismissed And, apart from the fact that Sanskrit is too weighty a language to be so dismissed, it should be a surprise if any one who is acquainted with Sanskrit, goes to Orissa and hears the Oriyan language, does not feel Sanskrit catching him, at least for the time being It is a peculiar feature of the Oriyan language that some of the verbal and other forms of that language are exactly the same as in classical Sanskrit The Oriyan alphabet is also fuller than that of Hindustani and other North Indian languages. It is the same as that of Maharashtra Gujarat Andhra etc One feels nearer Sanskrit in Orissa than in any other province I was not therefore quite surprised when shortly after taking up office in Orissa Dr Katju became enthused with Sanskrit. But I am afraid neither enthusiasm nor religious veneration nor love for the beautiful Sanskrit literature and its sweet accents should be allowed to blur our thinking regarding the necessities of our times in respect of the national language

Circumstances permitting I shall examine the question of Sanskrit more fully in a future article It will be sufficient here to state that all the controversies, excepting that of the Urdu script which centre round Hindustani-Hindi-Urdu will appear in their full force with Sanskrit also It does not solve the intricate problems of style and the coining of technical terms

15-6-'48 —K. G. M.]

No Suspicion

To

The Editor *Harijan*

In your article *Language and Script Controversy* (June 20th) in referring to my apprehension resulting from relegating a subordinate position to the Urdu script, you have said that I suspect that the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha might have intended such result This is unfair both to me as also to the Sabha I attribute no motive to the Sabha My only contention was that it did not foresee the result

With reference to the Roman script, I would not include myself among those whom you charge with having made the subject a matter of debate sentiment I consider the matter objectively as standing an chance of acceptance unless forced upon the people arbitrarily by Government. And the popular objection would be as much on grounds of reasonable sentiment as on the imperfection of the Roman script

Maganbhai Desai

(I accept I need not have attributed suspicion to Shri Maganbhai I regret the mistake —K. G. M.)

PENANCE FOR FAILURES OF COMRADES

[A section from *History of Satyagrahashram* by *M K Gandhi*]

25-4-32.

After considering the pros and cons of this subject I have come to the conclusion that under certain circumstances it is necessary to perform penance in the form of fasts etc I believe that on the whole the Ashram has been benefited by such penances But it must also be remembered that one must possess the qualification for undertaking a penitential fast or other observance. Any one may not go on a penitential fast at will Whether such qualification is possessed can be decided only on the examination of the particular circumstances and the character of the person. Generally the following conditions seem to be essential for qualifying a person to undertake a fast

31 5- 32

(1) One who performs penance for a failing of another must have love for that person If he has such love but the guilty person cannot appreciate it or has adopted an inimical attitude towards him, there cannot be penance for his sake As he regards himself as an enemy of the penance-doer he would hate the latter There is therefore a possibility of the fast having an effect quite contrary to that expected, or of taking the form of a kind of brute force upon him and regarded by him as a form of coercion Moreover if every one is supposed to be entitled to undertake penance for the failings of another without bearing any personal relation and attachment for him, there would be no end to the programme of penance. May he such penance for the sins of the whole world might befit a Mahatma, but here we are concerned with the ordinary man.

(2) The wrong must also be related to the penance-doer What is meant is that one should not do penance for a failing with which he is not in any way concerned Thus, suppose A and B are friends B is a member of the Ashram. A is altogether unconnected with the Ashram B is guilty of a failure towards the Ashram Under these circumstances, A has neither the obligation nor the right to undertake penance for B's fault. His interference might even complicate the situation both for the Ashram and B He may not even possess the necessary material to decide B's guilt. By accepting B s entry into the Ashram, A must be regarded as having passed to the Ashram his responsibility whatever it might be, for the proper conduct of B as well as for any penance for his failures

(3) The performer of a penance for another's fault must be himself free from such fault. The saying The pot may not call the kettle black," is applicable here

(4) The performer of the penance must otherwise also be a man of purity and have a reputation for it in the mind of the faulty Penance for another presupposes purity and if the guilty man has no respect for the performer of penance the fast might easily have an unhealthy effect upon him

3-6- 32

(5) The penance-doer must not be personally interested in the offence Thus if A has promised to pay B ten rupees non-payment of it is a fault Nevertheless B may not perform penance for such failure of A

(6) The penance-doer must not have any anger in him. If a father commences a fast with anger for a fault of his son, it is not penance There should be nothing but compassion in a penance the object being the purification of oneself as well as of the guilty person

(7) The wrong act must be parent accepted as such by all and spiritually harmful and the doer must be aware of it. There should be no penance on inferential guilt To do so might at times result in dangerous consequences There should be no room for doubt in regard to the fault Moreover one should not do penance for an act which one regards wrong as his personal faith or opinion It is possible that what one holds to be wrong today he might regard as innocent tomorrow So the wrong must be such as is accepted by the society to be so I might regard the non-wearing of *khadi* to be extremely wrong But my companion might see nothing wrong in it, or might not magnify it as a virtue and so might wear it indifferently or not wear it at all If I regard this as a failure and fast for it, it is not penance but coercion There can also be no penance where the accused person is not conscious of having committed a wrong .

The discussion of this topic is necessary for an institution in which there is no place for punishment or which strives to perform every activity with a religious attitude In such institutions the penance of the heads of the Ashram takes the place of penal measures It would be impossible to keep the institution chaste otherwise Punishment and disciplinary action might make an outer show of orderliness and progress, but it cannot take it towards internal purity Penance would preserve it both internally and externally and make the institution firmer day by day Hence the necessity for some such rules as those given above

(*Translated from Gujarati*)

CONTENTS		PAGE
NOT SERIOUSLY MEANT ?	K. G MASHRUWALA	153
DIFFICULT TO PLEASE ALL	K G MASHRUWALA	154
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—III	D D	155
CONGRESS IN OFFICE AND OUTSIDE	K. G MASHRUWALA	156
MOTHER TONGUES V NATIONAL LANGUAGE	MAGANBHAI DESAI	157
SANSKRIT THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA	KAILAS NATH KATJU	158
PENANCE FOR FAILURES OF COMRADES	M. K. GANDHI	160
NOTES		
INTER COMMUNAL MARRIAGES	K. G M.	155
SANSKRIT JOURNALS	K. G M	157
NO SUSPICION		159

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs. 5 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 5 at 14 sh or $. 3.

Rhetorics

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No. 19 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY JULY 11, 1948 TWO ANNAS

UNCLEAN MEANS

I referred last week to a circular addressed by the Bihar Government to several mining concerns in a narrow provincial spirit. My attention has been drawn since to another which is perhaps even more serious and suspicious than the first one. For it appears to have sinister politics behind it.

It is known that regarding one or two districts of Bihar there is a section which desires their amalgamation with Bengal. Another, led by the Bihar Government itself wants them to remain in Bihar.

I do not wish to enter into the merits of the controversy. I am concerned with the method adopted by the Bihar Government for strangulating the movement of its opponents. Plebiscite is the latest fashion in politics. Politicians now instinctively scent it from a long distance, and lay their plans beforehand to ensure that the result of the plebiscite should go on one particular side. Necessarily, the party in power has better opportunities and means to organize a vote in its favour. The Bihar Government appears to take the fullest advantage of its position in this respect. It has planned out a programme apparently for propagating Hindi in the Manbhum district but really for ensuring that in the event of a referendum the district does not secede from Bihar. I have received from the Secretary of the District Congress Committee of the Manbhum a copy of this programme. I give below some of the clauses of the instructions issued (italics mine).

"1. The D. I. (Director of Instruction) of schools should be requested to enforce the new syllabus in all U. P. (Upper Primary) and M. E. (Middle English) schools, under which teaching of Hindi is compulsory. *If the Board opposes the move the matter should immediately be reported the Government.* (sic)

"2. The D. I. of schools should be requested to open training centres to train the teachers of all L. P. (Lower Primary), U. P. and M. E. schools in Hindi and he should try to open as many such centres as possible in each *thana. The work of training be entrusted to Beharis only and not to Bengalis or persons who are opposing the actual work as from experience it has been found that at several centres Bengali teachers were given the charge of training of the teachers in Hindi and the result has become far from pleasing.*

"3. *The activities of the Mass Literacy campaign should be confined to Hindi only.* and the campaign be vigorously launched in all earnest. This work should be done in collaboration with the under mentioned schemes and the D. I. will please approve of the suggestions made by the persons named below, here in after known as organisers.

* *

"14. *Steps should be taken to supersede the District Board and Municipality as they become the easiest vehicle for the propaganda work of the agitators of the amalgamation movement.*

15. As the organizers will have to make extensive tours throughout the length and breadth of the Sadar Sub-division, some motor vehicles must be kept at their disposal and arrangements for the supply of petrol etc. be also made. Some separate fund for this purpose therefore is absolutely essential.

16. For the month of May and June intensive work is to be carried on in almost all the *thanas, especially the bordering areas.* So early steps are to be taken to make this plan effective.

17. *To receive applications for agricultural loans Land Improvement Loans and Irrigational Loans and free minor irrigation schemes and complaints and to forward them with recommendation to proper authorities.*

The Secretary of the District Congress Committee in an enclosing letter indignantly protests against the above circular. The italicized portions show the ulterior motive lying behind the so-called literacy campaign. The District Congress Committee of Manbhum has passed a long resolution protesting against the above circular. It is worded in a language which, except for its great length one must admire for its approach to the problem in the spirit of satyagraha. The Committee's plea deserves to be carefully considered by those to whom it is addressed.

As the Committee says, from the broad national outlook it is immaterial whether the district in question remains with the Bihar Government or goes to Bengal. What is important is that whatever decision is taken should be taken in the interest of the country and the people, and that the province administering it must provide

the fullest opportunity to all its residents for the achievement of their legitimate aspirations. No unscrupulous or high-handed methods should be employed. The means must be clean and above suspicion.

I must say that the Bihar method reveals a high-handed approach to the question. It is commendable that Bihar has adopted a single language — Hindi — for its province, even though it is not, so far as I am aware, the mother-tongue in any part of Bihar. It has thereby saved itself from a quarrel over languages, of which there was every possibility if every local region of that great province had put forth the claim of its particular dialect. But the question of Bengali stands on a different footing from that of the various dialects of Bihar. These dialects have not developed into or claimed to be literary languages, as Bengali is. The latter language is spoken and written by millions in the neighbouring province which is greater than Bihar itself. It is a rich language to which Hindi itself owes much for its own present status. There should, therefore, be no desire to suppress the Bengali language to the extent it has come to stay in particular areas of Bihar in the natural or historical course of events.

Even if there were all linguistic provinces every province is bound to have some border areas which will be multi-linguistic with almost an equal mixture of people of two languages. Thus in Belgaum there is a mixture of Kannada and Marathi, in Rayalaseema of Kanneda and Telugu, in Berhampur of Oriya and Telugu, in Dang and in some areas of Thana, Surat, Navsari and Khandesh of Gujarati and Marathi. These regions have to be in one or the other province. They cannot be in both. They cannot even be partitioned. The only just solution is that the province possessing it should consider its duty to see that both the languages in that region are equally respected, that in that area it guards it as jealously as the other province itself would do, if that area were transferred to it. If necessary, it might allow even an ultra territorial jurisdiction in the educational sphere. Perhaps that might be the only way to solve the difficulty. But it does not matter what the solution is, provided the people willingly acquiesce in the solution. An attempt to suppress the language, or drive away the people speaking it, or treating them as anything less than full citizens must necessarily breed hatred and ultimately lead to a sort of civil or border warfare.

I hope that the Commission set up by the Constituent Assembly to go into the question of linguistic provinces will make suggestions which will create such sense of safety in the people living in the border districts of any two linguistic provinces, as will make them equally disposed to remain in the jurisdiction of any. Then only can it be said that all India is one.

Wardha, 28-6-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

MYSORE NOTES — II

4. A MATERNITY HOME IN FAMINE TIME

Here is an instance of a Kasturba Maternity Home doing very good work for the relief of expectant mothers and women in confinement at a time of distress in a famine area. It is all done by *sevikas* of the Kasturba Trust. The District of Chitaldrug in the north of the Mysore State was in the grip of famine in 1946. The *sevikas* were then under training under Shrimati Yashodhara Dasappa. One of them was Shrimati Siddamma, an experienced public worker in the constructive field. She met Gandhiji at Madras in January, 1946, when he was touring for the Hindi Prachar Silver Jubilee Celebrations. I quote below from Shrimati Siddamma's own report of work.

'Gandhiji said... In view of famine conditions prevailing in Chitaldrug District I want you to take up the cause of women and children and help them as best as you can, in that area.

'Bapu a word was law to me and I approached the Famine Relief Committee for help. The members of the Committee extended to me all help and co-operation with the result that the *Matru Mandir* (Maternity Home) was started on 3-6-46 in Chitaldrug town. Shri L. S. Venkaji Rao, Chairman of the Famine Relief Committee, took upon himself the responsibility of feeding the inmates (pregnant women) so long as the famine lasted. He did so for a period of seven months.

"Later the Institution was named *Kasturba Smarak Matru Mandir*. The Mandir was shifted to the village of Gannesyaskaballi on 14-4-'48, keeping in view the Mahatma's express desire that such work should be done in rural parts only.

"The population of the village is 700. There are one or two well-to-do families; the rest are very poor. The Reddy community predominates. They are all agriculturists. Vakkaligas, Harijans, goldsmiths and others also reside in the village. The village is 22 miles from Hiriyur, the only place where any medical help is available. This is a malarial place. Almost everyone suffers from malaria and develops spleen. People suffer from skin diseases also.

'Deeply moved by the miserable conditions of the villagers and earnestly desiring to improve their lot, Shrimati G. T. Gangamma has donated a sum of Rs. 6,000 to the institution for a building. She has also lent her own house temporarily for the use of the Mandir.

The following table gives the necessary figures:

	From 3-6-46 to 31-7-47	From 1-8-47 to 14-4-48	Since 22-4-48
No. of women admitted	86	97	10
Successful deliveries	74	83	6
Still born	2	2	—
No. of women who left without permission	10	12	—

Pregnant women are admitted a month before and are sent home a month after delivery. The idea underlying is to bring them under healthy influence

[illegible] I teach them is man[illegible] is possible. By it a two months re[illegible] for they [illegible] the much needed rest [illegible] would otherwise never get at home

5 A PROSPERING VILLAGE

Mayapadi is a beautiful and flourishing little village near Kasargode in South Kanara. The population is 940, almost all cultivators There is plenty of rain enabling them to take four crops in a year The people speak Malayalam but Shrimati Sunanda Kamat, the Kasturba worker who is organizing the centre speaks Kannad and conducts a Balwadi Hindi and Kannad classes The attendance in each is respectively 12 and 36 including 16 women. She also conducts regular evening prayers attended by about 20 persons A beginning has been made in spinning also The progress is slow The attendance in the dispensary department is fair 77 people having taken advantage of it

The houses are fairly clean and tidy, though the people are highly caste-ridden and superstitious There is a regular primary school in the village

May, 1948 A. V THAKKAR

"PUTTING THE CLOCK BACK"

(1)

[The following A P I message on the use of chemical fertilizers appeared in the Press on June 8th

"A warning against modern methods of agriculture was given to the people of India by Prof. Einstein in an interview with Dr Amarnath Jha the Vice-chancellor of the Benares Hindu University who returned from Quebec recently after attending the International Rotary Assembly there. Prof Einstein said that though with the use of huge tractors machinery and chemical fertilizers the people could force up production for a time, the eventual result was likely to be complete loss of the fertility of the soil causing incalculable and irreparable injury to the country." — Ed]

Great many experts before Prof Einstein have advised Western farmers against the use of these instruments of a short-sighted policy Our country is always about a century behind What has been discarded by Western scientists our experts cling to as the last word in progress! It would not matter much if our scientists were left to hold their antiquated views in their laboratories, but the tragedy of it is that our vested interests have used them for propaganda purposes and have induced our Government to squander crores of public money on importing tractors and establishing fertilizer factories.

As it is the pressure on land is such that it is not able to provide adequate food for the people. What we need is a programme of rational use of land combined with provision of ample fuel resources to release farm yard manure for the fields Instead, we are faced with converting what is today a reasonably fertile soil into desert land by our greed for quick returns No doubt the use of fertilizers will stimulate the soil into yielding more for a time but soon like the energy of the drunkard it will disappear, making the second state worse than the first. Shall we be guilty of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs?

If it was merely Prof Einstein's personal view, it may be dismissed lightly This opinion is the result of extensive use of fertilizers and tractors under very favourable conditions both in the U S A and Australia

We may remind our readers that not long ago Mr Collin Grant Clark the Australian economist, invited to advise our Government, said that he would develop India on the basis of cottage industries regarding the factory as a necessary evil Surely, these men cannot be accused of being fanatical Gandhi-ites trying to put the clock back! Shall we heed to the call of wisdom based on experience or go our own way to destruction?

The impact of the West disintegrated our industrial set up Is it left to a national Government to convert our fields into deserts? May God forbid

(2)

Another student of science, Sri N M Dave, sends the following in further support of Prof Einstein's advice

'Sir Herbert Gepp before a meeting of the Chicago Section of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in November 1947 cites China as an extraordinary country in which the people have learned how to support a tremendous population on a closed cycle of soil productivity In China where the land has produced the food and the people have eaten it the residue is carefully returned to the soil, where with the aid of rainfall and atmospheric nitrogen and oxygen food is again grown and so *ad infinitum*.

"The so-called civilized peoples have no real conception of a closed system Instead of returning residues of food to the land they waste them by disposal into the ocean or discharge the elements into the atmosphere by burning Even the mineral residues are wasted into the rivers or the sea.

"Sir Herbert added

'One of the most productive small areas of which I know is a few thousand acres of land situated some 30 miles from the city of Melbourne in Australia — a city with a population of a million people — upon which the whole sewerage of this city is used I have actually seen crops of grass hay weighing 3 tons of dry hay to the acre being taken off this irrigated land. And one of the interesting points in this connection is that the chemists say high productivity is due to a material extent to the supply from the sewerage of the city of *the necessary small quantities of various rare elements which are not supplied either from ordinary soil or from the fertilizers which are added to the soil*

"The above remarks were part of a review of observations made during a five months visit by Sir H. Gepp to Europe. Food . . problems in Europe are reported to have been aggravated by the worst drought stretching from Italy to Scandinavia in over 100 years.

J C KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

July 11 1948

RHETORICS

Last week I promised to give further reasons which contribute to the deterioration of the Congress. One of them is the habit of making statements and promises without any serious faith in them or any intention of working for them This is an old fault and has been common to almost all, from some of the top-rank leaders to the local lights

Let me point out a few With Gandhiji, working of the constructive programme was even more important than the political programme which, in those times consisted mainly in running elections for legislative bodies local boards and municipalities, and later on for getting positions on Congress Committees Both these programmes became dormant whenever a resistance movement was started, and Congressmen whether of the political side or of the constructive side all thronged into the jails Inevitably lull came over it after some time and those who were released in due course but before the release of the all India leaders found themselves in a peculiar position. They did not know how to justify their existence during the period when the movement was neither withdrawn nor carried on Generally, this was the time when all were unanimous in extolling the constructive programme of Gandhiji

Unfortunately for Congressmen the people often took them seriously Constructive workers and their associations entertained the hope that when the Congress came to power the Gandhian constructive programme would find the place of honour in the economic reorganization of the country Therefore when the Congress Ministries were about to be formed they built upon going ahead with the constructive programme

But no sooner did the Congress begin to function again as a party organization the constructive programme was forgotten and elections and appointments became the only activity Those who had been preaching the Gandhian programme a few days before were now found expressing doubts about its practicability Whether the programme was social or economic the average Congress worker considered that he had no particular connection with the programme It was the sphere of the constructive workers Some of them were frank enough to say that they did not understand the constructive programme Some of them said that it was the programme for those who had not the capacity to work in the political field, or rather, were too good (which meant 'dull') for that field When the political programme was in the full front even the doctrine of non violence became a doubtful proposition

Disillusionment did not take long to come even in the 1937 regime But optimism is never in want of finding an explanation for disappointment. They thought that the lukewarm implementation of the constructive programme in 1937 was due to insufficient attainment of power When full Swaraj was attained the policy would change So when the Congress was installed at Delhi, there was again a revival of hopes But it did not take long to be disillusioned again

If the Congress had not declared any economic policies of its own, had not issued any manifestoes or appointed committees to draw up programmes, or in doing so had made it quite clear that the Congress plan of economic and social reorganization must not be confused with the Gandhian Programme, and had not created the constructive associations under its auspices, or even after taking power had expressly said that somehow or other they found themselves unable to put into force the programme which the Congress had declared from public platforms and that having regard to the realities of the situation they must make large modifications in its implementation or even if they had said that it was doubtful whether the people, including the villagers themselves were anxious for the village industries and other policies of the Gandhian programme, and that since there was no demand from the people for the constructive programme of the Gandhian type, they would not impose it upon the people ,the people would not have expected what they do at present and felt disappointment or anger for not getting it. But they did not say even that They did not and do not deny their faith in the constructive programme of de-centralization and the village industries and the *charkha* But there is very little doing With the declaration of faith unwithdrawn what people see being done is the launching of big schemes and sanctioning of big factories straightaway — even for vegetable *ghee* and textile mills, — while there is yet vagueness about regeneration of village agriculture and industries

So too in the policy of the Governments in regard to basic education, medium of education, the national language and the University teaching the ordinary man is entirely forgotten. As the industrialist and the big industrial and city labour have predominated the economic policy so the English-knowing professor and High School teacher and the pedantic man of letters and communally or provincially minded politician practically dictate the educational and language policy They do not wish to change their old habits of thinking through and speaking English (if not pro-English) or to imitate Sanskrit or Persian masters of a bygone age So they declare that nothing can be done in the realm of education without English, or in the realm of provincial languages without classical Sanskrit Arabic or Persian

The attitude towards Hindustani, or whatever name you want to give to the all-India language is as if it was not to be developed more than what

was necessary for just dealing with or entertaining railway porters, shop-keepers and peasants. It was not expected to be the language in which laws could be written judgements could be delivered, carefully worded pronouncements could be made science could be expressed and best prose and poetry could be created Few are proud of Hindustani as such

The purpose of mentioning all this is that the actual practice differs widely from that laid down in various Congress resolutions year after year This conduct amounts almost to hypocrisy But I have not called it hypocrisy, because I feel that most people were not conscious of making statements which at the time of making them they knew to be unreal I would say that they were taken and repeated light-heartedly as pieces of rhetoric in a manner more resembling the reproduction of the speech of Brutus and Antonio from Shakespeare in college days at social gatherings, than genuine utterances of their own. The habit has persisted and even hardened ever since Add to this caste, communal and provincial wrangles in which holders of responsible positions are also involved The result is that several constructive workers have been losing faith in the Congress as such They cling to the Congress out of a personal sense of respect and loyalty to some of the top-most leaders of the High Command, whom they revere more for their strong and sterling character, statesmanship and age than for their faith in the Congress programme. The same respect prevents them from expressing their disappointment and indignation in too frank a manner But whether they frankly express it or not the fact remains that the faith in the Congress has weakened and has created a sense in the minds of the people that after all Congressmen too are no better than politicians generally are all over the world — more interested in securing their seats in elections than in serving the people

In this connection I am reminded of an incident which took place nearly thirtytwo years ago I happened to travel by the same train in which Lokamanya Tilak was travelling I was in a compartment with an Irish passenger Although it was almost midnight people thronged on the platforms of every important station to greet the Lokamanya The Irish soldier enquired of me the reason for the crowds and the noise I told him who Lokamanya Tilak was and what his place was in Indian leadership "All bosh!" he said. "I know all these politicians. There are so many in my country Not one of them should be believed in and taken seriously" I protested that it could not be the case with Indian leaders 'Oh! you will know it when you are grown up enough,' he said 'unless you too become a politician!"

We shall next consider how we can prevent the rot

Wardha, 28-6-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

HARIJAN CAUSE IN BHOPAL

The other day (3rd June) I was invited to preside over the Bhopal State Harijan Conference inaugurated by H H the Nawab of Bhopal It was not without some hesitation that I accepted the invitation Presiding over functions is not in the line of us who belong to what Gandhiji used to call the 'Grand Order of Coolies', or willing *hamals* of the least in the land I would have felt more at home if the leading citizens and the State functionaries of Bhopal had invited me to join them with broom and bucket in hand in a campaign for the cleaning up of all the *bustees* of Bhopal

After Gandhiji's death I often feel forlorn and disconsolate and miss that dear familiar face. But I catch glimpses of Gandhiji whenever I am in the midst of the Harijans in a Harijan *bustee* and that consoles me somewhat Gandhiji's death has orphaned the nation but the nation need not feel orphaned so long as the causes for which Gandhiji lived and died are not orphaned by his physical absence.

Nay I shall make bold to say that of all the great causes that Gandhiji had served, of all the dazzling victories that he had achieved, none was so great perhaps as the demolition of the ages-old citadel of untouchability I recall how Gandhiji's far-seeing eye had enabled him (Gandhiji) to predict as early as 1921 when I first met him that a time would come when the Harijan question would become the main stumbling block in the realization of India's dream of independence People did not believe him then They thought that if the Congress identified itself with the removal of untouchability it would disrupt their united political front and cause a set-back in the struggle for independence Ten years later, at the Second Round Table Conference Gandhiji's prediction was amply fulfilled and he had to launch upon a fast unto death in the Yeravda Central Prison to prevent the perpetuation of the bar sinister as a result of what is known the British Premier's Award It ended in the signing of the Yeravda Pact and the Premier's Award was set aside Before ending his fast Gandhiji laid an obligation on the *savarna* (caste) Hindus as an indispensable condition to remove all social and legal disabilities attached to the Harijans as such so that the very distinction between caste and outcaste in Hindu society should be obliterated To implement the pledge Gandhiji founded the Harijan Sevak Sangh

The first part of the pledge has been fulfilled. All legal disabilities on the Harijans have been removed Under the new constitution, the Harijans have been ensured equal fundamental rights with the rest But that is not the end of the work The question is Has Hinduism completely purged itself of the evil? Have we made full expiation for the wrong done to the Harijans by ourselves and by our ancestors down through the ages? Gandhiji had suggested that the first condition for that was that we should all become Harijans i e *bhangis* by choice, as he became one himself He

encouraged inter-marriages between the *savarnas* and the so-called untouchables, since abolition of untouchability must mean complete absorption of the Harijans in Hindu society

As I had not had the opportunity to see for myself the actual living conditions of the Harijans in Bhopal yet, nor had a full talk with the workers in the Harijan cause, I must reserve any detailed suggestions as regards the future line of work in Bhopal till a later stage But for the present I wish to indicate a few broad principles which should guide their work The first is the realization of the essentially expiatory character of the reform If the Hindu citizens of Bhopal realized that basic fact it would solve many of their conundrums. The State and members of other communities could help but the actual reform must be carried out only by the Hindu society itself Penance could not be done by proxy

The second is that it would be a fatal mistake to mix up the question of the Harijan uplift with party politics It is too grave and vital an issue to be treated like that To make the Harijan community a pawn in the game of power politics is a sin against man and God. All parties including the State should agree to leave the Harijans free to ameliorate their condition on non-party lines

Thirdly, no vested interests should be encouraged to grow on the foundation of untouchability. Leadership is not a prize to be manoeuvred for It is a burden which in natural course is entrusted to those who are the fittest to carry it. Similarly formation of mushroom parties for the capture of power for oneself is the mark of short-sighted self-seeking.

Lastly, I should ask the Harijans to remember that all efforts to liquidate untouchability must fail unless the Harijans themselves co-operate in it. Gandhiji has repeatedly told us that rights flow automatically from duty well-performed If they wanted to secure in Hindu society the place which was their due they must banish drinking, gambling, eating of carrion unclean habits, use of foul language and other degrading practices They must correct their attitude towards their womenfolk.

As to Bhopal I do hope that it will be possible with State help to improve the sanitary condition in Harijan bustees in Bhopal and provide the Harijans suitable tenements and other amenities of life There should be special provision for them for extra clothing soap and bathing facilities The State should enforce prohibition in respect of them as I understand has been done in regard to the Muslims I wish that scavenging should be as clean and respectable an occupation as any other There is no reason why a scavenger should not be as clean, educated and culturally advanced as a person engaged in any other occupation But this requires that the reformers should themselves seriously take to scavenging as a voluntary occupation as Gandhiji had done. Then alone would they be able to devise and introduce improved implements and techniques that would make this most vital of all occupations a clean and attractive occupation I would go even further and suggest the introduction of the science and art of scavenging and sanitation as an essential item in the curricula of our educational institutions As a further corollary to it I suggest that if the Harijans were expected to stick to their traditional occupation and not to give them up as soon as they were sufficiently enlightened and advanced, certain vocations and avenues to service should be specially earmarked for them, as for instance public health and sanitary services tanning, leather manufacture and the utilization of the by-products of dead cattle disposal. A fixed number of promising Harijans should be specially trained for the same every year by the State

We are at the threshold of a new era. We all look forward to the day when in the near future the dream of complete transfer of power into popular hands would be realized in the State of Bhopal But unless the Hindus of Bhopal purge themselves of the taint of untouchability in its entirety, their newly-won freedom would slip through their fingers and they would not be able to realize its contents P

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—IV

(7)

12 5-48

WOMAN'S ROLE

Shri Vinoba was taken to *Nari Shala* (Women's Class) conducted by some refugee daughters of Sind. Sewing was one of the principal occupations taught. Before the exodus much of this work was done at Ajmer by Muslims. After their emigration to Pakistan there was a shortage of hands in this work and it was felt, Sindhi women were well fitted to take their place. Shri Vinoba exhorted the audience to encourage these workers He said that it was usual for people to feel liberal while making donations and miserly while making purchases. The proper and true economy consisted in having a liberal frame of mind at the time of making purchases The purchaser should feel a desire to pay such fair price as would give an adequate wage to the worker. If the purchaser realized his duty to purchase at not less than the fair price there would be less need for charities. A good charity consisted in not allowing others to know about it. Liberal payment of wages was a type of such charity because therein neither the payer nor the receiver was conscious of having done an act of charity, and still it conferred all the benefits of charity

Shri Vinoba also expressed his delight at hearing the congregational and chorus singing of devotional songs by the daughters of Sind. He said that he had often heard women singing good devotional songs in Maharashtra. But in Maharashtra congregational singing was done only by men. This was a new and welcome feature brought by Sindhi women and he would request the ladies to teach the women of other provinces to do the same Congregational devotional singing was an inspiring force and if ladies made good use of it they would be able to render valuable service to the people.

If it became popular among local women it would help the solution of the refugee problem a good deal. Where two factions of the people were about to quarrel, if somebody started congregational singing among one of them it might stop a possible riot. It would be an effective way of stopping disturbances.

Gandhiji had often said that women were more fitted than men to display the strength of non violence. Shri Vinoba said that Gandhiji had good reasons for saying so for they had witnessed with their own eyes how women, who had never left their houses for centuries came out in thousands in the days of non-co-operation and took an equal part with their male comrades They bravely bore *lathi* charges of the police. Hundreds of them went to jails. They picketed toddy and liquor shops. There was an apprehension that women might not be able to stand in picketing these shops but they put the drinkers to shame and obtained success Gandhiji could get women to do all this because his technique of fighting for independence was non violent and it gave full opportunity for the growth and display of feminine strength If he had adopted the technique of violence, women could have played no part in the struggle. On the contrary, it would have become necessary to take precautions for their safety. But Gandhiji showed a way in which women could stand side by side with men. Women must not forget this lesson and should come forth in rendering service to the people along with men.

The men of the world, with all their vaunted intelligence and learning, have made such a mess that within the space of 25 years they plunged humanity into two great world wars and are now preparing for a third This only means that men's intellect had run bankrupt Non violence alone could save the world and that mission was suited to the temperament of women. It was therefore necessary that women should take part in public activities and give them a proper turn. The service of the sick was their special work besides, the training of children should also be taken up by them They should also take part in the political affairs of the world and try to set right the confusion created by men But Shri Vinoba said that he regretted to find that instead of taking to their proper mission namely of establishing peace, women were anxious to imitate men and desired to go into war like occupations. They wanted to go even into the army! He would say that that was not their proper task. They must throw over the mathoda which men had employed till then and which had created the evils of the world In order to raise our motherland and the human race, women must perform the function of mothers and sisters, i.e. nourishers, nursers trainers, feeders, and jealous protectors of their children and brothers,—and not their destroyers.

(Translated from Hindustani) D. D.

CENT PER SENT SWADESHI
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs* 2-0-0 Postage 0-6-0
THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI
By Mahadev Desai
Price *Rs.* 4-0-0 Postage 0-11-0

DE VALERA ON COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

In the course of an interview the other day Mr De Valera, the ex-Prime Minister of Eire, who was on a short visit to India, is reported to have observed

> 'I am in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on the development of cottage industries to improve the economy of the country I am aware that there is a school which holds that large scale industries alone would lead to improvement of the standard of living But I have come to the conclusion that Gandhiji's programme of cottage industries is the right one.

Mr Colin Clark, the well-known Australian economist who also visited India last year had remarked

> If I were an Indian Minister I should say have as much of your development in the form of cottage industries as possible regard the factory as a necessary evil.

Such observations by foreign leaders and thinkers are, undoubtedly, significant but they are also curious If these foreigners really believe in the development of national economy on Gandhian lines of decentralized cottage industrialism, why do they not earnestly advocate such planning in their own country? We do not know how far Mr De Valera tried to develop cottage industries in Ireland Even now, without being in power, he can render a great service to his own country and the world by attempting to develop Ireland on Gandhian principles.

But remarks of this nature by foreign thinkers should also serve as eye-openers to our own leaders and economists. Despite Gandhiji's emphasis on cottage industries for well-nigh three decades, very few Congress leaders have real faith in the soundness of decentralized economy They argue that, although cottage industrialism is a scientific and rational proposition India cannot stand alone in a world which is rushing headlong towards large-scale industrialization The evils of such industrialization are now patent to everybody and if the Western countries do not revolutionize their outlook and economic policies in time we shall soon be in the midst of another catastrophic holocaust of unprecedented disaster Should India not try to give a fair trial to a system of national economy which was outlined by the Father of our Nation as a panacea for the ills that plague the modern world? India should not think only of following in the footsteps of Western powers she is destined to lead other countries to a better and saner socio-economic organization Or shall we wait till the Western countries adopt decentralized industrialization as a definite policy, and then import Gandhiism from the West? This, to my mind, will be a national tragedy of the highest order!

Wardha, 20-6-'48 S N AGARWAL

COMMENDATION

[The following is from a friend in Switzerland]
Navajivan

Such is the delay in mail from India that our copy of the *Harijan* dated 2nd May reached us only today It may not be too late however, to add a word of commendation and praise of your editorial *The name of This Paper*

The name *Harijan* should and must be retained for several reasons

1 The name has gained a definite *mantric* force through its adoption by Gandhiji as the *vahan*—vehicle of his voice That force would be lacking in any other name. To many of us the *Harijan* means not only the Voice of Gandhiji but his philosophy his life—finally his sacrifice

2 Do those who contend that the *Harijan* can serve no longer as such a *vahan* for Gandhiji s voice imply that Gandhiji has been silenced by the assassin s bullets? Do they believe that because Gandhiji s spirit has been driven away from his body, it has therefore been driven out of India? Where is their philosophy?

3 But supposing that death did still Gandhiji s voice, supposing India rose as a man to combat his teaching of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* would that not prove an incontrovertible argument for the continuation of the name—of a heralding of that name from every house-top?

4 Was Krishna s voice stilled by the arrow or Jesus' by the cross? Has Mahommad nothing to say simply because he has ceased to walk about among us as a man among men? We may make a hollow mockery of the *Gita* by our distorted understanding, we may fight shy of *The Sermon On the Mount* because of its too lofty ethics, we may take up the sword in defence of the Prophet who denied its use as a means of propagation of the Faith But the worst of us would lay the blame on our own deafness, we would not say the Teacher s Voice had become still

5 Shall we drop the names of the *Gita*, of the Bible, of the *Koran*?—we shall not thereby silence their Voices

6 For the sake of argument let us visualize an India freed from the inhumanities and degradations of caste We shall have done away with untouchability but shall we have reached a millenium? There will always be the oppressed and the down-trodden who, like the poor, will always be with us There will still be *Harijan* work to be done—there will still be the crying need for help for understanding and for brotherhood For, in so far as we have cut ourselves off from the most degraded of our brothers or sisters, we have cut ourselves off from the SELF from Brahman, from Allah from God

7 Let us then not fall victims to that baleful tendency to quibble about words and, forgetting their meaning, cause the downfall of the structure into which Gandhiji has instilled his very heart's blood. For who is there to say with a surety that the Spirit of Gandhiji is not a more potent help today than it was while hampered by the limitations of his flesh?

8 *Let us put aside all childish wrangling over words and get on with the job!*

Cologny-Geneve
11-6-48 DONALD C TOWNSEND

NOTES

Communal Representation with Vengeance

While the Government of India have reiterated their policy of not recognizing (except so far as the Harijans are concerned) sub-communal or caste distinctions within the Hindu community in regard to appointments to Central Services the Madras Government seems to pursue the opposite policy with vengeance It is reported to have laid down the following rule of communal representation even in the matter of granting admission to Engineering and Medical Colleges of its province 6 Non-Brahman Hindus 2 Brahmans 2 Harijans, 1 Indian Christian 1 Muslim and 2 Backward Hindus

I can understand the necessity of encouraging educationally backward sections to come in line with the advanced ones But the method should be other than that based on principles of community and caste

Wardha 1-7-'48 K G M

Khadi Ashrams

[In the course of a letter to a co-worker Shri Vinoba writes —Ed]

"I am definite that the gut (i e the carding bow) must not be used for preparing slivers. I do not see any reason for changing this opinion Let us confine ourselves exclusively to *khadi* for-self programme Do not worry whether other *khadi* producers do so or not.

'Weaving must be taught to women. If women perform all the processes —from ginning of raw cotton to weaving—*khadi* will not be dear and it will come to stay This subject deserves to be experimented upon But I find that our old colleagues have not much aptitude and enthusiasm left for making new experiments. It will be done only when new workers take to it Everyone of us must know weaving The double twisted yarn necessary for learning weaving must be produced by all in co-operation

'Every province must have at least one Sangh of the Ashram type where such experiments could be made If Pavnar, Sevagram Nalwadi, Dhulia, Urali Kanchan and other centres which we have established nourish or maintain the Ashram mentality, such experiments will be possible.

June, 1948 VINOBA"

(Translated from the original in Marathi)

CONTENTS		PAGE
UNCLEAN MEANS	K G MASHRUWALA	161
MYSORE NOTES—II	A V THAKKAR	162
"PUTTING THE CLOCK BACK"	J C KUMARAPPA	163
RHETORICS	K G MASHRUWALA	164
HARIJAN CAUSE IN BHOPAL	P	165
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—IV	D D	166
DE VALERA ON COTTAGE INDUSTRIES	S N AGARWAL	167
COMMENDATION	DONALD C. TOWNSEND	168
NOTES:		
COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION WITH VENGEANCE	K G M	168
KHADI ASHRAMS	VINOBA	168

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates—INDIAN One year, Rs 5 Six months, Re 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 7 or 14 sh or $. 2

Abolition of Diarchy

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 20 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY JULY 18, 1948 TWO ANNAS

IN THE SIXTH MONTH

After a few days (26th July according to the Indian and 30th according to the Christian calendar) it will be six months since the loss of Gandhiji Time has flown so rapidly that to several of us it looks as if the event took place just a few days ago But the immobility of our memory in relation to his death will not prevent time from running its course with its usual regularity Months will be succeeded by years, and years by decades, until not a single person will be alive who was born before 30th January 1948.

I know some and there must be many more whom I do not know who have hardly passed a day without shedding tears and feeling miserable on account of being deprived of their dear Bapu While some report that the appearance of the *Harijan* consoles them to a certain extent to others it serves as a reminder of his loss and the intensifier of the grief

But while there cannot be but sympathy for those who cannot help grieving and weeping let us all — those who do so as also those who, though feeling equally are composed or hardened enough not to do so — remember that the more we love and feel for him, the more is our duty to live *for* him, and to atone for his death

The Congress Congress Governments and Congressmen individually the Constructive Workers and those who feel that they have a greater claim to be regarded as Gandhi-ites than others the Brahmans and non-Brahmans the Harijans the Mussalmans and even the members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R S S all joined and will join again on every memory-stimulating day in paying glowing tributes to him Poets and celebrated writers have been and will be inspired to compose beautiful pieces, which will make us feel proud of him or move us to the point of weeping

And yet we may have done nothing to atone for his death

Let us remember that he died and was killed because of the communalism in us He lived and died for Hindu Muslim Unity he lived for the removal of untouchability he lived for the happiness and uplift of the villagers and the seven lakhs of villages he lived to see that those who had more talents or knowledge or wealth used them for the benefit of the poor and the ignorant He lived for truth, non-violence and for peace in the world for settlement of all disputes between man and man by not resorting to war and bloodshed but by satyagraha and arbitration

How far have we advanced in any of these directions? What have we done to diminish Hindu Muslim and various intra-Hindu discords, provincial bitterness and State disputes? How are we going to settle our differences whether in matters of foreign and inter-State politics or inter-provincial and home politics? How are the Kashmir and the Hyderabad questions to be settled ultimately? What shall be the heart to heart relations between Pakistan and India? Will force, violence intrigue and diplomacy centering round power-politics be the means of settling them or straight-forwardness, justice and the spirit of wellbeing of all? Is the UNO going to be a cabal of the Big Three or Four for power-politics, forcing smaller and weaker nations to follow them in their war programmes? Have our internal and external relations taken a turn towards friendship or more bitterness?

Our answers to these questions will indicate how we have atoned for Gandhiji's death.

My reference to high and political problems must not create the sense in the ordinary reader that I address this to the politicians Let him remember that no politician, however good and noble or however mischievous and ignoble, can succeed aught if he is unable to get applause and co-operation from the people He ultimately trades upon the emotions of the credulous public. He scatters seeds of hatred among the people and leads them to war and destruction or sows seeds of love and understanding and gently takes them to peace and regeneration Gandhiji was the careful farmer who did the latter Let us not hear those who emphasize the caste religious regional, linguistic cultural or other narrow labels which have been put upon us from time to time and exploit them for hating our neighbour Let us all feel men first and last and everything else afterwards Not one of the above distinctions is of fundamental importance

Wardha 6-7-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

[This is a translation of selected chapters from Gandhiji's Gujarati history of the Satyagraha Ashram published for the first time in May last.—V G D]

I TRUTH

Whenever some one was found telling a lie in the Ashram effective steps were taken to deal with the situation as symptomatic of a serious disease The Ashram does not believe in punishing wrongdoers so much so that hesitation is felt even in asking them to leave the institution Three lines of preventive action were therefore adopted

The first thing attended to was the purity of the principal workers in charge the idea being that if they were free from fault the atmosphere about them was bound to be affected by their innocence Untruth cannot stand before truth like darkness before the light of the sun

Secondly we had recourse to confession If some one was found practising untruth the fact was brought to the notice of the congregation This is a very useful measure if it is judiciously adopted But one has to be careful about two things First, the public confession must not be tainted by even a trace of force Secondly the confession should not lead to the person confessing taking leave of all sense of shame If he comes to believe that mere confession has washed off his sin, he is no longer ashamed of it at all There should be an ever present consciousness of the fact that the least little untruth is a dangerous thing

Thirdly the worker in charge of the Ashram as well as the wrongdoer would fast as a matter of penance Of course it is a matter for the wrongdoer himself to decide whether or not he should undertake a fast And as for the worker in charge, he is clearly responsible for intentional and unintentional wrongdoing in his institution Untruth is more poisonous and more subtle than any poison gas whatever, but it dare not enter where the head of the institution is wide awake and has a spiritual outlook on life Still if it is found to have effected an entrance, it is a warning to the principal worker who may be sure that he must bear his share of responsibility for this infection I for one believe that spiritual acts have clearly defined results precisely like combinations or processes in the natural sciences Only as we have no such means of measurement in the former case as in the latter we are not ready to believe or we only half-heartedly believe in the spiritual influences Again we are inclined to be lenient to ourselves with the result that our experiments are unsuccessful and we tend to move only in a circle like the oil-miller's bullock Thus untruth gets a long lease of life and at last we reach the melancholy conclusion that untruth is unavoidable And what is unavoidable easily becomes necessary, so that not truth but untruth increases its prestige

When therefore untruth was discovered in the Ashram, I readily pleaded guilty for in myself That is to say, I have not still attained truth as defined by [illegible] but it is clear that I [illegible] truth and therefore [illegible] declared it, still less [illegible] truth was I to leave the Ashram [illegible] in Himalayan cave and impose [illegible] on myself? That would be sheer cowardice [illegible] quest for truth cannot be prosecuted in a [illegible] Silence makes no sense where it is necessary [illegible] One may live in a cave in certain circumstances but the common man can be tested only in society

What then is the remedy to be tried to get rid of untruth? The only answer which suggests itself to me is bodily penance that is fasting and the like Bodily penance has a threefold influence first over the penitent secondly over the wrongdoer and thirdly over the congregation The penitent becomes more alert examines the innermost recesses of his own heart and takes steps to deal with any personal weakness that he may discover If the wrongdoer has any pity he becomes conscious of his own fault, is ashamed of it and resolves never to sin any more in the future The congregation takes a course of self-introspection

But bodily penance is only a means to an end not an end in itself By itself it cannot bring an erring person to the right path It is profitable only if it is accompanied by a certain line of thinking which is as follows

Man tends to become a slave of his own body and engages in many activities and commits many sins for the sake of physical enjoyment He should therefore mortify the flesh whenever there is an occasion of sin A man given to physical enjoyment is subject to delusion Even a slight renunciation of enjoyment in the shape of food will probably be helpful in breaking the power of that delusion. Fasting in order to produce this effect must be taken in its widest sense as the exercise of control over all the organs of sense with a view to the purification of oneself or others Merely giving up food does not amount to a fast And fasting for health is no fasting at all in this sense

I have also found that frequent fasting tends to rob it of its efficacy for then it becomes almost a mechanical process without any background of thought Every fast therefore should be undertaken after due deliberation

I have noted one special effect of fasting in my own case I have fasted frequently therefore my co-workers are nervous and are afraid that a fresh fast may place my life in danger This fear makes them observe certain rules I consider this as an undesirable consequence of fasting I do not however think that self-control practised on account of such fear does any harm This fear is inspired by love and therefore it is a good thing if a person steers clear of wrongdoing even under the influence of such fear Deliberate and voluntary reformation is of course extremely desirable but it is only to be welcomed if a person avoids sin because he is afraid of causing pain to elders, as it involves no

employment of br[illegible] are many cases of reformation and [illegible] only to please ones dear ones become [illegible] feature of men's lives

One painful circumstance [illegible] fasting must be taken into account People sometimes do not avoid sin but only try to hide it for fear that someone else may fast if he comes to know of it

After giving due weight to the pros and cons I hold that fasting and such other penances are necessary in certain cases On the whole they have done the Ashram a signal service But we must remember that undertaking a fast or similar penance implies certain qualifications in the penitent, which may be set forth as follows

(*To be continued*)

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER—V

13-5-48

STUDY OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS

At the prayer meeting this evening Shri Vinoba began by dealing with the question whether by taking part in the festivals of religions other than one's own this faith in one's own religion would not become weak Shri Vinoba said that there was no reason for such a result and that it was not the experience of those who had done so He compared the act with that of a person who on visiting a friend's house bowed to his friend's mother Would that diminish his veneration for his own mother? He respected the other's mother because he had a great reverence for motherhood and he saw the same motherhood in that lady which he saw in his own mother and that made him pay her the homage Similarly when a man participated in the festivals of another religion and witnessed people gathering at a place with extreme faith and humility and praying or worshipping God in accordance with their customs and beliefs he realised that men of every religion experienced the same faith and emotions which he himself felt when he prayed or performed the rites and ceremonies of his own religion Shri Vinoba knew a friend who had not read anything except the *Tulsi Ramayan* in his life. Some one then suggested to him to read the *Bhagavat Purana* He did so Shri Vinoba asked him what the effect of reading the *Bhagavat* was upon his mind He said that he found that the *Bhagavat* laid emphasis on *bhakti* (devotion) in the same way as Tulsidas has done in the *Ramayana* and the result was that his love and veneration for *Ramajan* increased a hundred fold because he found the confirmation of the truth of its teaching in the *Bhagavat* also Now if one looked only superficially at the *Bhagavat* it would be found that it was dedicated to the devotion of Krishna, while the *Ramayan* was dedicated to that of Rama. But the spirit and message of *bhakti* was the same in both Similarly when one took part in the festivals of another religion he learnt that there was the same message of love devotion and faith in God in Islam Christianity and Sikhism as in the Hindu religion, and therefore he had every reason to have firm faith in his own religion Surely, when several witnesses of widely different groups testify to the same thing the evidence becomes stronger and not weak But after all Shri Vinoba said it was a question the answer which could be found by actual experiment and experience [illegible] the questioner should go and see for himself [illegible] rituals of other religions He would find that his faith in his own religion thereby became stronger and not weak

There was another advantage also in studying the books and doctrines of another religion and in participating in their rites and ceremonies There were prayers religious rejoicings acts of charity and pilgrimages to holy places prescribed in those religions in the same way as in Hinduism May be the name which they give to the Lord and the way and the language in which the prayers were said were different But the difference would broaden the participator's outlook and make him more tolerant It would destroy the narrow mindedness which want of knowledge of others customs often developed A man showed himself at his best when he engaged himself in the faithful observance of his religious practices and so if one wanted to see the best side of other people, association with them at the time that they were engaged in religious practices was the most suitable one

Replying, also to the question whether if a person saw in another religion something superior to what was in his own it would not weaken his faith in his own religion Shri Vinoba said that if he was the owner of a garden and visited another garden and found that that garden had some fine trees which were not to be found in his own surely what he would do was to plant such trees in his own garden and not to destroy either the other's or his own garden In the same way, if one saw that there was something which his own religion lacked, then he would introduce it in his own religion and improve it The discovery only proved that there was scope for improvement in every religion

Sarva-dharma-samabhava (equal regard for all religions) according to Shri Vinoba, included four things first full faith in one's religion secondly equal respect for other religions thirdly the necessity of reforming every religion without which man would never progress and fourthly which resulted as a necessary consequence of the other three resistance to irreligion *Sarva dharma-samabhava* would not be complete without any of these The great masters of Hinduism had consciously carried on the work of religious reform The spirit of liberality and tolerance which one saw in Sanskrit literature was hardly to be seen in any other The six famous systems of Indian philosophy were all produced in this land The culture, which allowed as many as six schools of different philosophies need not be afraid of enquiring what was found in other systems and import what was good in them and also impart to them what was good in its own We need never be afraid of studying the religions and religious systems of every country with love. Ramakrishna Paramahansa practised the worship of every religion and came to the conclusion that there was fundamental unity in all religions It did not diminish his faith in his own religion but strengthened it They would have the same experience if they followed him.

D. D.

HARIJAN

July 18 1948

ABOLITION OF DIARCHY

I shall now think aloud about the means and methods of consolidating the Congress as a useful political organization and preventing its disruption.

The first essential thing, to my mind, is the abolition of diarchy As is well-known the Congress was divided in opinion for a long time about giving recognition to parliamentary activity under its auspices Ultimately it came to stay However as the main object of the Congress was to rebel against the then Government, the parliamentary activity was not conceived, of in terms of a mere opposition party in the Government and lest it might slip into such, it was thought necessary to control it strictly by a committee of top-rank leaders who themselves remained outside the legislatures It came to be popularly known as the High Command

After the formation of Congress Ministries in several provinces in 1937, the position slightly changed As the power at the centre had not been gained the control of the provincial cabinets by a body of persons outside the legislatures was not yet altogether impracticable But even at that stage the diarchical position had already begun to create trouble as was seen in the Khare episode

Since the complete transfer of power to India and the installation of Congress governments in every unit as well as at the Centre of the Union the position has changed fundamentally The top-rank leaders, who made, led and controlled the Congress are themselves now part and parcel of government If two or three top-rank leaders have kept out it is rather for the ex-parliamentary organization of the Congress than for controlling the parliamentary organization

The real position is this Persons who are incapable of accepting or do not wish to accept offices in government cannot control these leaders With the Congress installed as Government the President must necessarily be a person, who is personally a respected leader of the people and capable of being their Prime Minister He must not be a mere titular head of the Congress getting himself elected somehow or a nominee of the virtual High Command If he has not that capacity or, having it does not choose to be a responsible member of the Government, but wants to be its controller from outside, he would either fail to do it or would end in creating a parallel government or diarchy In either case, it would be an opposition to the Government either working openly against it or secretly It can only result in weakening the Congress This has been actually happening at present To my mind it is an illogical and an unhealthy position

What applies to the President of the all-India Congress applies *mutatis mutandis* to the presidents of the various Provincial Congress Committees The actual and true leader of the province must be the president of the Congress Committee of that province as also its Premier If there are in that unit more provincial Congress Committees than one the presidents of every provincial committee within it must be colleagues in the cabinet of that province For instance, in Bombay either the presidents of the Bombay Maharashtra Karnatak and Gujarat P C Cs must be from some of the members of Shri Kher's Cabinet, Shri Kher himself being the President of one of them or the Presidents of those committees should take the place of some of the members of the Bombay Cabinet. Similarly in C P & Berar This necessarily means that the persons chosen as presidents must be men, who can actually lead the people of their province and are also capable of undertaking the responsibilities of the Premier or a Minister No less capable worker can successfully function

Since the Congress has chosen to function as a political party it must work when in office as a party in power, and, when dethroned as a party in opposition Thus it must now organize itself as a parliamentary body and not as a popular organization of the old type This would also lead to the position that the Provincial Congress Committees should consist of members of the legislature with as may be necessary other capable or promising workers of the Congress organization outside the legislatures Some of them would be capable local leaders or members of local boards municipalities education boards etc Those outside the legislatures should be persons interested in making the Congress Government successful, not in the sense of somehow manoeuvring to keep the Congress in power, but in seeing that the administration is carried on in the interests of and for the happiness of the people and in accordance with the Congress policy which now would be identical with the Government policy District and smaller committees would have to be on the same principle These bodies should work as an auxiliary organization to the Congress Government If it is not possible for the Prime Minister to look to the day to day working of the P C C there might be a Chairman or a Deputy President or even a capable permanent paid worker Possibly he would be one of the members of the legislature or a Parliamentary Secretary

This appears to me to be the only way of preventing the conflict which is developing almost in every province between the Congress governments and the Congress Committees as at present constituted

Of course this organization cannot be like the old Congress in the sense of seeking enrollment of millions of members on its register It is hardly necessary It would have to be a restricted body in regard to membership It would seek the patronage of the people for their votes by the way in which

it governs and lays its case before them The people at large would not be members of any political party This is as it should be Popular organizations like Constructive Associations Lok Seva Sangha etc would also not bind themselves over to any particular political party They would work in their own way, seeking from and giving to the Government of the day, what aid and co-operation they can

More in the next week

Wardha 3-7-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

NOT BASIC EDUCATION

Among those who felt that my criticism of the two Committees of Dr Tarachand ought to have been stronger than it was, are some from the Madras province Shri N Kuppuswami Aiyangar one of the old Basic-educationists, regards the various steps taken by that Government, as meant 'to sabotage basic education' He does not spare even the Hindustani Talimi Sangh itself for not offering spirited resistance to the Government policy He says

> 'You might remember that as early as 1941 as soon as I became aware of this state of affairs I interviewed Gandhiji in Sevagram and requested him to give his view of the matter—I think you were with Gandhiji at that time When Gandhiji asked Shri Aryanayakam as to why Congressmen accepted this proposal he replied 'If the rich people wanted a different kind of education for their sons how could we prevent it?' To which Gandhiji replied 'Whatever rich or foolish people may say whatever Congressmen may do—I am clear in my mind that this diversion of pupils from Basic Schools to High Schools before they had undergone the full Basic Course is inconsistent with the scheme of Basic Education I have recommended
>
> "This view was published widely at that time.
>
> Ever since I have been trying to persuade the Hindustani Talimi Sangh to declare openly and inform the various Congress Governments about this view, but without success

Though I do not remember the interview referred to I have no doubt about Gandhiji's views in the matter Bifurcation of education particularly for linguistic purposes, before completion of the Basic Course is unsound educationally as well as socially, whether the education is for the rich or the poor the town-dweller or the villager—boy or girl. I put forth this view not because that was Gandhiji's personal view but because of the soundness of the principle on which it is based

But it is possible that the Madras Education Ministry might say that it has followed in this respect the decision arrived at by the All India Educational Conference recently held at New Delhi One of the conclusions arrived at at that Conference was that 'the period of compulsory basic education (which is eight years in the Sargent Report) must be reduced during the first stage to five years' The Ministry might also say that though the educationists of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh might consider bifurcation at the end of five years to be educationally unsound there are other educationists who think otherwise and as it is a matter in which there is a difference of opinion among experts, the Government is entitled to accept what opinion it regards as more appropriate The Wardha Scheme educationists have not the monopoly of understanding the principles of education

I agree But in that case the proper course would be to drop the word 'Basic Education' altogether. Like the word *khadi* the term Basic Education has come to mean a particular system of education enunciated by Gandhiji and promulgated through the Hindustani Talimi Sangh It should be regarded as a sort of special terminology to be respected as a registered trade mark in commerce If the term is dropped the discussion would take place on a different level Here the people are deliberately confused

It is open to the Government to say that while it accepts some of the conceptions of the Wardha Scheme, it does not accept the fundamental points of that system For instance (i) Gandhiji laid all his emphasis on education *through* craft which should be so organized that a school with the full number of pupils in all the forms should pay the salaries of its teachers out of the price of the articles produced The Government do not accept it They are prepared to give the craft a place along with other subjects, and not more Then, (ii) Gandhiji's system is inconsistent with the introduction of military training in schools (and even colleges) inasmuch as *Nai Talim* is based on the principle of evolving a society based for non-violence and peace, while the Congress Governments have not abjured militarism and adequate armament Again (iii) the Gandhian system would almost do away with English except for a very limited number The view of the Government is that the knowledge and importance of the English language must not be diminished to a considerable extent Also, (iv) the *Nai Talim* of Gandhiji would not make much difference between the urban students and the village He would if possible, make the urban people more rural-minded rather than the villager more urbanized The Government view which it might claim to be progressive, is that even the villagers ought to be more urbanized than what they are now Lastly (v) even if Gandhiji gave some scope for industrialization, he regarded it more or less as an inescapable evil He did not welcome it That is not the view of the Government And thus it is this difference of ideology which accounts for different ways of approaching the problem of education by the Government

If the Government put it so frankly, it would be all understandable But that is exactly the reason why the Government should adopt a different terminology for their system of education and not call it Basic Education or the Wardha Scheme of Education, and should not use Gandhiji's name in association with it.

Wardha 1-7-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

STRANGE METHOD OF PROHIBITION

A member of the Madras Legislative Assembly sends a copy of the following confidential circular issued by the Prohibition Department of that Province

The Government have authorized the Board to issue permits to possess foreign liquor for personal consumption to Indians (Anglo Indians Parsis and Jews with reference to Government Police In the case of Indian Officers serving in Prohibition areas *who out of feeling of delicacy may not be anxious to apply openly for such permits the Government desire that they may send their applications* through the Board which will send them *confidentially* to the Joint Secretary to Government Revenue Department by name so that they may be put up to the Hon ble Minister for Prohibition for orders Orders will then be issued confidentially to the Commissioner for communication to the officers concerned I am to request you to be good enough to communicate the above instructions of the Government to all Indian Officers of your Department serving in Prohibition areas of this province (Italics mine)

It is difficult to understand how prohibition can succeed if Government expect to do it through officers who themselves want to drink, and further wish to respect their feeling of delicacy by granting permits through the back door Thus Government may as well appoint wine merchants themselves as excise officers and anti drink propagandists to implement the Prohibition policy!

On making a enquiry as to whether the practice in other provinces is also similar to that in Madras I am informed by the Premier C P and Berar as follows

'2 In Foreign Liquor Rules 1938 Indian Officers including those in the Excise Department are not debarred from applying for and getting the permit permit In all there are only Indian foreign holders on the list excluding Indian Military officers but none of them is from the Excise Department

3 My enquiries show that in no case was an application for permit sent confidentially to the personal address of the Secretary consented to be put up to the Hon ble Minister for Excise and in no case was order communicated to the Prohibition Commissioner by a demi official letter for the issue of the permit

4 Up to now no officer of the Excise Department holds a permit It is under consideration whether at the time of recruitment to the Excise Department a condition may be prescribed that the officer shall not drink if he is employed and at the time of his appointment a declaration in writing may be taken from him to this effect

Issue of permits even to officers of other departments particularly in the judiciary and police is indefensible With what conscience can one who himself breaks the policy every night punish an offender placed before him by day? Permission on medical grounds as is well-known is a bogus affair Few medical practitioners believe in teetotalism It [illegible] pay the Civil Surgeon [illegible]

If the [illegible] stopped as State policy in the [illegible] there should be no Government servant who wants to drink Even Europeans, Anglo-Indians Parsis etc who are allowed some latitude under the prevailing laws in this respect must if they are in the Government service be teetotallers

At the same time I would like again and again to impress upon constructive workers and reformers not to expect too much out of Government machinery All the items of the constructive programme even where they appear to lie in the economic sphere are moral social and spiritual They are part of the *Nayee Talim* of the people The best of governments can only remove hurdles from the way but the main regenerative work must be done by self-appointed servants of the people

Wardha 2-7-48 K G MASHRUWALA

THE SPINNING TERM

I received the appeal of Shri Narandas Gandhi referred to below too late to be included in the issue of the 11th It came rather late even for this issue and I have been obliged to summarize certain portions of it in my own language to find room for it

It was in 1935 that the Rashtriya Shala of Rajkot began to observe a spinning term every year immediately preceding Gandhiji's birth day according to the Gujarati calendar The programme was to spin for as many days before the birth day as the number of Gandhiji's age to be added upon at each birthday The number of hanks and coins to be paid in subscription for the charkha fund was also to be the same as that number Thus in 1935 Gandhiji was to enter upon the sixty sixth year of age and so the spinning term lasted for 66 days the hanks to be spun bore some relation with 66 and the subscription to be paid was also 66 pies or annas or rupees or some multiple of 66 Every year a day was added Gandhiji would have entered the 80th year of age on the *Bhadarva Vad* 12th of this year (30th September 1948). There is no reason to stop the annual function with the death of Gandhiji Rather it must be observed with greater zeal and by greater numbers for the number of his admirers has certainly increased since his death. It must be remembered that the *Bhadarva Vad* 12th was not recognized as Gandhi Jayanti by Gandhiji himself He lent his support to it and himself worked for it because it was celebrated as Charkha *Dwadashi* or *Rentiya Baras*, i e the Charkha Celebration Day.

This is what Gandhiji himself wrote on 13th June last year at the time of the announcement of this term

"The Charkha is the royal road to political economic and social freedom But it is clear that the masses have not adopted it If the people had adopted it as the symbol of non violence the tragic condition which prevails today would never have come What shall the believer in charkha do in this atmosphere? Dharma teaches that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse the faith of the devotee becomes brighter How many such may there be?

Shri N [illegible] appeal to everyone to re[illegible] with full zeal I appeal to [illegible] of the Charkha Sangh the C[illegible] well as Congress workers in [illegible] resolve to spin fully understand in [illegible] of the Charkha Those who [illegible] this fund are requested to pay [illegible]

The following figures [illegible] this fund from year to year

	Rs	
1935	2 555- 3-0	[illegible]
1936	7 348-12-0	[illegible]
1937	16 496-12-6	[illegible]
1938	16 238- 1-3	[illegible]
1939	16 877- 9 4	[illegible]
1940	16 970- 1-0	[illegible]
	Total Rs	[illegible]

The Kathiawad Khadi M[illegible] tion to this fund The fund [illegible] farms (chief Rishtriya Shri C[illegible] the Harijan Sevak Sangh The [illegible] the treasurer of the Ashram [illegible] principally for *khadi* work in Kathia[illegible]

A new body for organizing all [illegible] constructive service in Saurashtra having been recently formed it has been decided to use the realizations of the present year for furthering its work It is hoped that subscribers will fill the *Daridranarayan* bowl with a liberal hand

It is expected that some prominent leader of the nation will be available at the time of the presentation of the purse and the yarn

Wardha 10-7-48 K G MASHRUWALA

BHANGIS OF SAURASHTRA

The Secretary of the Saurashtra Harijan Sevak Sangh gives a very painful report of the atrocities committed on the *bhangis* of several villages in Saurashtra under the superstitious belief that they are responsible for the cholera which has broken out in the form of a virulent epidemic in several parts of that province A Committee consisting of the Secretary and two Government officers visited several villages to investigate the facts for themselves This is the gist of their report

At Wagheriya the *bhangi* locality looks more like a hospital than residential quarters One Harijan has been deeply wounded in the head A young woman has been so severely belaboured with canes that the marks have not disappeared even after a week Another *bhangi* who had already a septic leg was beaten with a lathi on the raw wound. The police were not able to give any protection

At another village of the same name in Junagadh State the house of the *bhangi* has been burnt down along with his cot. His grinding stone was broken into pieces and thrown into a well- Possibly it was the only *bhangi* family living in the village. At Kunkavav a mob of three hundred having marched on the *bhangi* ward the *bhangis* began to flee with fear The mob pursued them and attacked [illegible] into to [illegible]

It is [illegible] merely th[illegible] Ignorance [illegible] appeirs to [illegible] ir which c[illegible] that the p[illegible] have no sup[illegible] unscrupulo[illegible] behind Perhaps the [illegible] from the [illegible] Hindu [illegible] will be [illegible] Hindu [illegible]

The Secretary [illegible] Government [illegible] *bangis* That may be all right [illegible] as it goes But I believe that it is [illegible] remedy This is a case in which [illegible] out of the *bhangis* has to draw a [illegible] of Gandhiji The Hindus must go [illegible] of the *bhangis* The villages in which [illegible] maltreated must apologize to the *bhangis* and request them to return to the villages They must pay full compensation Persons who have [illegible] on account of these outrages must be assured of unmolested life hereafter As a penance they must also create institutions for their upliftment A Harijan *sevak* of repute can if he has an inner call and the necessary qualification and love for the *bhangis* as well as their persecutors or passive onlookers insist on the acceptance of these terms in the same way as Gandhiji did at Calcutta and Delhi for the protection of the Muslims I do not write this with a view to insinuate any one to perform an act of bravado but simply to say that this is a fit case for such a measure The sleeping conscience of man will demand many such penitential acts in order to awaken it to a sense of duty justice and humanity

Wardha 4-7-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

QUESTION BOX

HORSE-RACE COLLECTION FOR GANDHI FUND

Q The Horse-race management at Mysore announced and advertised to give one day's collection to the Gandhi Memorial Fund The President of the Mysore Committee accepted 55 thousand rupees which was one day's collection of the race Is it right ?

A If the facts are as stated in the question it was not right

Wardha, 3-7-48 K G MASHRUWALA

BAPU—MY SAVIOUR

I

The sweet and sacred memories of my beloved Bapu still continue to rush in upon me in an unending stream and sometimes the onrush is so swift and sudden that I simply get submerged It is difficult indeed to reconcile myself to the cruel fact of his passing away

My association with Bapu now dates back to nearly 20 years when I first came into personal contact with him during his visit to Sind in 1929 and in the following year had the good luck of joining his Ashram at Sabarmati and also accompanying him on his Dandi March Throughout this fairly long period I have had the great pleasure and privilege of enjoying the closest possible intimacy with him When I think of the love that Bapu with his characteristic magnanimity of heart lavished upon me all these years and the paternal care that he unfailingly took of me I feel overwhelmed with a sense of profound gratitude towards him and my unworthiness of it all I have indeed no words to describe what I owe to him I have always looked upon him as my saviour and so really he proved himself to be times without number

There have been many a crisis in my life and I cannot recall any in which Bapu s helping hand did not come to my rescue and prevented me from going under The most poignant crisis however, confronted me when my dearly-beloved wife Vidya left for her heavenly home on July 20 1943 Next to Bapu she was a great source of inspiration to me But for Bapu and her, my life would have certainly taken a different turn To lose such a wife was a great blow for me I reeled under it and did not know what to do and whom to run up to for solace and support For Bapu was then beyond my reach in the Agakhan Palace I was therefore left to carry this heavy load of personal sorrow all by myself till he got released on May 6 1944 At the time however I was taking treatment for the hardness of my hearing at Lucknow but in my impatience to meet Bapu, I sent him a telegram at Bombay telling him how forlorn I felt and how, therefore, anxious I was to go to him even leaving my treatment unfinished To this he sent a reply telegram saying

No forlornness permissible God our eternal companion You can come after your treatment. —Bapu .

This telegram undoubtedly put heart into me, but did not much relieve me of my soul's agony I, therefore poured out my anguish in a letter to him and this is the reply he made

Juhu 2 6 1944

My Dear Anand,

Since you have written in English I answer likewise You must cease to grieve. You should summon to your aid all you have read and digested Here is a true thought a lady has sent me I warmly digest it Vidya is not dead She has gone elsewhere, leaving the [illegible] and taking a [illegible]

O[illegible] finished the course [illegible] Bapu

The [illegible] following beautiful lines sent to him by one Mrs Glen E Snyder from Grimes Iowa with a view to console him on the death of revered Ba

You cannot say you must not say
That she is dead She is just away !
With a cheery smile
She has wandered into an unknown land
And left us dreaming how very lone
It needs must be since she lingers there
So think of her living as dear
In the love of Christ as the love of Here,
Think of her still as the same and say
She is not dead she is just away !

But howsoever much I may persuade myself to believe that she is not dead she is just away , my mind would still nurse the grief at her separation and remain disconsolate as ever Bapu wrote another cheering letter after a few days which is also worth sharing with the readers

' Poona 20 6 1944

' चि० आनंद,

You must not brood over Vidya s death nor get disconcerted. If she was the inspiration of your life whilst she was in the flesh she must be more so having gone to her resting place That is to me is the meaning of the true union of souls The glorious example is that of Jesus and in modern times of Ramakrishna They became greater influences after their death Their spirit did not die nor is Vidya s dead You *must* therefore leave off sorrowing and think of your duty in front of you Do not think of running to me whilst you are having your treatment end whilst I am having mine. You will come when I go to Sevagram

Love Bapu

In his next, referring to Vidya he wrote in Hindi

Panchgani 19 7 1944

" चि० आनंद,

Your letter just today Vidya was a great saint She had a heart of gold Her desire for renunciation was immense and her love was like an ocean You have got to be worthy of her

I hope to go to Sevagram in August

Bapu s blessings
ANAND T HINGORANI

CONTENTS PAGE

IN THE SIXTH MONTH	K G MASHRUWALA	169
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION	M K GANDHI	170
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER	V D D	171
ABOLITION OF DIARCHY	K G MASHRUWALA	172
NOT BASIC EDUCATION	K G MASHRUWALA	173
STRANGE METHOD OF PROHIBITION	K G MASHRUWALA	174
THE SPINNING TERM	K G MASHRUWALA	174
BHANGIS OF SAURASHTRA	K G MASHRUWALA	175
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	175
BAPU—MY SAVIOUR	ANAND T HINGORANI	176

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs 4 Six months, Re 3 FOREIGN One year, Re 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

My Himalayas Is here

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No 21 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JULY 25, 1948 TWO ANNAS

THIS ISSUE

I have decided to devote this issue to writings of and concerning Gandhiji. Articles and notes on other subjects have therefore been held back this week.

Wardha, 14-7-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

GANDHI

Suffering is the mark of the human tribe It is an eternal law The mother suffers that her child may live. Life comes out of death The condition of wheat growing is that the seed grain should perish. No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering . I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to want to be co-equal with God I am therefore humble enough to recognize evil as such, and I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because he permits evil in the world . Why should we be upset when children or young men or old men die? Those who believe in the soul —and what Hindu, Mussalman or Parsi does not?—know that the soul never dies —*Gandhiji*

Mahatma Gandhi's death at the hand of a Hindu assassin shakes the soul with its shocking reminder of the power of evil More than any other man of this century, Gandhi returned good for evil, blessing for cursing, love for hatred When he was reviled, he reviled not again He prayed for those who persecuted him He turned the other cheek again and again He made no effort to save his life by surrounding it with the protections usually considered necessary by the great He knew the risks he ran for several attempts had previously been made to kill him. But he went freely among the people, received everybody who wanted to see him, and finally was shot at one of the public prayer meetings which he held daily

If anyone could be said to have tried to overcome evil with good, Gandhi made that attempt. But he is dead The good has been overcome. Gandhi did not seek to save his life, and he did not save it. The apostle of non-violence is dead, a victim of violence The champion of truth has perished, laid low by treachery The man who loved even his enemies died at the hand of an enemy. Evil has done its worst Has it triumphed over good?

Gandhi was the greatest man in our world. Standing beside him Roosevelt, Stalin, Hitler, Churchill, or even Wilson, Sun Yat Sen and Lenin all his contemporaries, lose stature. His greatness did not lie in the fact that more than any other man he must be given credit for winning independence for India Neither did it reside in his recent amazing achievement by which, through 'soul-force', he brought about a truce between the warring religious communities of India Rather it was in his recognition that the supreme struggle of the modern world is not in politics but is the battle between good and evil in the soul of man This insight on Gandhi's part often confused and dismayed his political associates Nehru's books are full of confessions of his inability to understand the saint whom he nevertheless loved and to whose wisdom he generally deferred.

But Gandhi was right as his own death reveals The outcome of all political arrangements depends in the last analysis on the issue of the spiritual struggle The final boundary is the inner frontier of the soul, and modern man is being pushed back to that ultimate outpost. Gandhi was murdered because he relentlessly drove his fellow Hindus back to that frontier He undertook his recent fast because he could not endure seeing India destroy itself in communal strife without doing something about it When people of all parties came to plead with him to stave on what terms he would consent to give up his self-imposed suffering, he laid down conditions only for his own religious community He asked no pledges of the Moslems or Sikhs, but he asked a great deal of the Hindus.

In effect, Gandhi brought his fellow Hindus to pledge that they would take upon themselves the humiliation and pain of walking through the fire of suffering They agreed to invite the millions of Moslems who have been forced to emigrate to Pakistan back to their homes in India Hindus, who had themselves suffered frightful atrocities at the hands of Moslems, agreed to assure safe-conduct for all who accepted Moslem mosques were to be reopened and restored to their owners and all social and economic discriminations were to cease As a pledge of good faith and an act of penance, Hindus agreed to visit their Moslem friends on the first feast day and to take them gifts, as they did before communal strife began a generation ago On top of all this Gandhi insisted that India release $ 166,000,000 (Rs fifty crores) of Pakistan funds, impounded because Indians had every reason for believing it would be used to finance the Moslem attack on Kashmir The money was turned over

Can an American even faintly grasp what this meant? Imagine California's landed interests

apologizing to the displaced Japanese-Americans! Imagine the American Legion seeking amnesty and indemnification for imprisoned conscientious objectors! Imagine white Protestant churches opening their membership to Negroes or Roman Catholics holding out the hand of fellowship to Communists! If the United States were now freely to welcome all homeless Germans, and if we had lost twice as many dead at German hands as we did in the recent war, we would be doing something comparable to what the Hindus agreed to do to save Gandhi's life It is not surprising that a considerable number of people in India took the view Gandhi's assassin took that forgiveness under these circumstances on such a scale and at such a price, was madness.

So Gandhi is dead murdered by a Hindu because other Hindus had been moved to repent and to forgive their enemies But being dead, Gandhi yet speaks He has sealed with his life the covenant made between himself and the Hindu leaders binding them to its fulfilment more strongly than any pledge made to the living And his sacrifice will do more to soften the attitude of the Moslems towards the people of Hindu India than anything that has yet happened One refuses to contemplate what might have happened had Gandhi s murderer been a Moslem, but the fact that Gandhi was killed by one of his own brethren dramatizes the inner and spiritual nature of the Indian problem in a way which will bring it home to the members of all India's communities

Gandhi is dead, yet paradoxically he lives more powerfully than ever He lives in the common people of India, whom he lifted to self-respect for the first time in modern history He lives in Nehru and the other leaders of India, Hindus and Muslims alike, who have pledged themselves to return good for evil. He lives in the Christian community around the world which has been forced to recognize in him a more compelling embodiment of Christian practice in political relationships than it has been able to produce from its own ranks. And he lives in history as one more proof that our conflicts in the inner and outer worlds, our spiritual and our political struggles are really one and must be decided together

Having said all this, it must be admitted that unless something more can be affirmed, Gandhi's life ended in failure So far as his 78 years were concerned, his attempt to overcome evil with good was smashed by the bullet of a killer Unless there is a life beyond this, then injustice, hatred and violence won the day over the most Christlike life this century has known The persistence of a man s influence, even the healing influence of Gandhi, is not an adequate answer to the problem of evil as embodied in the murder of this good man.

Gandhi believed with the Christian church that death is not the end of a good life but that the soul lives on. Long ago he said some words which bear remembrance now

"I do perceive that while everything around me is ever changing and ever dying there is, underlying all that changes, a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates dissolves and recreates. That informing power and spirit is God I see it as purely benevolent, for I can see that, in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is life, truth and light. He is love. He is the supreme good."*

In that faith Gandhi lives on. In that faith, and in it alone, the cross of Christ has meaning for our day, and forever

(With apology to *The Christian Century* of 11-2-48, Chicago U S A.)

[*Note* — With all deference to the writer of this beautiful editorial, I must politely say that I am unable to accept his conclusion as expressed in the penultimate paragraph Whether or not there is a life (that is persistence of individuality) beyond this the destruction of the body of a resister of evil cannot be the deciding factor for adjudicating upon his success or failure If the bullet which kills a good man simultaneously permanently injures the cause which the shooter represented, while it strengthens the cause for which the good man laid down his life, then surely the mere taking of his life is no failure It is a part of the price of the cause, perhaps, more price of the same nature may still have to be paid. Future alone can decide the degree of success achieved

Wardha, 15-7-48 — K. G M]

*From a recording made by the Columbia Gramophone Company

BAPU — MY SAVIOUR

II

In face of Bapu s clear injunction I had anyhow to restrain myself But later on when Bapu informed me that he was leaving for Sevagram on September 30, 1944 I could no longer do so, and so I immediately hastened to Sevagram to be in time there for Bapu's birthday celebrations Bapu received me as he always did, with an ineffable tenderness and hearty pat on the back. My heart was full, indeed too full for words Now that after all I was so near him, my Master, I tried to merge Vidya's personality into his and forgot my sorrow for a while I also tried to be cheerful as though nothing really was the matter with me, but the attempt failed as it was bound to So not being able to hold my grief any longer one early morning after prayers I went up to Bapu as he was lying on his cot in the open under a mosquito net, hid my head in his bosom and bitterly wept. I sobbed like a child For about an hour or so, I was kneeling by Bapu's bed, listening to the words of comfort that he caressingly spoke into my ears This heart-to-heart talk with Bapu greatly composed my spirits, and since that day I made it a point to hold daily communion with him at that early morning hour and derive whatever solace I could.

I can never, never forget the precious hours that I spent with my beloved Bapu during my stay of full

eight weeks in the *Ashram* and the tender love that he showered on me Every morning as I would bow down my head before him for his blessings, he would greet me with a fascinating smile and ask, "Well Anand, how did you pass the night?" And then I would unreservedly open out to him and appear before him in all my nakedness I would not hide anything from him so that Bapu may see me as I am He would again speak words of sympathy and solace and, lest I forget he would also write down something on a piece of paper for me to meditate upon during the day From 13 10-1944 onwards he wrote continuously for a fortnight and then off and on till he sent me to Bhimavaram for Nature Cure treatment What he wrote for me to soothe my sore heart is of such universal importance that I feel it would be too selfish on my part not to share it with the general public. This is what he wrote on *13-10-1944*

'Those who will look only to God shall cease to look to persons dead or alive.

If you digest this, well, you will never grieve."

Again on *14-10-1944*

'Do you know the poem *Try Again*? No giving in permitted. All other trust is in vain. Only trust in God. That is the lesson of Vidya's death Your love is on trial

This for today

Next day 15-10-1944 I told Bapu that the grief still gnawed at my heart and I felt that I would be relieved of it only if the grace of God descended upon me I then asked him how to qualify myself for that grace Thereupon Bapu wrote (in Hindustani)

"The grace of God proceeds from doing God's work You have to do God's work. Do you ever spin? Spinning is the greatest of all *yajnas*. You should spin even whilst you are weeping.

"Think over this today

When I met Bapu the following morning (16 10-1944) I frankly told him that I could not apply my mind to spinning as I was stricken with sorrow He, then administered a gentle rebuke and supplemented it by the following lines

"Everything is possible in peace and tranquility. Charkha is the support and solace of the hungry and the distressed It should never be given up while one is in sorrow."

And that very day Bapu wrote to Vidya's father in reply to the latter's note as follows,

"Sevagram 16-10-1944

"My dear Kawalramani

"I have your note Vidya was a priceless girl with her thoughts always turned towards God I miss her probably as much as you do. But Anand is simply disconsolate. I tell him in being so, he fails to be true to Vidya Her soul is surely not at peace when she knows that her dear ones grieve over the dissolution of her perishable body, instead of copying her godliness and doing the work of God. Anand is trying to be peaceful and useful

"Yours,
BAPU'

There is no gainsaying the fact that I honestly tried to be "peaceful and useful", but somehow or the other I could not take my mind off my sorrow Day and night I was haunted by Vidya's memories Next day (17-10-1944) when I confessed to Bapu as much, he wrote down the following

"You should make your time-table so as not to have a moment free That is the real love for the departed. Look at the Englishmen They also love their dear ones But they devote themselves to service all the more when they lose their dear ones.'

On 18-10-1944, I asked Bapu what he meant by writing to Vidya's father that "her soul is surely not at peace when she knows that her dear ones grieve over the dissolution of her perishable body instead of copying her godliness and doing the work of God.' Did he believe that my weeping and wailing after Vidya had a disturbing effect on her soul? If so then by the same process of reasoning, how was it that Vidya's soul failed to exercise soothing influence upon me when it knew that I was so much in distress? To this querry, Bapu's answer was:

"We cannot say if the dead commune with the living but there is not the least doubt about the fact that the living do influence the dead. Hence, we should never weep after them

"God's grace is attained by doing God's work. And His work can be done by serving the poor in thought, word and deed."

And the next day (19-10-1944) again he enjoined upon me as follows

"Think what a poor man would do if he were in your condition. He would labour twice as much if he lost his wife. He is also a man of God. The inner joy comes from doing God's work. We should all place ourselves in the position of the poor You must treat your deafness as a blessing from God To remain idle even for a moment is God's theft. I do not know of any other way that leads to inner or outer happiness.

'Do you follow all this? Or, would you desire me to write in English?

ANAND T. HINGORANI

(To be continued)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price Rs *4-0-0* Postage etc As 0-8-0

THE NATION'S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn—September to December 1931]
Edited by
C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*
Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Eight*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

July 25 1948

MY HIMALAYAS IS HERE

[Gandhiji a post prayer speeches as published in the English edition of the *Delhi Diary* are more briefly reported than the same in Hindustani I have therefore taken the liberty of giving an exact translation of a portion of his speech on the 29th January 1948, the day previous to his assassination for its importance in throwing light upon his attitude towards life, death and world problems. In the speech Gandhiji reports to the audience the purport of a conversation between himself and a member accompanying a deputation of refugees from Bannu (N. W. F. P.) which had waited upon him that day —K. G. M.]

They were all good people It was natural that they should be full of anger But ultimately they accepted my advice One of the party—I do not know whether he was a refugee or just a companion—told me "You have already done much harm Do you want to go on adding to it? It would be better if you go away What does it matter, even if you are a Mahatma if you are simply doing us harm? You leave us, forget us run away" I asked him where he wanted me to go to He said Go to the Himalayas.' Thereupon I reproached him, saying "You are not as old as I. Of course, you too are old also strong in body You can easily knock down five or seven men like me I am only a Mahatma with a weak body If I get frightened, where would I be?' And then smilingly I added, "At whose bidding shall I go away? Whom should I listen to? Some tell me that I should not leave this place others say I should leave it Some threaten me, some abuse me, others praise me Whose opinion shall I take as my guide? So, I have accepted God as my guide, and act as He bids me. You might say that you do not believe in God But in that case you should at least allow me the freedom of my conscience You might also say 'We are God" That is to say that the corporate will of the society is God. But this is not a question of the corporate will of the society God here is not Himself the suffeter or in affliction But It is He who is the friend and succourer of the afflicted

"When I say that every woman is my own sister or daugher, her grief becomes my grief Why do you feel that I do not know your adversities and do not feel my share in them? Why do you think that I am an enemy of the Hindus and the Sikhs, and a friend of the Muslims only?'

It was good of this friend to speak to me frankly Some write to me in an abusive manner and some do so politely that I should leave them alone even if they were in hell They want me to go away from their midst. But how can I go at anyone's bidding? I have not taken to the service of humanity at anyone's bidding, and cannot give up that service at anyone's bidding I am what God has willed me to be and act as He directs. Let Him do what He wills of me If He so chooses, He can kill me I believe that I am acting as God commands me

I would very much enjoy living in the Himalayas I will not be in want of food or drink or clothing there It will be a peaceful place But I do not want peace of that sort. I want to reach peace through agony My Himalayas is here If you are all going to the Himalayas you can take me with you

(Translated from the *Delhi Diary*—Hindustani edition)

SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST

I regret to read irresponsible and untrue reports of Shri Bhansali's fast They do his cause more harm and contribute to the prolongation of his fast unnecessarily It should be realized that though India-Hyderabad relations is a political issue, Shri Bhansali's fast is on humanitarian grounds unconnected with politics It is for the acceptance of the principle that woman's honour will always be considered sacred even in military or semi-military activities When politicians work up popular feeling against the State, the State authorities naturally suspect the bona fides of Shri Bhansali and delay the solution of his demand to visit the State My name has been unauthorizedly and wrongly brought in I have not had any communication with the State authorities in this matter In fact I have no *locus standi* to do so. I am not going myself, am not a political leader, and Shri Bhansali is not going at my suggestion or on my behalf Shri Bhansali is of course an esteemed colleague, stays at Bajajwadi, and thus naturally I try to help him and his cause to the best of my ability My influence, if at all, is to prevent Shri Bhansali from taking any step which would jeopardize his life more than what the fast itself is capable of doing As a humanitarian I am not one of those propagandists who would desire to so exploit the situation that war between India and Hyderabad would be precipitated Being unable to point any definite line of non-violent action I have kept silent over this subject, but I do not welcome a solution of the problem through violence by either side I do not believe in the slogan "Violence to end Violence"

Wardha, 20-7-48 K G MASHRUWALA

P S - The Hyderabad Government having assured that there would be no restriction of Shri Bhansali's movement on previous conditions Shri Bhansali has replied that he starts for Madura on the twenty-second after provisionally breaking fast and will not recommence it if women's honour is safe, but must do so if their condition is helpless The fast was broken at eleven this morning with glucose water.

Wardha, 21-7-48 K G M.

MAHATMA EVER PRESENT

One evening a sannyasi from a Telugu District came to Raman Maharshi of Tiruvannamalai, and asked him a question about Mahatma Gandhiji's death which had cast a gloom all over the world. The sage of Arunachala confidently replied that Gandhiji was not dead.

The words of that great sage of India went into my heart and made me reflect seriously over the age-long problem of life and death and the calamity that had befallen our Indian nation. My deeper thoughts led me to believe that the Mahatma is as alive as ever and he is more accessible to us here and now than while he was occupying his physical tabernacle The ancient Aryans never called a man dead What they said was that his body had come to an end The word *dehanta* is still popularly used in Hindi This word is a correct expression of the Hindu faith which teaches that the dissolution of the body of a man does not touch the real living and conscious self in him Almost all the ancient Hindu scriptures assert with oo uncertain voice that the soul of man survives physical dissolution and lives for ever being imperishable and undying. "It is unborn, perpetual, eternal and ancient. It is not slain when the body is slaughtered Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him, not waters wet him, nor wind drieth him away. Uncleavable he, incombustible he, and indeed neither to be wetted nor dried; perpetual, all pervasive, stable immovable, ancient' (*Bhagavad Gita* Chap II, verses 23 and 25)

THE ISLAMIC STAND

Similarly Islam has also taught that the human soul is immortal The Holy *Quran* says that God breathed His own breath into the nostril of man The real man survives when his body is perished. The ordinary Arabic words for death are *intqal* and *rihlat* which mean transference from one state to another In cases of saints and sages the word used is *wasl* or *wisal* which means union with God,

An Urdu poet says '*Maut ek mandgi ha waqfa hai, yane age barhenge dam lekar*' Death is a respite after (life s) fatigue, i. e we shall go forward after resting a while

The great mystic-poet of Persia, Hafiz Shirazi, has proclaimed his faith in the immortality of a true lover of God *Hargiz na mirad an he dilash zinda shud ba ishq Sabt ast bar jaridai-alam dawam ma* He whose heart is enlivened by love (of God) never dies My permanence is writ on the book of the world

Shri Pyarelal (in the *Harijan* dated 22nd February, 1948) says 'Mahatmaji had long ceased to belong to his family Home he had none, or rather one might say the whole world was his home and mankind his family" In this way he had learnt to identify himself with the Cosmic Consciousness. He lived in the lives of all His outlook was Universal. He saw "one Self equally dwelling in all human hearts" to quote his most favourite sacred scripture, the *Gita*

DEATH—A TRUE FRIEND

Having realized that he was the ever-living, immortal self and not the decaying and changing physical vehicle, he hated making a fetish of the perishable body whether dead or alive"

In a letter addressed to Shri Shankaran, dated 29th January, 1948, he wrote, 'Death is a true friend It is only our ignorance that causes us grief Sulochana's spirit was yesterday, is today and will remain tomorrow The body of course must die'

It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our own lives his fearlessness, his utter simplicity transparent honesty and sincerity his remarkable industry, his exemplary love of his country and people

In the words of Vallabbhai Patel the surest and most pleasing memorial to Gandhiji is to follow his inimitable teachings and to devote oneself to the constructive ideas which he preached and practised It is only thus that we can really enshrine him in our hearts and after all that is the place where we should all like him to be always

It is an agreeable coincidence that what Sardar Patel said about his chief was truly portrayed in a Persian couplet long ago. *Bad az wafat turbate ma dar zamin ma ju-dar sinahai-e-mardume-e-arif mazare-mast.* Do not seek my tomb oo earth after (my) death My resting place is found in the hearts of men of wisdom

DISEMBODIED INSPIRATION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma's devoted lieutenant and disciple and others are naturally deeply grieved and feel forlorn and forsaken There is none they think, to whom they may go for guidance and help The light that used to illumine their hearts is gone for ever But let us remember that great saints never leave us, far less die

Some of the great Islamic saints and mystics are treated as ever present, and watchful of the interest of those who commune with them More than 600 years have passed and people from all over India flock round the tomb of Hazrat Moinuddin Chishti and Nizamuddin Auliya of Ajmer and Delhi, with the faith that if they prayed at the shrines, the souls of these saints would grant them their hearts' desires

Similarly, our beloved and most venerable Bapu is far nearer to us now than he was ever before He is not bound by physical limitations of time and space. In a disembodied condition he is in a far better position to help us than he did before he discarded his physical vehicle We must constantly bear in mind that he is ever present here and now, provided we think of him intently, and commune with him silently Particularly when we go to sleep we should reflect on the problem oo which we are anxious to seek a solution and light and we shall be overjoyed next morning to discover that our individual problem has been solved and that we have sufficient light to guide us in our affairs

M HAFIZ SYED

OUR HUMBLE HOMAGE

Our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while paying homage to our Gurudev Bapuji remarked that it was hard for us to praise Bapuji, his praise being nothing but our own praise I recall certain instances to show how Bapuji too never expected and desired his near and dear ones to make any public praise for him, who was exactly like a real father and mother to us

After staying with Bapuji for full seven weeks at Sevagram Ashram and receiving his day-to-day instructions and guidance, we were sent, along with a letter of introduction written by him, to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur at Simla (March 1945)

Later on Bapuji himself arrived in Simla in connection with the first Simla Conference We both went to Rajkumari's House to receive him We had brought garlands of flowers to pay homage to our Bapuji, but the moment he saw us holding garlands for him, he said rather feelingly "What has happened to you? Don't you know me? What are you doing? Will Devdas and Manilal do this?" It was only then, that we could realize our mistake that one who loves us like his own children Devdas and Manilal could never expect to make a show of our honour in public in any formal way, as is the case in our actual daily life

But young and inexperienced that we were, we did not fully appreciate the deep significance of his noble words, and his intense love for children When therefore we saw that he did accept a garland of thread from Rajkumari, we felt a bit hurt and did not go to him for a couple of days When Bapuji found that, being rather sensitive, we had not been near him he sent Shri Pyarelal to our house at a distance of two miles, to tell us that Bapuji had remembered us and enquired why we had not been to Manorville.

On that very evening we went to Manorville As it was drizzling at that time, the prayers were held in Bapuji's own room instead of in the open. When we entered Mirabehn was singing *Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram* Bapuji's eyes were closed. The moment prayer was over, Bapuji opened his eyes and seeing us said the sweet words *aa gaye!* (you have come!) in such an enchanting tone, that we remember them even now ringing in our ears These loving and enchanting words, we shall never forget We went near him he enquired after our health and in fact of everything and everybody connected with us Such a sweet Bapuji we have lost through our own mistake and misfortune As he rightly said to me at the Birla House only a few weeks before his tragic death We are responsible for whatever is happening in this country today and it will not be proper to say that Nature has done it. Nature has no hands Nature does things through your and my hands and it is therefore I say that we have done everything that is happening around us'

Every day at Sevagram we used to put a question in writing and Bapuji used to write the reply in his own hand in one of which Bapuji wrote "Congressman is he who sincerely works for the Congress and not one who deceives by paying four annas. Therefore this is the time to be a true Congressman in that sense of the term and pledge to ourselves, that the great principles of freedom love and brotherhood, for which he lived, worked and died shall inspire his countrymen for ages to come and through them the whole world Amen

GOPE GURBAX
VIMLABANI GOPE GURBAX

OUR BELOVED MAHATMAJI

Mahatma Gandhiji the soul of India the spiritual light of humanity and the enigma of the world, is gone for ever Friday evening the 30th January, 1948 ruthlessly snatched him away from the bosom of our Mother India. Mother India wept along through the quivering lips of Pandit Nehru — The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere Our beloved leader, Bapu as we called him, the Father of the Nation is no more " We feel forlorn since our most beloved Mahatma Gandhiji's eternal departure

"No act of mine is done without prayer" — said Mahatmaji all along Mahatmaji the image of non-violence, is gone to heaven to be mingled with God in the chariot of non-violence

What India is today is entirely due to Mahatmaji. He was the liberator of India He was the guide of the true sons of India He was the friend of the poor He was the adviser of the rich. He was the succour of the oppressed. He was the revealer of Truth, Love and Non-violence — the eternal runes of all religions of the world What Mahatmaji thought, he taught. What Mahatmaji pondered, he penned. What Mahatmaji discovered, he disclosed Such was our most beloved Mahatma

S Radhakrishnan writes

'Gandhi belongs to the race of the prophets who have the courage of the heart, the courtesy of the spirit and the laughter of the unafraid. Through his life and teaching, he bears testimony to the values for which this country has stood for ages, faith in spirit respect for its mysteries the beauty of holiness the acceptance of life's obligations, the validity of character, values which are neither national nor international but universal"

G N Dhawan writes

'In the line of saints and prophets he has often been ranked with Buddha and Christ. To millions of people in India and outside he is the highest embodiment of India's genius and of her eternal will to non violence.

Romain Rolland writes

'One thing is certain either Gandhi's spirit will triumph or it will manifest itself again, as were manifested centuries before the Messiah and Buddha till thus finally is manifested in a mortal half god the perfect incarnation of the principle of life which will lead a new humanity on to a new path

Louis Fischer writes

"If you strike right with Gandhi you open a new pocket of thought. An interview with him is a voyage of discovery.

These thought-provoking words of these savants of the East and the West lead us all oo to the sacred feet of the departed Mahatmaji. These ever scintillating words still ring throughout the world and will remind the coming new generations of the entire humanity to know Mahatmaji thoroughly and will lead them ou ro be tinged with the Gandhian ideals and philosophy

Thrice came reveted Mahatmaji to our Assam. He loved our Assam He saved out Assam He declared to the world that Assam was the sublime picture of the serene natural beauties and the land of charkhas and handlooms Assam is really so aod will continue ro be so We the Assamese, are ever respectfully grateful to this divine soul and always bow down at his lotus-like feet for his blessings, guidaoce and voice from the heaven where he remains resplendent with the omniptesent, omniscieot and omnipotent God.

Truly a well-known Assamese Poet, Shri R. N Choudhary writes in a philosophical poem, "Nothing remains of the perishable body O ily the memory lingers on in this world" Mahatmaji is gone. But, his sacted memory dwells in the beatts of humanity The tune of his words of Truth Love and Non-violence still melodiously float in the air His actions small aweet and blossom in his fragrant dust.

Our most beloved Mahatmaji is invisible to us fot ever 'Where has he gone? A distant still voice vibtates in the air—' He has gone there where God is.' Will he not come again? God only knows whether he will come But, at the same time the answer is audible— I once thought that I could finish the wheel of rebirth io this incarnation. I know that I can't and that I shall have to return to it. We cannot escape it, but I hope it will only be once more that I come back to it"—said he to Millie Graham Polak. "Everything in India attracts me"—said Mahatmaji. In India he was born. In India he grew In India he learnt In India he worked. In India he thought From India he spoke From India he taught. From India he is gone To India he will come Otherwise the above words would not heve come out from the cote of his heart. This is out hope This is out ptayer too

India is void today India is dreary today India is dried up today But, Mahatmaji s ideal teaching and voice still remaio in India "God knows what work to take out of me He will not permit me to live a moment longet than He needs me for His work '—said Mahatmaji So he is gone fot ever according to divine arrangement.

Now, with bended knee I pause with offerings of deep love, veoeration and reverence to the departed Mahatmaji, the leading star of humanity, by citing the perfectly poised words of C F. Andrews:

> They will discover that Gandhi is astonishingly and delightfully human. They will find in him a character which at times will remind them of St Francis of Assisi by its inner radiance and beauty.

Gauhati, 15-6-'48 J B Borooah

MAHATMA GANDHI AND TOLSTOY

In modern times we know one great soul whose writings Gandhiji studied many years ago, with whom he also corresponded and who left a deep imptess oo Gandhiji. That man was Leo Tolstoy of Russia After a luxurious life and military activity, he found great disappointment in and disgust for the selfish worldly life and turned to the Christian teaching in an unorthodox and broad-minded manner He studied the essential teaching of Jesus and proclaimed it and tried to live up to it. He gave up his big estate and adopted a simple vegetarian diet aoon after the change in his life and ideas This is explained in his *First Steps* He dressed like a peasant very simply and lived in an unfurnished room io his house, where the writing materials aod a plough and a spade and a wood cutters axe and a saw and a shoemaker's tools were kept. He tried to live like a peasant working with the plough ot sawing wood with workmen Unfortunately most members of his family except his daughter and one son were of another mind. His eldest son, whom I met in Paris hated his father, blaming him, quite wrongly, for the Russian Revolution, through which they had lost their big estate

Tolstoy like Gandhiji was against all violence. He believed that the world can be uplifted through non-violeoce and passive resistance, that is, resisting evil not by evil ot force but by good, as Jesus had taught But this revival of Christian teaching was based not on mere passivity but active non-co-operation with force and violence in every form That was what the Christians had forgotten or had not recognized after the primitive Christian cults When Emperor Constantine became a Christian after his predecessors had persecuted this cult he kept his arm and the sword of empire outside the baptismal font and thus made violence sneak back into Christian thought and life.

Tolstoy left his family because he could not live fully according to his ideals in their company, as they lived in luxury and did oot give back the land to the peasants as Tolstoy wished He got ill through exposure to great cold, and died of pneumonia away from home This was his act of martyrdom

His position in life, his great influence among the idealists of every land made it impossible for the Russian Governmeot to imprison him although he offered himself to be put into jail, when an admirer of his writings was tried and imprisoned for circulating his manuscript, which was not allowed to be published in Russia. But the authorities refused to try ot punish Tolstoy as they did Mahatma Gandhi in India because the Russian rule was not foteign as here

Tolstoy believed in Truth, love and *brahmacharya* (sexual purity), not taking what belooged to others and utter simplification of life, as Gandhiji did. Like Tolstoy Gandhiji believed in cleanliness, conteotment, austerity, study of scriptures, and dedicating all activities to the Lord.

Tolstoy succeeded in greatly influencing some of his friends among big land-owners and princes who gave up their estates to the peasants Mahatma Gandhi has also influenced the lives of many persons though few have understood him fully But this did not discourage him though he carried out some of Tolstoy's ideas even more thoroughly than Tolstoy could. He applied the soul force of passive resistance, to Indian politics and succeeded in achieving great success in spite of the people not having understood or followed him in a perfect manner But there is no doubt about the success which he gained and which will go down in history unequalled by any other people before There are some previous instances of passive resistance in history For instance, it succeeded to some extent in Hungary after the failure of military resistance and war in about 1850 Tolstoy has also mentioned it in his works that it was going to be applied in America also by Lloyd Garrison to free the slaves, but the American Government came in and used military force to the same end All the same those attempts are not a patch on what Gandhiji has achieved

In the beginning Tolstoy wrote mainly on Christian lines though he was never orthodox or narrow-minded Later on he found that all religions had very similar essential truths He called these principles trans-divine which did not depend on any individual teachers

For Mahatma Gandhi also, Truth had the real significance and not human or so-called divine myths which alone attract the unenlightened man. He called God Truth even as the Arabs called Him *Haq*, and Truth he called God

One day when a guard kicked a pregnant peasant woman on the lawn of Yasnya Polyana, for trespassing there and which was prohibited by the Countess Tolstoy to whom that estate belonged, Tolstoy wept with sorrow and indignation, but said nothing to offend her I also remember having read some years ago that Gandhiji could not bear Kasturba use a few rupees from public money for a private purpose

Leo Tolstoy wrote many books and pamphlets to convey his ideas to the world, beside his famous earlier stories of large and small size which had made him popular in the literary world, but which later he denounced as works of art, and he wanted the world not to read those stories but his ideas about religious and social truths which he tried to make simple and did not embellish them as artistic productions

Mahatma Gandhi has written a good deal, but he spent more time and labour in practically carrying out his mission which was the aim of Tolstoy also

Gandhiji seemed a little disappointed with conditions and tendencies of violence which he tried to remove and which resulted in his martyrdom. Tolstoy was also disturbed with the world conditions there But they surrendered themselves fully to the will of God and the destiny of the world which is expressed by the resultant of all the forces of good and evil that exist here The thoughts and activities of such great men are one factor in that destiny while the resistance of evil inherent in ignorance which partly yields to the force of good according to the totality of that will is the other factor

BEAUTY OF THE SOUL AND FEATURES

The Greek philosophers have said that the face is an expression of the soul But they did not mean merely beauty of the features but the expression of feeling and thought. Otherwise the great spiritual and philosophic persons like Socrates in ancient times and Leo Tolstoy and Gandhiji in modern days would have been handsome, which none of them were

But the expression in the eyes and faces of these men was beautiful and resplendant with compassion and sympathy and love and the will to suffer for the suffering and down-trodden

Here we find another resemblance between Gandhiji and Tolstoy And I have heard of this even from persons who were by no means friendly towards Mahatma Gandhi

A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer speeches from 10 9 47 to 30-1 48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi.

Gandhiji himself has said to one of these prayer speeches that "*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer*' These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THIS ISSUE	K. G MASHRUWALA	177
GANDHI	"	177
BAPU—MY SAVIOUR II	ANAND T HINGORANI	178
MY HIMALAYAS IS HERE	M. K. GANDHI	180
SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST	K G MASHRUWALA	180
MAHATMA EVER PRESENT	M HAFIZ SYED	181
OUR HUMBLE HOMAGE	GOPE GURBAX VIMLARANI GOPE GURBAX	182
OUR BELOVED MAHATMAJI	J B. BOSCOAR	182
MAHATMA GANDHI AND TOLSTOY	A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS	183

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 | Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $. 3

Emoluments and Titles

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

3072

VOL XII No 22 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 1 1948 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

In Memoriam

Today, Sunday the 1st of August may be remembered as the day of Lokamanya Tilak s death as also of the launching of the non-cooperation movement by Gandhiji in 1920

Wardha

Thanks

I thank various correspondents and institutions for kindly supplying me with information and copies of Sanskrit periodicals I have received sufficient material and shall not need any more

Wardha 16-7-'48

Bombay's Reply

I am glad to publish the following from the Minister for Prohibition, Bombay Government, in reply to my enquiry

> Regarding the issue of special permits to Indian Officers to possess foreign liquor This Government has neither introduced nor have I sanctioned any such system as mentioned by you On the contrary, prohibition regulations have not only been made equally binding but more strict so far as Government officers are concerned, From time to time circulars are issued impressing upon them the imperative necessity of abstaining from drink in order that they should set an example to the general public
>
> You will thus find that in this Province the case is just the reverse of what is indicated in your letter

I hope the Madras Government as also other Governments, if any will see their way to rectify their methods

Wardha 15-7-48

Nothing to Find Fault with

A correspondent has sent me a facsimile copy published in a Bengali daily of a confidential circular issued from the Police Department of Ranchi to its subordinate officers asking for full reports of the activities of some workers and sympathizers of the agitation for inclusion of borders of Bihar in West Bengal, who have been named. The purpose of sending it to me is obviously, that I should adversely comment upon it

But I do not think that there is anything objectionable in this I think it is part of the functions of the Police Department to obtain information and keep notes of every movement lawful or unlawful whether favourable or unfavourable to government or any section of the people, within its jurisdiction The important thing is that the police do not interfere with the movement as long as it is carried on peacefully and lawfully As there is every possibility of a movement, even if originally carried on in a peaceful and constitutional manner transgressing these limits the police departments must always have ready information regarding it Thus, even if there is a movement for making an organized effort to collect the entirely Government-recognized Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund in a *tahsil* the police ought to know about it

Such circulars are confidential only in the sense that they are not meant for those outside the department They are not secret between a few individual officers

Wardha 20-7- 48

Not the Price of Freedom

Referring to Shri Bhansali s fast a patriotic lady writes

> Woman s honour seems to be the price God is demanding for our freedom

I beg to differ It is not the price which *God* is demanding but the exaction which *Satan* is extorting If the fair price of wheat is four annas a lb but you pay a rupee for it because the grain dealer will not sell it for less a rupee is not the price which a good merchant is demanding of you, but it is the illegal exaction of a black-marketeer The dishonouring of women is even worse than that, for willingly or unwillingly you consent to pay the black-marketeer s demand, but here there is no question of the consent or otherwise of the ravished woman and also no reference to freedom whatsoever These are grave inhuman crimes and it would be a mistake to ease our conscience by thinking that it is a part of the price of freedom Sadism must be resisted with all our strength and *tapasya*

Wardha, 20-7-'48

The Yarn Condition

In the course of a note published in the *Khadi Jagat* of the current month the Secretary of the A I S A. thus clarifies the position regarding the raising of the yarn condition

> (1) The resolution of the A I S. A. is not obligatory but only permissive. Any institution not willing to raise the yarn condition is at perfect liberty to retain it The A. I. S. A. itself has not

raised it in its own *khadi* centre It believes that the yarn condition is indispensable for the progress of *khadi* and without it it would be impossible to meet the demand for it. It thus welcomes those institutions who insist on retaining the yarn condition The condition has been raised for the ultimate conversion of those *khadi*-lovers who have not yet realized the necessity of becoming charkha lovers too and make a grievance of not getting *khadi* without spinning

(2) The A I S A would like to warn those certified institutions who have retained the yarn condition not out of faith in its necessity but in the hope that the retention would enable them to get *khadi* stocks from the A I S A This expectation will lead to disappointment The A I S A is rapidly organizing itself for a purely self sufficiency programme It will not be in a position to supply any stock to other institutions Those institutions which wish to retain the yarn condition must therefore do so on their own faith in the yarn condition and on their strength to supply themselves with the necessary stock

Some certified institutions have opened two branches in their *bhandars* in one of which *khadi* is sold subject to the yarn condition and in the other for all cash The first is maintained in the hope above referred to As stated above, it is a wrong expectation and it has been decided that the A I S A should stop the supply of *khadi* to those institutions immediately

No Marriage within Caste

A worker writes

Your editorial article in the *Harijan* dated 27th June 1948 has to be read with Swami Anand's article in the same issue *How to Abolish Caste?* Caste preserves the provincial culture of its origin for centuries I am a Telugu in Tamil Nad my forefathers settled here centuries ago If there were no caste my Telugu origin could not even be traced today

Abolish caste and the domiciled population gets absorbed in a few generations. But is caste going to die? I am afraid it will stick on and see to the utter destruction of this country if we of this revolutionary generation do not immediately take to inter caste marriage on a catlog wide scale. Inter-caste marriage is but the beginning of the great movement for the dissolution of caste

'Let the Sarvodaya Samaj rule all *Sapindi* (intra caste) marriages out of order among its members in other words one of the terms of membership in the Samaj should be that a member will not marry in his or her own caste

Will you give a lead in such unequivocal terms?'

There have been several periods in the history of mankind, when a wave of mixed marriages has followed a long period of marriages within restricted groups We are at present passing through the stage, when mixed marriages have become a necessity of the times

I have no authority to lay down any rule for the Sarvodaya Samaj, and unless its Executive Committee decides to change the scope of its Constitution it is hardly possible for it to lay down any such rule as suggested.

This is a matter, in which he who believes has to show it by acting Marriage is a difficult problem It is a love marriage it does not know restrictions whether of inside caste or outside caste If it is a regulated marriage so many factors enter into consideration that no exact rule can be laid down All I can say therefore is that inter-caste inter-communal and inter-provincial marriages deserve every encouragement

Wardha 5-7 48 K G M.

Harijan Employees' Houses

With a view to tackling the question of housing Harijan employees of Local Bodies immediately and effectively the Government of Bombay has done well in announcing certain concessions The concessions will not apply to the Bombay Municipal Corporation

The Government will consider the question of making a free grant of Government land for building quarters if no suitable land in the ownership of the Local Body is available

The Government will also pay subsidies at the rate of 33-1/3 per cent of the total cost inclusive of the cost of the site in the case of Borough Municipalities and 50% of the total cost, inclusive of the cost of site in the case of District Municipalities, Village Panchayats, District Local Boards and Notified Area Committees and private individuals and bodies interested in the welfare of Harijans

The collectors and executive engineers will give all possible help to Local Bodies or other agencies for obtaining the necessary building material

The grant of free sites and payment of subsidies will be subject to certain conditions P M

Invitation for Service

The Swaraj Ashram at Vedchhi (District Surat) is a growing institution and is in need of capable and sincere *Lok Sevaks* The following activities are at present carried on at the Ashram

1 Balwadi (pre basic training school for the child)
2 Basic Education according to the *Nai Talim*
3 Ramiparaj (Local *adivasis*) Girls School
4 People's School (Post Basic Education)
5 Gram Sevak Vidyalaya (school for training village workers)
6 Nai Talim Teachers Training School

Besides the above educational activities it also interests itself in the economic and social problems of the Ramiparaj *hisans* and labourers. The following activities are carried on for the purpose

1. Centres for production of self sufficiency *khadi* and all round service of villages.
2 Multi purpose Co operative Societies
3 Co operative societies for poor peasants.
4 Joint Co-operative Societies of peasants and labourers.
5 Ramiparaj Peasants Associations
6 Halpati (Farm Labourers) Mahajan.

The Ashram invites young men and women who besides being students of pedagogical subjects social sciences, *khadi* technique agriculture, physics mechanics, sanitation and health are anxious to dedicate their lives to the service of the villager on Gandhian ideals and to labour for their own development by adopting Ashram life Those interested are requested to get a copy of the latest report of the Ashram and, if attracted to pay a personal visit to the Ashram

Swaraj Ashram,
Vedchhi Post Valod JUGATRAM DAVE
Dist Surat, 1-7- 48

KASTURBA TRUST MEETING

The third ordinary Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust was held on 27th June 1948 in Bombay The Vice-Chairman Shri G V Mavalankar presided

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was elected Chairman in the vacancy caused by the demise of Gandhiji and his term of office was fixed till the next annual meeting.

Besides the Chairman the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary who are ex-officio the following members were elected to serve on the Executive Committee of the Trust for the year 1948-49, till the next Annual Meeting

1 Smt Ashadavi Aryanayakam
2 Gosiben Captain
3. " Mridula Sarabhai
4 " Sushila Pai
5 Promila Thackersey
6 Shri Devadas Gandhi
7. Shrikrishnadas Jaju
8 Mangaldas Pakvasa
9 Shantikumar N Morarjee.

Smt Shushila Pai was appointed as the permanent Organizing Secretary of the Trust

The Trustees adopted the accounts and report of the Trust for the year 1947

The following table shows the organization during the year

	Training Centres	Working Centres	Candidates Passed	Candidates Undergoing
Gramsevika	9	110	218	170
Basic	1	15	23	58
Balwadi	1	—	17	15
Midwifery	12	17	13	67
Leprosy Relief	—	1	—	—
Rest		—	19	10

These centres employed 242 women workers in villages including *gram-sevikas*) teachers midwives etc but excluding helpers, etc

1891 ante-natal and post-natal, and 81 238 out door cases were treated in the medical centres of the Trust and 1182 maternity and 52 indoor cases were treated during the year

A sum of Rs 4 13 687 was spent during the year Till the end of 1947 Rs 1 30 54 741 were collected as Trust fund Rs 9 68,929 were received as interest and Rs 19 474 as local collections by branches As against this the Trust has so far spent Rs 8 85,201 during the last three years.

The Executive Committee of the Trust met on the 26th and 27th June 1948 and considered a number of schemes and budgets Schemes of midwifery training at Raipur Madura and Madras were sanctioned The Executive Committee sanctioned a scheme of starting a Sevika Ashram at Rewari in the Punjab for 25 women mostly widows The Committee approved the schemes and budgets of starting 12 midwifery centres 2 maternity hospitals, 29 *gramseva* and basic education centres

The Committee also approved the schemes of starting *gram-sevika vidyalayas* for Karnatak and U P and extension of *gram-sevika* and basic teachers training in Andhra and Tamil Nad

Wardha 15-7-'48 SHYAMLAL

GANDHIJI ON LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

Continuing Gandhiji referred next to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of re-constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in that days meeting The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they come to power, as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of the country But such redistribution should not militate against the organic unity of India Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that hereafter provinces could go the way they chose, independent of one another and of the Centre If each province began to look upon itself as a separate sovereign unit, India s independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well

The charter of India's independence as conceived by the Congress was based on village autonomy But all the villages were to derive vitality from the Centre as the latter in its turn derived all power and authority from the former It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism mutual bickerings and rivalries—between Tamil and Andhra for instance Bombay and Karnatak and so on The re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height Hindustani was to be the lingua franca—*Rashtra Bhasha*—of India but could not take the place of the provincial tongues It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India The world outside did not know them as Gujaratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians etc, but only as Indians We must, therefore, resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians Subject to this paramount consideration a linguistic re-distribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade

(From Post-prayer speech of Gandhiji on 25-1-1948 reported in the *Delhi Diary* pp 378 9)

[*Note*—The above has been reproduced in response to the question of a respected Andhra leader asking me if my attitude towards formation of linguistic provinces is different from that of Gandhiji I beg to reply that so far my attitude, for what it is worth, is the same as that in the above speech But I have an open mind and can modify my attitude if convinced That also was Gandhiji s frame of mind —K G M]

Wardha, 15-7-48

HARIJAN

August 1 1948

EMOLUMENTS AND TITLES

Closely connected with the system of diarchy and acting as a feeder to the conflict between Congressmen in office and those outside is the emoluments of members elected to statutory bodies. The number of offices and seats in such bodies is necessarily more limited than the number of aspirants for it Even if such positions were not economically profitable indeed cost money the prestige respect and power accompanying them would be sufficient to make ambitious men aspire to get them. The aspirations are naturally greater when they are also economically profitable, as in the present system Indeed the salaries allowances and other comforts accruing to legislators and other office-bearers have made these places almost as so many openings for profitable employment Hence there is a keen competition for getting into these bodies and with that end attempt is made to take advantage of every weak or soft spot in men's character Thus religion, community, caste relationship friendship sex passions prejudices, superstitions follies slogans etc of candidates or electors are put forth to prove that A has a better claim than B to a particular place

Witnesses summoned in a case are also paid allowances for their trouble and time in attending the courts But excepting purchasable persons and doctors and advocates who get handsome allowances for being summoned, it is not the experience that ordinary people welcome a court's invitation for giving evidence Because, the experience is that ordinary witnesses have actually to pay out of their pockets in order to attend the court, and have besides to spend a day idly with no convenience even of a seat and are roughly treated by court officials If however, every witness were paid something like Rs 10 or 15 per day without discrimination and while he was waiting to be called, could get a waiting or reading room with modern comforts, no person of the middle class or below would feel sorry to be called as a witness In the same way if attendance to the Assemblies or committees etc, were not paid as sumptuously as it is at present and if the scale of remuneration of legislators were not so sufficient as to enable a middle class man to maintain his domestic establishment without doing other work, there would not be that rivalry which is seen at present

The system of paying regular salaries to legislators was introduced, I believe in foreign countries, to enable leaders of the working and clerical or shopkeeper classes to take part in parliamentary activities They cannot work both for bread and also for public work at the same time But the scale of payment in that case should not be greater than what they would be able to get as average factory-workers or clerks or small shopkeepers I do not know what the scale in other countries are But in India the scale of daily allowances is conceived not in terms of clerks artisans or factory workers, but in those of I C S officers merchant-princes and first-class advocates and doctors But legislators of this class are few and others are not used to and have no desire to live in that style They are more interested in making a saving of their allowances and getting a good income out of it This is making business out of public service If the Congress or any other political organizations which aspire for power wish to do so for the fulfilment of some high ideals these must be severely cut down

Conferment of titles was not a good system But it had one advantage It cost little money to the tax-payer and yet gave such satisfaction to the title-holder that he was willing to pay even high price for it For instance at one time three lakhs of rupees was spoken of as the price for knighthood The knights had hardly any privileges, while the money which they donated was generally used for a public charity Similarly (Rao or Khan) Sahebs and Bahadurs These Sahebs and Bahadurs even worked as slaves at their own expense for the white Sahebs with lifelong gratitude for the titles conferred Some of them might have made a profitable use of their titles in their economic activities also But to a large number it was a mere satisfaction of their sense of vanity

We have done away with the titles to a certain extent I say to a certain extent advisedly For it is only the Government titles that have been removed Universities to a certain extent have taken up the function of conferring titles in the shape of honorary degrees and there is an increasing tendency to seek doctorates from them It is difficult to know whether a D Sc or an LL. D is so for one's special attainments in Science or Law or for one's high position in public life

But university honours are still, yet rather difficult to get and confer So men have invented another way of honouring their favourite leaders It is through popular titles, such as Quaid-e-Azam, Mahatma, Lokamanya, Lokanayak, Lokasevak Sardar, Vir, Karma-vir Deshbandhu Netaji Sant Tapasvi, Acharya, Desbhakta etc In England a favourite leader would be honoured by the diminution of his name into Bob Bill or Dick In India it would be regarded as discourteous As with Government titles some of these have been spontaneous and highly deserved while some are worked up.

The point is that the abolition of Government titles has not deprived men of other means of satisfying their appetite for honour Birthday Jubilees and Commemoration Volumes are other items of the same category The only loser is the public which has now to pay in cash for every public service or disservice rendered to it, and for bestowing such honours

I do not mention all these points to suggest that Government should revive the system of conferring titles. Rather Government should not

in official records and utterances use any title not given by itself in referring to a person and should deprecate such practice by the public If a title is to be conferred at all either as attached to an office or a personal honour, it should be done by Government itself Universities should not confer degrees which are obtainable by the general public only through examinations except for high proficiency in a particular branch of knowledge to a person actually working in that branch in its own jurisdiction And it should be conferred only once Is it not sufficient, say that Dr Radhakrishnan has once been conferred the degree of Ph D, say by the Annamalai University or the Benares Hindu University? Why should other universities of India also seek to confer it again and again?

The public and the Press should also be more stingy in conferring such titles All these practices spoil and corrupt public men and life and create jealousies and unhealthy rivalries Hence both emoluments and conferment of honours should be severely diminished Emoluments should not be such as to make positions covetable on economic grounds, and titles should not be conferred or recognized except in very rare cases To give a concrete suggestion I would say that either the Government should by an express resolution formally ratify even such widely recognized title as Sardar Patel or drop it in a pointed manner

Wardha 19-7-48 K G MASHRUWALA

LIMITATIONS OF HINDUSTANI?

Shri Ghanashyam Singh Gupta, Speaker of the C P Legislative Assembly sends the following note on the controversy of Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu (The paragraphs have been numbered by me)

' In this note I would briefly discuss the question of Language in a dispassionate manner The discussion of script may then become unnecessary

1 I would define Hindustani as the language where Hindi and Urdu become one and not two, although no doubt the vocabulary of this Hindustani differs from region to region In the Punjab and Delhi there would be more of Urdu words than say in C P In Chhattisgadh there would be only a sprinkling of Urdu words This Hindustani is the spoken language of those areas.

2 Owing to British domination English was the medium of higher education of law courts, of business and of many other things. Even the resolutions of the Congress were in English Hindustani was therefore confined to subjects left over by English from its fields of activities, e g ordinary parlance, popular lectures and popular books It served well for all ordinary purposes open to it There was thus no occasion for any real controversy regarding Hindi Hindustani and Urdu

3 With our political independence things have changed There is a natural desire to end the domination of the English language and replace it with our own This necessitates a language or rather a vocabulary running into lakhs of words capable of replacing English in higher studies in law and law courts and various other fields requiring clear distinctions between fine shades of ideas in all branches of knowledge and administration e g. between pressure and compression, between chloride, chlorite and chlorate, between penalty punishment and sentence, between receipt recovery and realization and thousands of others.

4 This means our planning for the future generations and we must look to their facilities for development more than to our present convenience and prejudices. Again our terminologies should be such as are likely to be common to other languages of the Dominion of India e g Marathi Bengali Telugu all of which are either of Sanskritic origin or highly nurtured by Sanskrit. We have also to bear in mind that in many cases we have to choose such root words as would be capable of giving easily understandable derivatives and compounds, sometimes a long list of them Then again our words must in most cases be meaningful, that is to say they must speak the meaning they are intended to convey In other words they must be systematic and not empirical for every empirical word would be a dead weight on the memory and intelligence of our future students however easy and convenient it may be to us today.

5 I have tried to give the barest analysis without burdening this short note with illustrations as each I had occasions to see the working in framing the terminology for college books on sciences. I have also worked myself for my Assembly terms All this has led me to the following conclusions

(1) Hindustani (mixture of Hindi and Urdu or if I may use a term of chemistry solution of Hindi and Urdu) is and can remain the common man's spoken language Its vocabulary is limited I should assess it to less than 2000 words It cannot be the language of higher studies law or administration which requires a vocabulary running into lakhs Any effort to expand it to meet the requirements will destroy it like the over-expansion of a rubber *fugga* The only merit claimed for Hindustani viz. its simplicity and mass comprehensibility will be gone To make it look like Hindustani (mixture of Hindi and Urdu) you must introduce numberless words empirically and indiscriminately one derived from Sanskrit and the other from Arabic or Persian These latter will be now and difficult and being derived from Arabic or Persian which unlike Sanskrit is not the mother of our languages will bear no relation with our languages- They will be a dead weight on the memory of our future students and will imperceptibly but surely and constantly work to cripple their intelligence

(2) If we bear in mind the limitation of Hindustani it can become the national language of India in the sense of common man's spoken language.

(3) The language or rather the vocabulary of higher studies of law and administration can be either

(a) Hindi, with words derived and coined mostly from Sanskrit and Sanskrit roots, or

(ii) I du with [illegible] lorived mostly from Arabic and Persiao or

(iii) can continue to be English

There is no other alternative We must choose one of the three It cannot then be denied that it must be Hindi

6 I would end this note by repeating what I have said before that I have given the barest points without illustrating them as I wanted to be brief knowing the value of this space in the *Harijan*

I am grateful to Shri Ghanashyam Sinhji Gupta for the brevity of his contribution I regret I am unable to agree with several of his propositions and the final conclusions Like him I must also content myself from just stating the points very briefly

1 I doubt the correctness of the statement made in paragraph 2 So far as I am aware even during British rule every enactment , order etc was translated in Indian languages documents were drawn pleadings were made, writs of various kinds were issued in regional languages as well Pleaders and petition-writers not knowing a word of English carried on legal work through their own languages till recently Some Indian States for example Baroda drafted laws in Gujarati. In various States, proceedings in the highest courts were recorded in Urdu or other State-recognized languages Books on high scientific subjects are not altogether unknown in Indian languages

2 The language controversy in U P is at least half a century old Hindustani and Urdu (script) began to lose their place of importance from schools colleges and technical and other literature with the growth of the propaganda for Hindi

3 If we want a vocabulary running into lakhs of words, it is all the more necessary that we should not fall back upon a single old language like Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian but like the English language admit words from every quarter English has grown because it has freely taken from both the ancient as well as modern languages of the world Shri Guptaji has not hesitated to introduce the Indian word *fugga* (blow-toy) in his English article But he would perhaps object to the use of the word "rubber though used in all parts of India, in his new lexicon and coin one from Sanskrit!

4 I doubt if it is correct to say that our modern languages like Hindi Marathi Gujarati are Sanskritic in origin They have been highly nurtured by Sanskrit I agree But whether Sanskrit is their mother or rich aunt is a doubtful question Be it as it may this much can be said without fear of contradiction that the modern spoken languages of India have everyone of them drawn from several languages

5 There is bound to be some difference in the scholarly and popular forms of a language. But there is no reason why there should be two different languages or why the development of the scholarly language should be restricted to a single old stock It would indeed be a strange scholarly language which coined all its lakhs of words from one stock while the people at large did so from several Scholars have paid insufficient attention on discovering the latent capacities of spoken languages in their fascination for the old whether Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian, Latin or Greek

I am sorry to carry on this controversy and still more sorry to be unable to agree with such eminent scholar and leader as Shri Ghanashyam Sinhji Gupta

Wardha 29-6-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

FEAR, FAVOUR & CORRUPTION

The following extracts taken from the speech of Shri Dwarkaprasad Mishra Minister for Local Self-Government C. P & Berar, at the Conference of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of the Province on the 28th of June though made in special reference to that Province, are applicable to all

FEAR

"Reports from the districts have been pouring in that M L A s and Congressmen hamper the efficient conduct of the administration and that more often than not, the District officers succumb to their pressure. I have been repeatedly told that there is a general belief amongst officers that because the Congress Ministry is in power wishes of Congressmen reasonable or unreasonable must be respected If the officer wishes to avoid trouble. I want to tell you in the most clear and unambiguous terms that this is not the correct attitude.

"You are all public servants in name as well as in fact and while it is your duty to serve the people as faithfully and efficiently as possible, it is not necessary that you should go out of your way to yield to the unreasonable demands of anybody whosoever he might be.

FAVOUR

I have heard reports about some Congressmen who pose as being very chummy with the Premier or a particular Minister and assure Government officials of promotion etc if their personal work was done. I want to assure you in so many words that such a pose is a gross falsehood No Congressman has any right to commit the Government nor can he influence our decision in regard to promotions etc. It is therefore not proper to attach any importance to such things.

"There are parties and intrigues in every district and it is only natural that interested parties would come to you and impress upon you their own view-points or importance Your duty in such cases is to remain impartial and to do only what is just. You should neither be rude nor spineless

CORRUPTION

. . I appeal to you in the name of the country to help us in waging a war against corruption and inefficiency This is a war in which you more *than the Congressmen*, can be our greater allies. Make it your own war and let us together, in a big co operative endeavour, raise the standard of our administration to a pitch that may make us proud and inspire others to do the same. It is your duty to convey this message of mine to all your subordinates and to see that corruption and inefficiency are rooted out from our province,

It is rather disconcerting to read that Shri Mishra has to say that his government is not in a position to look up to Congressmen for help in the task of putting down corruption

Wardha 6 7 48 K G MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(*By M K Gandhi*)

The latter part of the chapter on Truth appeared on page 160, the last page of *Harijan* of July 4 1948. We now therefore pass on from Truth to Love V G D]

II AHIMSA OR LOVE

The greatest difficulties perhaps were encountered as regards the observance of *ahimsa* There are problems of Truth, but it is not very hard to understand what Truth is But in understanding *ahimsa* we every now and then find ourselves out of our depth *Ahimsa* was discussed in the Ashram at great length than any other subject Even now the question often arises whether a particular act is violent or non-violent. And even if we know the distinction between violence and non-violence we are often unable to satisfy the demand of non-violence on account of weakness which cannot easily be overcome.

Ahimsa means not to hurt any living creature by thought word or deed even for the supposed benefit of that creature To observe this principle fully is impossible for men who kill a number of living beings large and small as they breathe or blink or till the land We catch and hurt snakes or scorpions for fear of being bitten and leave them to some out-of-the-way place if we do not kill them Hurting them in this way may be unavoidable, but is clearly *himsa* as defined above

If I save the food I eat or the clothes I wear or the space I occupy, it is obvious that these can be utilized by some one else whose need is greater than mine As my selfishness prevents him from using these things my physical enjoyment involves violence to my poorer neighbour When I eat cereals and vegetables in order to support life, that means violence done to vegetable life

Surrounded thus as I am by violence on all sides how am I to observe non-violence? Fresh difficulties are bound to arise at every step as I try to do so

The violence described above is easily recognized as such But what about our being angry with one another? A teacher inflicting corporal punishment on her pupils, a mother taking her children to task, a man losing his temper to his intercourse with equals, all these are guilty of violence and violence of a bad type which is not easy to tackle Violence is there where there is attachment on the one hand and dislike on the other How are we to get rid of it?

The first lesson therefore that we in the Ashram must learn is that although to sever some person's head from his body for the sake of the country or the family or oneself is indeed a violent act the subtle violence involved in injuring the feelings of other people day in and day out is possibly very much worse than that Mr Jinnah committed in the world will seem to be numerous when considered by themselves and not so numerous when compared with the number of deaths due to other causes but the subtle violence involved in daily loss of temper and the like defies all attempts at calculation

We are constantly striving in the Ashram to deal with all these kinds of violence All of us realize our own weakness All of us including myself are afraid of snakes for instance We therefore as a rule catch them and put them out of harm's way But if some one kills a snake out of fear he is not taken to task There was once a snake in the cowshed but it was impossible to catch it where it was It was a risky thing to keep the cattle there the men also were afraid of working thereabouts Maganlal Gandhi felt helpless and permitted them to kill that snake I approved of his action when he told me about it I believe that even if I had been there on the spot I could not have done anything other than what he did My intellect tells me that I must treat even a snake as my kinsman and at the risk of losing my life I must hold the snake in my hands and take it away from those who are afraid of it But in my heart I do not harbour the necessary love, fearlessness and readiness to die of snake-bite I am trying to cultivate all these qualities but have not still succeeded in the attempt It is possible that if I am attacked by a snake I may neither resist nor kill it But I am not willing to place any one else's life in danger

Once in the Ashram the monkeys made a terrible nuisance of themselves and did extensive damage to the crops The watchman tried to frighten them by making a show of hurling stones from a sling but in vain He then actually threw stones and injured and crippled one of the monkeys. I thought this even worse than killing it I therefore held discussions with coworkers in the Ashram and finally we took the decision that if we could not get rid of the monkeys by gentle means short of wounding them we must kill one or two of them and end the nuisance Before this decision was taken there was a public discussion in the columns of *Navajivan** which may be consulted by the curious

No one outside India thinks that one should not kill even a violent animal Some individuals like St Francis observed this rule, but the common people did not, so far as I am aware The Ashram believes in the principle but it is a pity that we have not succeeded in putting it into practice. We have not still acquired the art of doing this It is possible that many men will have to lay down their lives before this art is mastered For the present it is only a consummation devoutly to be wished for The principle has long been accepted in India but the practice is very imperfect on account of our laziness and self-deception

Mad dogs are killed in the Ashram the idea being that they die after much suffering and never

*Since reprinted in *Ahimsa* p 123 ff

recover Our people torture mad dogs instead of killing them and deceive themselves into thinking that they observe non-violence As a matter of fact they only indulge in greatest violence

Non-violence sometimes calls upon us to put an end to the life of a living being For instance a calf in the Ashram dairy was lame and had developed terrible sores it could not eat and breathed with difficulty After three days argument with myself and my coworkers I had poison injected into its body and thus put an end to its life That action was non-violent, because it was wholly unselfish in as much as the sole purpose was to achieve the calf's relief from pain It was a surgical operation, and I should do exactly the same thing with my child, if he were in the same predicament

Many Hindus were shocked at this but their reaction to the incident only betrays their ignorance of the nature of *ahimsa* which has for us long ceased to be a living faith, and has been degraded into formalities complied with when not very inconvenient

Here we must take leave of the Ashram experiments with *ahimsa* as regards subhuman species

(*To be continued*)

SATYAGRAHI'S WEAPON

Readers are now aware of the termination of Shri Bhansali's fast as a protest against what has become almost a world-wide practice in military or semi-military warfare, namely along with arson, loot, massacre, torture, etc of innocent civilians, heartless ravishment and molestation of women

Shri Bhansali had gone to Andhra to unveil Gandhiji s statue at a place near Bezwada He received there the report of a raid by the Razakars in a village nearby and decided to see for himself what had happened. It was a painful sight Apart from the devastations of fire and loot he could not bear the sight of women, who had been profligately handled One woman was raped as many as five times successively and her condition was very miserable People were in a state of fear and panic and needed, besides consolation and immediate help, someone to put courage and the spirit of resistance in them The night of this village made Shri Bhansali visit other villages nearby on both the sides of the border He found people living in constant dread, women running away from the village well as soon as they sighted a Razakar even at a distance, without caring to take away even their pots topes and at times even children with them.

After his first brief tour Shri Bhansali returned to Sevagram for a brief respite He was to stay a little longer but an urgent wire summoned him to Bezwada and he left suddenly Before his departure, I had an opportunity of having a talk with him I confess I was not much interested in criticizing the policy of the Indian Government in the matter The Government should be knowing the situation as well as we and could be expected to act up when it felt proper The Government action would necessarily be in terms of violent force I wanted to know what we could do as pledged to non-violence and satyagraha

"I am unarmed," Shri Bhansali then said, "without even a sheet of cloth on my chest, or *chappals* in my feet I am told that I may be killed at any time and nobody might be able to discover how and when I was killed My equipment is my preparedness for death, my goodwill for all including, in a sense, even the atrocious gangsters whose acts I hate, but for whom as human beings I have no ill-will my determination to be always on the side of the weak and the victimized, and my firm faith in the Immortal One I am not in a position to tell the people that I shall teach them drill or the wielding of even a simple thing like *lathi* My physical weapons are the broom and the charkha I use these regularly and for a considerable time of the day Somehow they love me and hear me, and of course I love them and my heart is with them in their wretchedness The mere presence of courageous volunteers in the border villages would put heart into the villagers

He was right Courage like cowardice is often catching If a few people take to their heels at the sight of danger others follow suit, and their is disorderly flight If a few match in face of danger and ask others to do likewise they too get a good response Arms are not essential for courage, for when fear takes possession of men, fully equipped armies are known to have fled helter-skelter before a number much smaller than their own. Years of drilling does not help

When for reasons, for which the opposite party is responsible, this is made impossible, a situation for a fast as the last resort might arise.

Wardha, 22-7-'48 K. G Mashruwala

CONTENTS

		PAGE
KASTURBA TRUST MEETING	SHYAMLAL	187
GANDHIJI ON LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES		187
EMOLUMENTS AND TITLES	K. G MASHRUWALA	188
LIMITATIONS OF HINDUSTANI?	K G MASHRUWALA	189
FEAR, FAVOUR & CORRUPTION	K G MASHRUWALA	190
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION	M. K. GANDHI	191
SATYAGRAHI S WEAPON	K. G MASHRUWALA	192
INDEX VOLUME XI (1947-8)		192-A
NOTES		
IN MEMORIAM	K. G M	185
THANKS	K. G M	185
BOMBAY'S REPLY	K G M	185
NOTHING TO FIND FAULT WITH	K. G M	185
NOT THE PRICE OF FREEDOM	K. G M	185
THE YARN CONDITION	K. G M	185
NO MARRIAGE WITHIN CASTE	K G M.	186
HARIJAN EMPLOYEES HOUSES	F M	186
INVITATON FOR SERVICE	JUGATRAM DAVE	186

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 | Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs. 6 or 14 sh or $, 3.

INDEX: VOLUME XI (1947-8)

AUTHOR INDEX

Agarwal S. N.
Fraud of Vegitable Ghee 83
India Must not Be Divided 173
Roddiar Ministry and Khadi 140

Alexander, Horace
'A Good Deed Shines in the Naughty World' 369
Establishment of Peace 301
Men Who have Suffered for Peace 427
Orissa The Land of Hope and Promise 384

Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari (A. K.)
A Man of Prayer 216
An English Woman s Humiliation 196
An Open Confession 223
Education in Health 316
How Gandhiji Feels and Acts 153
The Brotherhood of Man 224
"Welcome, My Sister Death" 200
Why Armies? 237
With Gandhiji at Delhi 181

Anonymous
About Noakhali 115
A I C C Resolutions 430
A. I. B. Language Policy 62
Another Delhi Interlude (1) 147
Another Delhi Interlude (2) 154
Basic Education (1) 36
Basic Education (2) 49
Beko Amtul Salam 20
Central Advisory Board s Recommendations 75
Diary of Gandhiji's Calcutta Visit 165
Gandhiji s Approach 8
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary 73 84 97 106,133,144 162,174
Gandhiji s Walking Tour Diary 37, 42,56,61,76
How Food may Become Poison 170
How Gandhiji Views His Peace Mission 101
Map of a part of the Noakhali District where Gandhiji had his walking tour 85
Maulana Azad on Religious Instruction 76
Provincial Governments and Hindustani 68
Resolution on the Constructive Programme 77
Resolution on the objectives of the future Constitution of India 9
Shrirampur Diary 1,14
Some Valuable Hints 222
The Delhi Interlude 147,192
The Indian National Trade Union Congress 157
The Nai Talim 65
The Prophet s Connection for All Time 23

Aryanayakam, E. W.
Nai Talim in Free India 359

Bang, T. K.
Lest We Copy the British 397

Bose N. K.
Many Roads, One Goal 297
Non violence and Free India 301
Secular 292
Sarkirtish Banerjee 321
The Fast 393
The Root and the Fruit 340
With the Kasturba Trainees 313

Chandwani, P. B.
Reflections on Sind 514

Desai, Valji Govindji (V G D)
A Defect in the Constituent Resolution 352
A Jain Merchant s Sense of Social Responsibility 148
American Drugs Racket 102
A Prohibition Anthology 130,510
Dirge Yields Less Nutritive Value 102
Democratize Our Railways 475
For Manufacturers of Flags 401
'Give Me a Mud House 403
Hatred Let Loose at Hiroshima 300
Learn from the Experience of Others 93
"Mist of Death over New York 170
Race Human 106
Reconstitute Film Censor Boards 423
Story Hour 109,135 173 211 250,482
The Inglorious Great 231

Dhar, Dr. N. R.
Food Crisis and Soil Fertility 373

Gandhi, M. K. (M K G)
A Bitter Letter 376
About Students 312
Act as You Think 413
Action is Inaction 361
Address to Sikhs on Guru Nanak's Birthday 449
A Draft Declaration 284
Ahimsa, a Fast of Life 164
Ahimsa Never Fails 504
As Indian Governor 289
A Perplexity 220
A Psychological Explanation 420
Apt Lines 329
A Puzzle 384
A Terrible Contrast 261
A Woman s Dilemma 13
A Worthy Example 481
Bihar for Biharis and India 332
Call to the Nation 131
Certified and Uncertified 504
Compost Manure 484
Death — Courageous or Cowardly 437
Faith is Non violence Re-enforced 184
"For Muslims Only" 413
From America 312
From Gandhiji's Speeches 250
Gandhiji on Trusteeship 25
Gandhiji s Address to Delhi Businessmen 463
Gandhiji's Advice to Sind Hindus 133
Gandhiji s Broadcast to Kurukshetra Camp 417
Gandhiji s Press Statement 3,150,322
Gandhiji s Post Prayer Speeches 252, 293,297 309, 330, 338 353, 365, 376, 381 390 91, 394-96 442-45, 456 61 466-67, 470-72, 477 80 484 88 495-300 506-9, 518-22
Gandhiji s Speeches 259,373
Give and Take 465
Gleanings 184
God is Good 289
Harijans in Hostels 605
Hindi v Hindustani 268
Hindustani 256
Hindustani Written in Nagari Only 400
How Democracy Works 316
How did I Begin It? 180
How should the Indian Union Act? 301
How to Save the Cow? 300
Implications of Fasting 386
In Defence 253
Indians Overseas 388
In Praise of Deceitful 413
Is *Harijan* Wanted? 300
Is He Buried Alive? 280
Is It Deserved? 501
Is the Tricolour Gone? 284
Its Deep Roots 456
Its Wise Use 553
Khadi can Remove Cloth Shortage 505
Laws of Health 484
Leaving Politics after the 15th? 281
Linguistic Redistribution 436
Matter well Placed 494
Miracle or Accident? 203
Most Effective Remedy 40
My Duty 340
My Statue 329
National Guards 448

Never Dangerous 174
No Comparison Possible 454
No Depression 368
No Inconsistency 436
No Limitations 468
Non-violence 200
Of New Universities 392
Outrageous Analogy 369
Outside His Field 412
Prohibition of Intoxicants 393
Question Box 36,65,176,213,476,505
Quit Now 156
Races 264
Racing and Betting 215
Rays of Hope 437
Realization of Difficulty 269
Religious Instruction, Military Training and the Roman Script 76
Removal of Inequalities 412
Reply to Richard Gregg 468
Right or Wrong? 220
Rights or Duties? 217
Scheduled Castes 261
Seasonable Quotations 381
Self help to Avoid Food Crisis 13
Socialism-II 240
Some Important Questions 44
Spinning Still 476
Steak Grain in Villages 481
Strive for One World 114
Students' Difficulties 260
Student's Perplexity 373
Swadeshi 211
Take Care 332
Task Before Ministers 329
Tetyaseksh Kelkar 489
The Doctrine of Merger 476
The Gates of Somnath? 481
The Message of Asia 113
The Miseries 281
The National Flag 260, 284
The Reason for Addition 261
Then Tea Gujarat! 276
To South Africa 163
To The People of Gujarat 517
Towards Realization 212
True Adult Education 461
True Islam 481
Two American Friends' Consolation 412
Unbelievable 436
Urdu *Harijan* 416
Walls of Protection 102
Wanted Accuracy 501
When Blessing Becomes a Curse 420
Where Ahimsa, Where khadi? 389
Who and Where is God? 200
Who Is a Socialist? 248
Who should Be Provincial Governors? 473
Why not Indian? 281
Wither States? 187

Gandhi, Narandas
Rajkot Rashtriya Shala Spinning Demonstration 244

Giriraj Kishore
Hindustani Examination Results 103

Gupta, Devendra Kumar
Saving Cereals 94

Howard, Sir Albert
Farming for disease 461

Jagadisan, T. N.
Constructive Socialism 270
Genuine Fear 126
Intestine to Leprosy Work 42
One World One Problem 138

Jinnah, M. A.
Call to the Nation 131

Kaleikar, Kaka
Opportunity for Panjabis 374

Kalelkar, S. D.
A Thoughtful Suggestion 231

Kripalani, J. B.
Creative Freedom 63

Kumarappa, J. C. (J C K.)
Air Travel or Transport? 462
A Much Needed Advice 463
An Abortive Conference 347
A Noble Lead 140
An Opportunity Lost 465
A Right Step At Last 480
A Rudderless Shipping Programme 463
A Share in the Booty 63
A Timely Reminder from Milton 448
At Long Last 124
A World Menace? 204
Blindness at a Price 95
Blood Money 264
Blowing Hot and Cold 141
Cattle Breeding 219
Cigars to the Fore 465
Constructive Programme 53
Controls 144
Cotton for Mills or Cereals for the Millions? 229
Cow Slaughter 370
Debtor, Judge and Jury 164
Equity in Taxation 157
Fields and Pastures New 84
First Things First 114
Food and More Food 201
From The A I V I A Board Meeting 448
Gold Hunger 161
Government Researches for Whom? 364
Gram Sevak Vidyalaya 160
Hand made Sugar 229
Harijan Basis 120
Increasing Production 136
India in Account Current with Great Britain 16
International Khadi Bazaar 169
Is It Aesthetism? 359
Jettisoning of the Ballast 137
Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition 76
Khadi in Our Life 172
Large Scale Industries and Human Development 358
Let Us Learn 238
Living Self Associations 420
Man or Beast? 163
Misplaced Zeal 370
Moral Effects of Victory 117
More Progress 142
Nai Talim Teacher Training 142
Nakali Ghee 161
'Not a Penny' 367
One Drug for Another 275
One More Feather in the Cap 32
Orissa's Suicide 63
Orissa's Textile Policy 94
Our Shipping Policy 229
Patting Ourselves on the Back 210
Peace and Possessions 244
Playing at Cross Purposes 339
Preposterous Claims 30
Profession or Trade? 230
Public Conveyances 210
Public Protests 169
Rural Development 426
Ryots or Tenants 141
Sauce for the Gander 64
Save Us 430
Science Runs Amuck 125
Shortage of Consumer Goods 388
Soil Food v Drug 41
Swaraj for the Masses 374
Swords into Ploughshares 56
Tempting Rudra 221
The Cart before the Horse 156
The Challenge Cup 190
The Cloth Shortage Problem 224
The C. O.s Pacifists and Non violence 442
The Cue Method 190
The Food Situation 309
The Last State 126
The Left Hand Knoweth? 375
The Plagues of Egypt 438
The Reloading 239
The Title 103
Using the Giant's Strength as a Giant 163
Wanted a Philosophy 435
What are Village Industries? 373
What is Progress? 104
Will It Bring Peace? 142
Worthy Him 220

Maharaja of Ratlam
Harijans in Ratlam 398
Manjrekar, H. N.
Fishery as a Basic Craft 81
Mashruwala, K. G. (K G M)
Cinemas 29
Communal Murders 4
Out of Stock 6
Mazumdar, P. L.
Commendable 230
Mirabehn
Gandhiji Romain Rolland Meeting 403
Growing of Hot Weather Vegetables 482
How to Grow More Food —I, II, III, IV 393, 427, 433
Light or Darkness? 440
The Blessings of Discipline 434
Mukerji, Radha Kamud
The National Flag 313
Nanda, Gulzarilal
The Why of It 158
Nayyar, Dev Prakash
A Visit to Saran —I, II III 342, 357
'Intellectual Content of the Takli' 474
Revolution through the Broom 454
The Pilgrimage of Penance —I II III IV 469, 503
With the Educationists 401
Nayyar, Sushila (S N.)
A Difficult Question 249
All India Leprosy Workers Conference 480
Amidst the Refugees at Haridwar 213
A Plea for Tolerance 259
A Real Danger 247
Bihi Amtal Salam 95
Call to Courage 181
Conflict 240
Congressmen and Constructive Work 261
Darkest Hour before Dawn 238
Dr Joshi 229
Fifteenth of August 260
From Gandhiji's Speeches 241
Gleanings from Buddhism 222
Good or Great? 269
Harijan as the First President 101
In Delhi 177
Kashmir and Refugees 290
Kasturba Trust Workers at Wah Camp 383
Love as Medicine —I II 404
Medical Work under Kasturba Trust 199
Medicine for the Masses 189
Milk Swopts 253
Nationalist Muslims 253
Noakhali 229
Non violence of the Brave 209
Professor Dharmanand Kosambi 190
The Churning of the Ocean 273
The Final Speech 229
The Problem of Europe 237
The Root Cause of Partition 253
The Vicious Circle 337
To the Members of the R. S. S. 449
To the Muslims in the Lines 330
Universal Military Training 252
Weekly Letter 172 193 302,314,213
Weekly Notes 277
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal
The National Flag 302
Parikh, Narahari
Suppressed Classes and Congress Workers 25
Privat, Madame
Do Not Lose Heart 453
Pyarelal (P)
An All-in Fast 313
A Pure Sacrifice 321
Co-operative Production of Cocoa nut Oil as a Rehabilitation and Relief Measure 341
Gandhiji's Address to the Moss 481
In Calcutta 317
Inami Thakur Became a Living Presence 439
Reddi, G. Somi
Wasteful Expenditure 419
Rizvi, Begum Firdaus
To Muslims 291
Shah P. G.
Measurement of Health 66
Shastri, Venkatarama
Futility of Arms 388
Sundarlal
Islam and Idol Worship 526
Lucknow Muslim Conference 517
Mahmood Ghaznavi 310
National Community 520
The Aligarh Urdu Magazine 510
To Sikh Friends 492
Swami Anand
Planning with Village Bias —II III, IV 6 34,55
Vizoba
Keep a Regular Diary 36
Suggestions for a Comprehensive Scheme of Cow breeding 27
Wanted Corn and Currency 24
Where is the Obstruction? 21
X. Y. Z.
What Saddens the Heart 464

SUBJECT INDEX

Adivasis
Suppressed Classes and Congress Workers N PARIKH 25
Agriculture
Bigger Yields, Less Nutritive Value V G D 102
Cattle Breeding J C K. 319
Compost Manure M K G 454
Compost Manure (P. S.)* M. K G 488
'Farming for Disease' H Albert 491
Food and More Food J C K 201
Food Crisis and Soil Fertility N R D 276
Learn from the Experience of Others V G D. 97
Living Soil Associations J C K 120
Matter Well Placed M K G 494
Kyoto or Tamanta J C K 141
Soil Food v Drug J C K 41
The 'One Method J C K. 190
The Relenting J C K 239
Congress and Politics
A Defect in the Constituent Resolution V. G D 232
A Difficult Question S N 249
A Draft Declaration M K G 284
A Fixed Day of Deliverance (P S) M K. G. 295
A I C C Meeting (P S) M. K G 424
A I C C Resolutions Anon. 430
A Letter from Andhra (P S) M K G 522
"A National Community" Sundarlal 528
An English Woman's Humiliation A. K 199
An Indian Governor M K. G 289
An Open Confession A K 233
Another Delhi Interlude Anon. 147,154
Appeal to Parties (P S.) M. K G 522
A Real Danger S N 249
Army and Freedom (P S) M K G 260
Asaf Ali Saheb (P S.) M K. G 336
A Thoughtful Suggestion S. D KALELKAR 331
A Timely Reminder from Milton I C K 448
Be of the Congress (P S.) M K G 492
Bihar for Biharis and India M K. G- 332
Boundary Commission Award (P. S.) M. K. G 299

* P S. indicates *Prayer Speech.*

Brahmin Minority (P S) M K G 234
British Benefactor (W L)* S N 194
Call to Self-purification (P S) M K G 323
Celebrations on August 15th (P S) M K G 258,276
Chandmangaro (P S) M K G 299
Choice of the Governor General (P S) M K G 246
Colour Prejudice (P S) M K G 442
Congress after August 15th (P S) M K G 263 375
Congress and Communalism (P S) M K G 375
Constructive Socialism T N JAGADISAN 370
Creative Freedom J B. KRIPALANI 93
Criminal Lawlessness (P S) M K G 396
Danger of Parochialism (P S) M K G 311
Darkest Hour before Dawn S N 238
Denial of the Past (P S) M K G 236
Diary of Gandhiji : Calcutta Visit Anon 153
Division of the Army (P S) M K G 250
Doctrine of Tit for Tat (W L) S. N 214
Don't Cry over Spilt Milk (P S) M K G 258
Dravidistan ? (P S) M K G 294
Duty of the Police and the Military (P S) M K G 381
Fifteenth August Landmark in Indian History (P S) M K G 294
Fifteenth of August S. N 209
Freedom in Foreign Settlements (P S) M K G 416
Friendship with Britain (W L) S N 219
Frontier Referendum (P S) M K. G 232
Future of the Anglo-Indians (P S.) M. K. G 311
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary Anon 84,106,133,144,162
Gandhiji's Walking Tour Diary Anon 46 56,61
Give the Governments a Chance (P S) M. K. G. 354
Goondaism in Sylhet (P S.) M K. G 262
Government Jobs (P S.) M K G 256
Had the Congress Erred ? (W L.) S N 195
Healthy Tolerance (P S) M K. G 353
Hinduism on Trial (P S.) M K G 325
How Democracy Works M K G 516
How Gandhiji Feels and Acts A K 153
How should the Indian Union Act? (P S) M K G 201
Huliganism at Calcutta (P S) M. K G 478
If India Falls (P S) M K G 354
Implications of War (P S) M K G 509
India and South Africa (P S) M K G 442
India in the Commonwealth (P S) M K G 442
India is Home for All Indians (P S.) M K. G 243
India must not be Divided S N Agarwal 173
Indian Christians (P S) M K. G 313
Injustice must not be Tolerated (P S.) M K. G 353
Is Gandhiji Partial ? (W L) S N 216
Is the Tricolour Gone ? M. K. G. 284
Jettisoning of the Ballast J C K. 137
Jinnah Saheb's Assurances (P S.) M K. G 250
Kashmir Again (P S) M K G 506
Kashmir and Refugees S N 290
Kashmir Pages M K. G 405
Kisan Raj (P S) M K G 458
Light or Darkness ? Mirabehn 440
Linguistic Redistribution M K. G 436
Lucknow Muslim Conference SUNDARLAL 517
Minorities in Pakistan (W L.) S. N 203
Miracle or Accident ? M K G 296
Moral Effects of Victory J C. K 117
Mr. Churchill again (P S) M. K. G. 373
Mr Churchill's Indiscretion (P S) M K. G 353
National Flag (P S) M K.G 263,299
National Guards M K G 448
Nationalist Muslims (W L.) S N 610
Nehru (P S) M K G 314
Never Wrong (P S.) M K. G 242
No Appeasement (P S) M K. G 242
Non Muslims and Pakistan Flag M K G 276
N W F P (W L) S N 203
Our Duty (W L) S. N 193
Partition is a Brotherly Spirit (W L) S. N 214
Patting Ourselves on the Back J C K. 210
Peace and Possession J G K. 244
Penalty of Treachery (P S) M K. G 361
Pride of Pakistan (P S) M K.G 498
Protection of Minorities (P S) M K G 273
Public Taste (W L) S. N 214
Public Protests J C K. 169
Put Your Own House in Order (W L) S N 218
Quaid-e-Azam and an American Friend (P S) M K. G 296
Question Box M K. G 172
Quit New M K. G 156
Race Human V G D 103
Recalling Ghaznavi (P S) M K. G 496
Reflections on Sind P B C 514
Resist the Vivisection of India (W L) S N 202
Resolution on the objectives of the future constitution of India ANON 6
Rights or Duties ? (P S.) M K G 217
Role of the Minorities (P S.) M K. G 315
Salaries and Civil Service M. K. G 456
Scare of Jana Second (W. L.) S N 176
Scrap of Paper (W L) S N 203
Secular N K. B 292
Shelter for Refugees (P S.) M. K. G 259
Shirramper Diary Anon 1
Socialism II M K G 240
Some Important Questions M K. G 44
Some Valuable Hints Anon 323
Standing on Gen's Own Feet (W L.) S. N 216
Strange Protests (P S) M K G 506
Strike Plague (P S) M. K G. 316
Strikes (P S) M K G 374
Suicidal Tendency (P S) M. K G. 322
The Churning of the Ocean S N 273
The Delhi Interlude Anon 122
The Doctrine of Merger M K G 476
The Fundamental Difference (P S) M K. G 251
The Gurkha League (P S) M K G 316
The Independence Bill (P S) M K. G 236
The Jammu Incident (P S) M K G 488

*W L indicates Weekly Letter

The Minorities M. K G 281
The National Flag (P S) M. K G. 256 261
The National Flag M K G 260, 264
The National Flag Pandit NEHRU 302
The National Flag R K MOOKERJI 312
The Police (P S) M K. G 298
The Problem of Bengal (P S.) M K G 251
The Problem of N W. F P (W L.) S N 215
The Question of Kashmir (P S) M K G 496
The Root Cause of Partition S N 253
The Sacred Trust of Protecting Minorities (W L.) S N 179
The Sikhs (P S) M. K. G 232
The Tragedy of Burma (P S.) M K G 258
The Vande Mataram Song (P S) M K G 516
The Viceroy's House (P S) M K G 259
The Way Out (P S.) M K G 241
Thoughts Make the Man (P S.) M K G 442
To Put Pakistan on the Screen (W L) S N. 195
To The Editor of the Dawn (P S.) M. K G. 265
Trust the Disease (W L) S N 218
Tricolour Hoisted by Mahatarani (P S) M K G 296
True Democracy (P S.) M K G 510
Two Nations? (W L.) S. N 203
Unbelievable M K G 436
Union of Hearts (P S.) M K. G 253
United Bengal? (W L) S. N 195
United Bengal (W L) S N 206
Unwilling Partners not Wanted (W L) S. N 193
Villages Untouched (P S.) M K G 334
Warning to Ministers (P S.) M. K G 377
Weekly Notes S N. 277
Welcome Change (P. S) M K G 258
Who is a Socialist? M K G 332
Who should be Provincial Governors? M K G 473
Why Armies? A K. 237
Why Dominion Status? (W L.) S N 202
Why Not Indies? M K G 291
Why Pathanistan? (P S) M K G 232
Will It Bring Peace? J C K 142
With Gandhiji at Delhi A K. 121
Would He Fast? (W L.) S N 194

Constructive Work

Be an Ideal (P S.) M K G 500
Capital and Labour (P S) M K G 488
Classes Undesirable (P S) M K G 395
Congressmen and Constructive Work S N 261
Constructive Programme J C K. 530
Co-operative Production of Cocoa-nut Oil as a Rehabilitation and Relief Measure P 341
Delhi Prisoners (P S) M K G 395
Duty of Prisoners (P S.) M K.G 365
Fields and Pastures New J C K. 94
Inner Thakur Became a Living Presence P 493
Jails as Mental Hospitals (P S.) M K G 395
Keep a Regular Diary Vinoba 32
Mass Discipline (P S.) M K G 507
Meetings in the Open (P S) M K G 500
Need for Constructive Work (P S.) M K G 456
Open Air Meetings (P S) M K G 506
Orissa — the Land of Hope and Promise H ALEXANDER 384
Peace in Prayer Meetings (P S) M K G. 522
Rays of Hope M. K. G 437
Reconstitute Film Censor Boards V G D 469
Resolution on the Constructive Programme Anon. 77
Right or Wrong? M K G 320
Swords into Ploughshares J C K. 56
Task before Ministers M K. G 329
Tempting Rudra J C K 231
The Most Effective Remedy M K G 40
Tree Plantation (P S) M K. G 273
True Adult Education M K G 481

Controls

Advice of Experienced Man (P S.) M K G 409
A Misunderstanding (P S) M K G 631
Appeal to Business Class (P S) M K G 447
Cloth Control (P S.) M K. G 618
Control Breeds Evil (P S) M K G 409
Control on Petrol (P S.) M K G 488
Controls J C K 144
Controls (P S.) M K. G 460,471
Controls Again (P S.) M K G 477
Controls Harmful (P S) M K G 424
Cotton Cloth and Yarn (P S.) M K. G 512
Democracy and Trust (P S.) M K. G 409
Exercise Your Own Judgment (P S) M K G 522
Expectations under Decontrol (P S.) M K. G 443
Food Control (P S) M K G 377
Gandhiji's Address to Delhi Businessmen M K G 495
Government's Dilemma (P S) M K. G 447
In Praise of Decontrol M K. G 418
Meaning of Decontrol (P S) M K G 477
People's Voice (P S) M K G 442
Petrol Rationing (P S) M K. G. 518
Prices and Decontrol (P S) M. K G 487
Rationing in Bombay (P S.) M K. G 507
Removal of Controls (P S) M K G 500
Remove Controls (P S) M K G 386,414
Remove Food Control (P S.) M K G 409
Results of Decontrol (P S.) M K. G 466 518
Woolen and Silk Cloth (P S) M K. G 518

Economics

Air Travel or Transport? J. C K 462
An Abortive Conference J C K. 347
A Bubbleless Shipping Programme J. C K 462
A Share in the Booty J C K 25
At Long Last J C K 124
A World Menace? J C. K. 204
Blood Money J C K. 204
Bread and Cloth Labour (P S) M K. G 316
Cattle Improvement (P S) M K. G 500
Cotton for Mills or Cereals for the Millions? J C. K 226
Cow Slaughter J C K 370
Debtor, Judge, and Jury J C. K. 164
Democratize Our Railways V G D 475
Enriching The Soil (P S) M K. G 500
Gandhiji on Trusteeship M K. G 25
Gandhiji's Walking Tour Diary ANON 56
Gold Hunger J C K 191
Government Researches for Whom? I C. K 364
Imports and Exports must Balance (P S) M K. G 510
Increasing Production J C K. 136

India in Account Current with Great Britain J C K 13
Lest We Copy the British T K BANG 327
Let Us Learn J C K 238
Milk Sweets S. N 283
Not A Penny J C K. 367
Our Shipping Policy J C K 229
Playing at Cross Purposes J C K. 339
Preposterous Claims J C K. 36
Question Box M K. G 36
Rural Development J C K 426
Salt (P S) M K. G 209
Saxon for the Gander J C K 54
Swaraj for the Masses J C. K 374
Tax Luxury Articles (P S) M. K G 460
The Cloth Shortage Problem J C K 224
The Plagues of Egypt J C K 438
The Title J C K 104
Using the Giant's Strength as a Giant J C. K 155
Wanted a Philosophy J C K 435
Wasteful Expenditure G S. REDDI 419
What is Progress? J C. K 104
Worthy Hire J C K. 220

Education

Basic Education ANON 33, 48
Central Advisory Board's Recommendations ANON. 76
Fishery as a Basic Craft H M MANJREKAR 87
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary ANON 144
Intellectual Content of the Takli D NAYYAR 474
Maulana Azad on Religious Instruction ANON 75
Nayee Talim (P S) M K. G 490
Nai Talim in Free India E W ARYANAYAKAM 389
Nai Talim Teacher Training J C K 142
Of New Universities M K G. 392
Religious Instruction Military Training and the Roman Script M K. G 76
Removal of Inequalities M K G 412
Revolution through the Broom D NAYYAR 454
The Cart before the Horse J C K 186
The Nai Talim ANON 65
Universal Military Training S N 252
Wasted Accuracy M K. G 501
With the Educationists D NAYYAR 401

Food Problem

An Opportunity Lost J C K 385
A Right Step at last J C K 480
Centralisation or Decentralisation? (P S) M K G 377
Food and Cloth Shortage (P S) M K G 379
Growing of Hot Weather Vegetables MIRABEHN 482
Helping Hands at Harvesting (P S.) M K. G 458
How to Deal with Shortage (P S) M K G 377
How to Grow More Food I. II III IV MIRABEHN 393, 427, 433
Meaning of Foreign Aid (P S) M K G 378
President Truman's Advice (P S) M K. G 377
Saving Cereals D K. GUPTA 94
Self help (P. S.) M K. G 376
Self help to Avoid Food Crisis M K G 13
Shortage of Consumer Goods J C K 388
Stock Grain in Villages M. K. G 481

Foreign Affairs

The Food Situation J C K 369
The Left Hand Knoweth? J C K 375
The Message of Asia M K. G 116
The Problem of Food (P S) M K. G 376

Goseva

Cattle Improvement (P S) M K G 500
Cow Protection (P S) M K G 256 273
Cow Slaughter J C. K 370
Dairies In India (P S.) M K. G 445
How To Save the Cow? M K. G 300
India's Cattle Wealth (P S) M K G 445
Management of Goshalas (P S) M K. G 445
Satish Babu on Cow (P S) M K G 446
Slaughter of Calves (P S) M K. G 446
Suggestions for a Comprehensive Scheme of Cow breeding VINOBA 27
The Cow (P S.) M. K. G. 299

Health

Blindness at a Price J C K 96
Education in Health A K. 216
Fraud of Vegetable Ghee S N AGARWAL 83
Cleanings M K G 184
How Food may Become Poison ANON 170
Laws of Health M K. G 484
Measurement of Health P G SHAH 69
Medicine for the Masses S N 189
Nakali Ghee J C K 161
Profession or Trade? J C K. 230
Save Us I C K 230

Hindu-Muslim Unity

A Baseless Charge (P S) M K G 457
Abducted Girls (P S) M K. G. 458
Abducted Women (P S) M K. G. 437 479,499
A Bitter Letter M K. G 376
About Noakhali ANON. 115
A Confused Argument (P S.) M K. G 487
Act of Ungodliness (P S) M K G 443
A Cussing Move (P S) M K. G 455
A Disgraceful Scene (P S) M. K G 443
Advice to Union Muslims (P S) M K. G 506
A Friendly Act (P S) M K. G 460
A Gentle Rebuke (P S) M K. G 309, 310
A Good Deed Shines in a Naughty World H ALEXANDER 369
A Lesson (P S.) M K G 414
Aligarh Students (P S) M K G 399
Allah-O-Akbar (P. S.) M K. G. 304
All Equally Guilty (P S) M K. G 371
A Matter of Shame (P. S) M K G 392
Amidst the Refugees at Haridwar S. N 213
A Muslim Society's Warning (P S.) M K G 477
An All in Fast Pyarelal 513
Analogy of the Mad Dog (W L) S N 179
An Appeal to the Landlord Class (P S) M K. G 310
Anger is Short Madness (P S) M K G 334
An Open Letter (P S) M K. G 330
Another Delhi Interlude ANON 147, 154
An Unworthy Fear (P S) M K. G 485
A Paragraph from an Urdu Daily (P S) M K G 391
A Plea for Understanding (P S) M K G 310
A Preposterous Suggestion (P S) M. K. G. 372
A Pure Sacrifice PYARELAL 321
A Puzzle M K G 384
A Reasonable Demand (P S.) M K. G 457

Assurance of Muslim Peace Mission (P S) M K G 478
A Vicious Suggestion (P. S.) M K G 456
A Visit to Panipat (P S) M K G 421,466
A Visit to Saran I, II III D NAYYAR 342,357
Avoid Exaggeration (P S) M K G 351
A Word to Pakistan (P S.) M K. G 525
A Worthy Example (P S.) M K. G 382
Azad Hind Fauj Officers (P S) M K G 408
Badges for Harijans (P S) M K. G 380
Bahawalpur Refugees (P S) M K G 524
Banish Hatred and Suspicion (P S.) M K G 422
Be Brave and Fearless (P S) M K. G 351
Become Servants of God (P S) M. K G. 421
Be True (P S.) M K G 456
Be True to the Congress Creed (P S) M K G 377
Bolts (P S) M K G 297
Brothers Become Enemies! (P. S.) M. K. G. 351
Burma Premier (P S) M K. G 471
Cablegrams from Muslim Friends (P S.) M K G 366
Call from Punjab (P S.) M K G 310
Call to the Nation M A JINNAH M K. Gandhi 121
Carrying of Kirpans (P S) M K G 444
Charges Answered (P S) M K G 410
Charkha and Communal Harmony (P S.) M K G 478
Chittagong (P S) M K G 298,309
Citizen of United India (P S.) M K G 485
City of the Dead (P S) M K G 333
Collect Golden Deeds (P S) M. K. G 382
Communal Chambers of Commerce (P S.) M K. G 471
Communal Murders K. G M. 4
Condition of Neighbourliness (P S) M K. G 472
Conditions for Peace (P S.) M K. G 360
Conditions for Return (P S) M K G 436,437
Damage to Mosques (P S) M K. G 459
Dassera and Bakr Id (P S.) M K G 360,394
Death — Courageous or Cowardly M. K. G 437
Delhi on Trial (P S) M K G 5[illegible]
Deputations from Bahawalpur (P S) M K G 520
Diary of Gandhiji's Calcutta Visit ANON 165
Disgraceful Defiance (P S) M K G 485
Distrust Denotes Cowardice (P S) M. K. G 508
Diwali Felicitations (P S) M K. G 422
Doleful Letter from Sind (P S) M K G 477
Don't Weaken the Government (P S) M K G 382
Dr Gopichand (P S) M K. G 491
Duty in Delhi (P S) M K G 410
Duty of Military and Police (P S) M K. G 378
Duty of Newspapers (P S.) M K. G 378
Duty of the Government (P S) M K G 365
Duty of the Government and the People (P S) M K G 336
Duty of the Hindus and Sikhs (P S.) M K G 525
Duty of the Military and Police (P S) M K G 351
Duty of the Rich (P S.) M K G 330
Duty of the Two Dominions (P S) M K G 336
Duty of the Union Government (P S) M K G 361
Duty of the Union Muslims (P S.) M K. G 495
Establishment of Peace H G ALEXANDER 301
Exaggeration Defeats Purpose (P S.) M K G 508
Field of Service is Unlimited (P S.) M K G 366
Forced to Leave? (P S) M K.G 399
Forcible Conversions Condemned (P S) M K G 407
Forcible Occupation (P S) M K G 466
Forget the Past (P S) M K G 335
For Mosques Only M K G 412
Friendship (P S) M K. G 310
Fruit of Fratricide (P S.) M K G 365
Gandhiji's Address to the Meos M K. G 481
Gandhiji's Advice to Sindh Hindus M K G 162
Gandhiji's Ambition (P S) M K. G 361
Gandhiji's Approach ANON. 8
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary ANON 73 84,97,126,133 152,174
Gandhiji's Broadcast to the Kurukshetra Camp M. K G 417
Gandhiji's Press Statement M K. G 322
Gandhiji's Walking Tour Diary ANON 56 61,78
Gentleman Thieves (P S) M K G 521
God the Supreme Counsellor (P S) M K. G 523
Good Nuwa (P S) M K. G 471
Good Work Its Own Blessing (P S) M. K. G. 371
Guru Nanak's Birthday (P S) M K G 459
Hakimsahib's Memorial (P S) M K G 506
Happenings in Karachi (P S) M K. G 520
Happenings in Kashmir (P S.) M K. G 396
Happy Season of Unity (P S) M K. G 396
Hindu Muslim Relations (P S.) M K. G 443
Hindu Muslim Solidarity about South Africa (P S) M K. G 425
Hindus and Sikhs in Bahawalpur (P S.) M K. G 507
How Gandhiji Fools and Acts A K. 153
How Gandhiji Views His Peace Mission ANON. 101
How to Quench the Flames (P S) M K. G. 361
Ideals in Messages (P S) M K. G 460
Impartiality (P S) M K. G 298
In Calcutta PYARELAL 317
In Delhi S N 177
Indian Muslims (P S) M K. G 365
Individual Relations No Remedy (P S) M K. G 366
Individual's Capacity (P S) M K. G 365
Iran and India (P S) M K. G 532
Is It the Last Crime? (P S.) M K. G 320
Is Pakistan Theocratic? (P S) M K G 410
Its Evil Deeds (P S) M K G 456
Joint Flags (P S) M K G 299
Kashiswad Again (P S) M K. G 470
Kashiswad Quiet (P S) M K G 436
Keep Your Faith Bright (P S) M K. G. 396
Kharagpur (P S) M K. G 303
Kirpan and Its Implications (P S) M K. G. 456
Labour (P S.) M K. G 311
Lawlessness and Corruption (P S.) M K. G 495
Lesson of Dussehra (P S) M K. G 356

Liquor in Delhi (P. S.) M K G 459
Live and Let Live (P S) M. K. G 478
Look to Your Own Faults (P S) M K G 382
Mahamood Ghaznavi: SUNDARLAL 510
Manufacture of Khadi (P S) M K G 415
Marred Kashmir (P S) M K G 422
Migration to Calcutta (P S) M. K. G 293
Minorities in Eastern Pakistan (P S) M K G 383
Monstrous Intolerance and Interference (P S.) M K G 363
Most Cowardly and Inhuman (P. S) M K G 360
Muslim Loyalty Essential (P S) M K G 352
Muslims' Good Work (P S) M. K. G 331
Muslim Withdrawal (P S) M K G 471
My Dream (P S) M K. G 526
Nationalist Muslims (P S.) M K G 253,304,311
Need for Bravery and Patience (P S) M K G 521
Need for Discipline (P S.) M K G 531
Negation of Religion (P S) M K. G 487
News from Noakhali (P S) M K. G 497
News from N W F P (P S) M K G 434
Noakhali S. N 298
No Bargaining (P S) M K. G 459
No Communalism in Commerce (P S) M K. G 459
No Communalism in the Union (P S) M K. G 520
No Desecration (P S) M K G 495
No Diwali Celebrations (P S) M K G 416
No Going Back (P S) M K G 427
No Longer Non-co operation (P S) M K G 445
Non Muslims in Bahawalpur (P S) M K. G 496
Non Muslims in Sind (P S) M K. G 507
Non violence of the Brave (P S) M K G 373
No Occupying Muslim Houses (P S) M K G 457
No Premium on Evil (P S) M. K. G 459
No Real Peace without Return of the Refugees (P S) M K G 508
No Return without Change of Hearts (P S) M K. G 507
No Softness (P S) M K. G 528
No Subjection (P. S) M K G 299
Of Officials (P S) M K. G 445
One and Only Passion (P S) M K. G 395
Outrageous Analogy M K G 368
Pakistan Encouraging? (P S) M K. G 408
Panipat Muslims Case (P S) M K. G 443
Patient Hearing Not Enough (P S) M K G 379
Peace Continues in Calcutta (P S) M K G 396
Persecution of Bonsse Catholics (P S) M K G 446
Plea for Right Conduct (P S) M K G 447
Pride and Friendship (P S) M K G 444
Problem of Housing Accommodation (P S) M K. G 521
Punjab after Delhi (P S) M K G 351
Rampur State — Then and Now (P S) M K G 425
Rastriya Sevak Sangha (P S) M K G 335
Real Illumination (P S) M K. G 422
Religion (P S) M K G 303
Religion Admits of no Coercion (P S) M K. G 423
Remove in Your Homes (P S) M K. G 411
Renovation of the Somnath Temple (P S) M K. G 459
Rentia Jayanti (P S) M. K. G 375
Request from Sahood Sahab (P S) M. K. G 295
Searching for Truth (P S) M K G 466
Self Help and Co-operation (P S) M K G 415
Shahood Sahab (P S.) M K. G. 304 331
Shed Cowardice (P S) M K. G 489
Sheer Ignorance (P S) M K. G 487
Shewani's Martyrdom (P S) M. K. G. 444
Shrirampur Diary ANON 1,14
Shortcomings of the Sikhs (P S.) M K G 443
Slaughter of Pigs (P S.) M K. G 410
Smritish Banerjee N. K. BOSE 321
Sodepur Speech (P S) (11-8-47) M. K. G 294
" " (12-8 47) " " .
Sonipat Christmas (P. S) M K. G 447
Spate of Messages (P S) M. K. G 525
Squeezing must Stop (P S) M K G 519
Stink to Your Homes (P. S) M K G 353
Sweet Talk (P S) M K G 486
Sylhet (P. S) M K. G 316
Talk with Sikh Friends (P S.) M K G. 382
Telegrams from Kathiawad (P S.) M. K. G 460
Terrible if True (P. S.) M. K. G 459
Test of Amity (P S.) M. K G 313
The Aligarh Urdu Magazine SUNDARLAL 510
The Art of Dying Bravely (P. S.) M K. G 354
The Delhi Interludes ANON 117,122
The Duty of the Majority (P S) M. K. G 354
The Fast N K BOSE 323
The Gates of Somnath? (P. S) M K. G 491
The Harijans in Sind (P S) M K. G 467
The Id (P S) M. K G. 298
The Latest Tragedy (P S) M K. G. 456
The Military and the Police (P. S) M K. G. 444
The Minorities in Pakistan (P. S.) M. K. G. 372
The Only Way (P. S) M K G. 387
The Other Side (P S) M K. G. 479
The Pilgrimage of Penance I, II, III IV D. NAYYAR 499,502
The Pindi Speech S N. 293
The Punjab (P S) M K. G. 293 304
The Sister-e-Kashmir (P S) M. K G 458
The Sister of Mercy (P S) M K. G. 415
The Verse from the Quran (P S.) M. K. G 478
The Vimana Circle S. N 337
Tibia College (P. S) M K G 499
Tit for Tat? (P. S) M K. G. 447
To Bahawalpur Friends (P S.) M. K. G. 521
"To Muslims" BEGUM FIRDAUS RIZVI 301
Too Slow (P. S) M K. G 510
To Sikh Friends SUNDARLAL 492
To the Fighting Forces in Gurgaon (W. L.) S N. 195
To the Hindus and Sikhs (W. L.) S. N. 179
To the Muslims in the Union S N. 350
To the People of Gujarat M. K. G 517
Tree without Fruit Withers (P S) M K G 353

Reformation of the Congress

3072

Reg. No. B3002

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 23 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 1948 TWO ANNAS

"FOR HARIJANS ONLY"

Shri B Jagannadhadas the well-known *sevak* of Harijans in Madras, and now Judge of the Cuttack High Court, writes

One of the important subjects considerably discussed at the last meeting of the Central Harijan Sevak Sangh held at Kengeri (Bangalore) was whether the hostels run by the Harijan Sevak Sangh should any longer be confined to Harijans alone or that there should be a substantial admixture of backward caste Hindus therein say to the extent of about 25%. Ultimately the subject was adjourned for further consideration at the next meeting of the Sangh

The proposition is the outcome of a growing feeling that the special facilities which are now rightly being afforded to Harijans by Governments and private organizations in the political, educational and economic fields in order to ameliorate their condition and to remove untouchability have been now developing communal mindedness that is a desire that they should continue to remain a distinct and exclusive section of the nation interested in preserving and perpetuating the special facilities provided for them at present The custom which was once regarded as a disability and impediment to their progress and an insult to their manhood, and so a curse is now considered to be an advantage. This it is said defeats the purpose of full assimilation of Harijans in the Hindu society for which Mahatma Gandhi and the Harijan Sevak Sangh have been working all these years and may lead in course of time to serious complications The solution suggested is the admixture of Harijans and caste Hindus in all fields of ameliorative activity It was also said that mere untouchability as such has been legally abolished by the Temple-entry and Civil Disabilities Removal Acts, the problem of the Harijan now stands on no higher footing than that of the problem of other economically backward classes.

"The opposite view put forth was that the educational and economic facilities afforded to the Harijans are still very small compared to the crying need of their situation and that even a limited admission of caste Hindu students within the hostels would substantially reduce the facilities and produce serious discontent in them. Rather it was maintained, if the Governments or Harijan Sevak Sangha and private organizations found additional facilities they should be made available only to the Harijans having regard to the inadequacy of the same at present and the unlikelihood of Governments or private organizations finding sufficient funds in the near future to meet the demands of both Harijans and backward caste Hindus in this respect.

"The tendency if any on the part of Harijans to develop an exclusiveness, was it was said, merely the reaction to the superiority-complex of the caste-Hindus and was the inevitable outcome of the growth of the self respect of the Harijans. The only remedy for it is the eradication of that mentality on the part of the caste Hindus.

"Undoubtedly the facilities at present afforded to the Harijans are extremely inadequate compared to the magnitude of their needs and that not only nothing should be done to curtail such facilities or to interfere with the scope for their expansion but every effort should be made for rapid expansion of the same. A heavy duty lies in this respect on the various Governments the Harijan Sevak Sanghs and other private organizations, to ensure such rapid expansion and to allay any apprehension that the policy of admixture will interfere with such legitimate expansion But it must at the same time be recognized that the idea of admixture of Harijan students and caste Hindu students in hostels and schools and other places is a step in the right direction. It must be remembered that the Harijan uplift movement is intended to weld the Harijan and non Harijan sections into a homogeneous society by removing untouchability and other injustices The programme of affording educational and economic facilities for Harijans has been adumbrated as a step in the direction of removal of untouchability and not for perpetuating the exclusiveness. Hostels confined to exclusive castes or castes which have a tendency to perpetuate the distinctions should be transformed as far as possible into mixed hostels in the larger national interests This is what the Orissa Government already appears to have done.

"There is a good deal of force in the view that the growing tendency, if any, of the awakened Harijan to consider himself as of a separate privileged community is the result of the sense of self respect which he has developed as a result of his education and that the remedy for it is largely with the caste Hindu who must eradicate the superiority consciousness from his mind Nevertheless, the duty in this respect is not one sided but mutual. If the educated Harijans allow themselves to react to the sense of

self-respect to the extent of feeling distinct from Hindu society and claiming vested interests, the eradication of caste-mindedness becomes a difficult process For instance, one of the unhealthy reactions that has been of late noticeable is the tendency to claim institutions and funds, founded by caste Hindus rendering service to Harijans in a spirit of penitence, as in a sense belonging to Harijans in which they must have the predominant if not the sole voice. It is not realised that the work of Harijan amelioration through these institutions is one to be largely done by and the burden of which is to be almost entirely borne by the caste-Hindus. It is only by active participation in such work by the caste-Hindus in large numbers that the caste-Hindu mind will get revolutionised Hence it is up to the educated Harijans to shunk this growing tendency to claim Harijan institutions and funds as their vested property. Perhaps under normal circumstances, these tendencies might not have attracted much attention, but in the present political context the nationalist mind has become circumspect about new separatist tendencies having regard to the bitter experiences of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

While, therefore the commencement must be made by the so called upper and more enlightened section of every caste to eradicate rapidly from their mind the age-long caste-complex it is equally the duty of the Harijans not to give room for the impression that the privileges and facilities afforded to Harijans are only helping to disrupt the Hindu society and sowing the seeds for another national crisis in the future of time.

"It is, of course, important to remember that while untouchability may have been removed by legislation, the problem of untouchability still persists in society to a large extent. It would not at all be right to imagine that the problem of the Harijan is hereafter only the problem of one amongst the many backward classes. Legal impediments having now been removed, the rapid educational and economic amelioration of the Harijans is the only sure means of removing untouchability. The tendency if any that this process may create for separatism must be tackled and counteracted only by measures which will draw out and strengthen the innate Hindu culture in the Harijan mind.

It is the slow pace of the programme of amelioration that gives scope for any inevitable separatist tendencies to harden The need of the hour in relation to this problem is this. Just as in the political field a ten year period has been envisaged as the period of continuance of electoral privileges for Harijans a ten year period must also be envisaged as the period for affording special facilities for Harijans. A ten year programme should be immediately put into effective operation whereby the Harijan community will be transformed within this period into a socially, economically and educationally progressive community not requiring to be considered or treated as a backward community any longer at the end of the period and not requiring any special facilities or privileges."

I endorse generally the views of Shri Jagannadhadas My view of caste-mindedness is that accurately speaking, the attribution of superiority complex to caste Hindus only is a half truth The caste complex permeates all sections of the Hindu society and has not left even the non-Hindu societies And it is not only a superiority complex always Caste distinctions based on equality-complex are as mutually exclusive as those based on superiority or inferiority complex There are castes both among the so-called caste Hindus and out-caste Hindus, who would not interdine or mix with one another because none is lower than the other or each regards itself as superior to the other The nomenclature 'caste Hindus', as opposed to 'non-caste Hindus' is really a misnomer There is no 'non-caste Hindu' in the whole of orthodox India, be be non-Harijan Harijan, Adivasi or another And if we go further and take the term Hindu in its very correct sense of an inhabitant on this side of the Indus, then followers of Islam and Christianity are also 'caste-Hindus' What is essential to be removed is the caste-complex, and it has to be removed from all sections of the Indian nation, including Adivasis, Harijans Muslims, Christians and Parsis

Having regard to the past history of the movement perhaps the suggestion of allowing a ten year period is an inevitable necessity My view is that the movement for removal of social disabilities and inequalities of Harijans, should hereafter be made independent of their economic, educational and political emancipation In the latter field of service should have been included all people below a particular standard of life, whether Harijans Adivasis Backward caste-Hindus like Bhils, Baraiyas, Patanwadias, Thakardas Halpatis etc and also Muslims and Christians of the same economic and educational status The creation of separate institutions for serving a particular backward community should not any longer be continued at any rate emphasised, and if possible, all such institutions should be broadened to allow inclusion of members of other communities in their sphere of service I request the attention of the organizers of various Particular-Community Seva Sangha to this suggestion

Wardha, 20-6-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

Reminder

A correspondent desires to remind the readers that this is the season for doing a little bit of gardening for growing vegetables and edible leaves He says that although he commenced this only last year in a dry village of Jaipur out of mere earnestness to follow Gandhiji's advice he has highly benefitted thereby, having been able to get vegetables for 4 days in a week.

28-7-'48 K. G. M

LEST WE FORGET

VIII

THE DRINK EVIL

(a)

The use of intoxicants like wine and the rest not only leads to mental and physical decay, but also deadens the moral instincts and destroys all power of self-control

(b)

Drugs and drink are the two arms of the devil

(c)

I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished I do tolerate very unwillingly it is true and helplessly because of want of full realization of the law of love, a moderate system of penal code And so long as I do I must advocate the summary punishment of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to raging furnace or flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body the former destroys both body and soul

(d)

You will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them The State does not cater for the vices of its people We do not regulate and license houses of ill-fame We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge in their propensity for thieving I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both ?

(e)

In a climate like ours there is no need for drinks whatsoever Nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is a prey to the drink habit The great community to which Shri Krishna belonged was ruined by that habit The monstrous evil was one of the contributing factors in the fall of Rome If therefore you will live decently, you will shut this evil whilst there is yet time

(f)

There is no halfway house between drunkenness and prohibition Well-to-do men may pretend to be moderate But there is no such thing as moderation possible among labourers.

(g)

If I was appointed dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the toddy palms, such as I know in Gujarat, and compel factory owners to produce human conditions for their workers and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements

BAPU

We had fallen on evil days We were groping in the dark We were a struggling nation Bapu appeared on the horizon He brought light and warmth to us His ideal was fixed, we thought it was a far off land He discovered means to lead us to that end We doubted their efficacy Bapu thought that free and unfettered soul is a prerequisite for the march on to his goal Thought and action were one to him. We were ruthlessly exploited by the foreigners He waged war against the machinery of exploitation He loved the foreigner He hated his exploitation We did not understand him He used his weapons We thought they were blunt. To our surprise we found that they were sharper than our known instruments "Wonderful" we shouted. 'Bapu give us give us, the weapons. We will fight the foreigners' we implored 'Here they are," said Bapu with a smile

We were a struggling nation We were groping in the dark Bapu brought us light and warmth He gave us weapons He taught us to fight. He was at the front, we were at his back He wielded the weapons We imitated him. He was our leader He was our ideal. We installed him in our hearts We danced with joy Bapu was a magician He transformed the struggling nation into a fighting nation Fifteenth August dawned The foreigner was gone That was a pleasant shock. We realized our dream. Our fight reached its end We were free Are we free? We joined hands in gratitude to Bapu In one voice we shouted *Mahatma Gandhiki Jai*

Bapu looked behind We were his followers He was our leader. We looked at his face We were painfully surprised That was a shock to us He was pale He was trembling. His rejuvenating smile had vanished Slowly and steadily he said, "This is not our destination, brothers" It is *there* This is a halting place *This is a means to that end* '

"No no, Bapu, this is our destination Our dreams are realized Our fight has come to an end," we said

"Then brothers," he said 'I must march on I came alone, I remained alone, I shall go alone"

We were a struggling nation. We were groping in the dark Bapu brought us light and warmth He transformed us into a fighting nation He gave us the weapons He taught us to fight He was our leader We were his followers We installed him in our hearts He is marching He is alone we are halting Alas! what ingratitude!

He is standing there. He is waiting for us to follow Oh, how sweet! how sweet! how kind! how tolerant!

D B TANKSALI

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price Rs. 4-0-0 Postage etc As. 0-6-0
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

August 8 1948

REFORMATION OF THE CONGRESS

It has been suggested by some old workers and leading Congressmen that in order to purify the Congress organization as well as Government administration our top leaders like Shri Rajagopalachari, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel, Maulana Azad and others should get out of offices and substitute in their place able and efficient but not equally important Congressmen, whom they should guide and control from outside in the same way as they did during the 1937 regime.

I think this is possible only if we change the fundamental conception of our system of Government. Under the present system, as we know the Executive is a Party Government empowered to initiate policies and though technically responsible to the legislature, for all practical purposes, capable of controlling at least its own party in the legislature. If, however, the above suggestion is to be put into effect it would be necessary to substitute in its place a system of nominated Executive Ministers with little power of initiation and with no obligation to resign on defeat of a step initiated by them, but bound simply to carry out the policy dictated by the legislature. I understand that the Constitution of Switzerland is something of this kind. Unless the Constituent Assembly re-opens all its deliberations this is now a closed subject. But even if we make such constitutional changes as would enable us to do as above, it should be remembered that it would not any longer be possible for the members of the High Command to control the ministers without themselves becoming members of their legislative assemblies. It would have to be something like this: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel would have to be Leader and Deputy Leader respectively of the Central legislature and place some other able Congressmen in the ministries acting on their command (and not merely advice), both in theory and in practice. The Government would run in the name of the Governor-General who will act on the advice of his Cabinet who will be selected and directed at every step by the Leader of the majority party and his Working Committee!

I believe that besides making a puzzling situation, this would not improve the present state of affairs in the least. The change in the situation brought about by the attainment of Dominion Status needs that both in theory and practice Government must vest in the actual popular High Command of the country. However efficient the ministers may be, if both the theory and actual position are that their Cabinet is controlled by somebody who is technically either under it or altogether outside it they would not carry that authority and weight which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel or other ministers have today in foreign and internal affairs. And there would always be a possibility of high placed persons of not too high principles to get out of the control of the so-called High Command. I therefore think that whatever solution has to be found, it must be through the retention of the actual leaders of the country in office.

And so we must consider how the Congress can reform itself with this end. I have already indicated the preliminary steps for the purification of the organization and the administration in my previous articles. That done, the Congress should divest itself of allegiance to any theoretical ideology like capitalism, socialism, Gandhi-ism, communism, etc., as also to all practised ideologies such as of communalism, provincialism, culturism, nepotism, opportunism, etc. Instead of the first named *isms*, it should gather together the courage of saying to the public that having regard to the various problems actually before it, it is unable to swear by any particular ideology. It would say that if the tenets of every one of these ideologies were to be listed it would be found that no two present Congressmen accepted every item of any list or put the same emphasis on any particular item of them. If they were to accept only the greatest common measure, it would become negligible. All that can be said is that there is a general leaning of all towards a few broad principles, (which should be set down). It may indicate the goal which it tends towards, but say that when they came to practical application it became difficult to satisfy every one. So the reformed Congress should divest itself of theoretical acceptance of any particular ideology. Even if there was the risk of its being considered as simply carrying on a policy of drift, it should say that it would examine every problem before it with an open mind and in the light of circumstances which it had actually to face and would try to come to a decision which it felt to be the only possible step under the circumstances. Not that such solutions would have no long term objectives but, may be, the approach towards long term objectives was not so rapid as would satisfy the protagonists of particular ideologies. The Congress should seek satisfaction of showing that no party could do better than it for implementing a policy, without serious disturbances in the life and peace of the people.

With regard to the second set of ideologies I should think that if a special ideology for the Congress were needed, it should be the *ism* of the negation of communalism, provincialism, culturism, nepotism, opportunism, etc. It is indeed more important than the former. Equal regard for every Indian irrespective of caste, creed, race, language, sect, original habitation, etc., honest and frank dealing, utmost care to purify the administration and to organize it in a way so as to be most convenient to the people, absence of all favouritism and similar characteristic features of model character

should be the watchword or the only aim, ideal and method of the Congress If this is honestly effected and every effort is made to reach this goal, even if the Congress had only a handful of members on its roll it would retain its popularity and usefulness as well as it had in the past.

Ordinary people howsoever politically awakened they might appear to be, are after all never staunch followers of any particular *ism* They hardly understand more about it than what the slogans which are but generalized half-truths, vaguely convey to them We know how the Muslim masses were un-understandingly carried away by the slogan of Pakistan and a separate homeland for Indian Muslims to the great loss both of the Muslims as well as other Indians We are not out of the wood yet If any service has to be rendered to the people, it has to make them sceptic about the value of such slogans and the Congress would do well to not put forth a slogan of its own, but rather try its best to wean away people from credulousness towards them

Thus the Congress might be an organization of parliamentarians and associates and workers outside statutory bodies all pledged to serve the nation with self-sacrifice and uprightness through parliamentary activities and performance of responsible public duties officially or otherwise, with a view to bring the blessings of honesty justice and other elements of high character to the people. If a pledge is necessary a pledge indicated on lines mentioned above might be adopted

Necessarily membership of such a Congress would not be open to any one who chose to sign a form and pay the subscription It would be a limited body with stiff conditions attached to admission, so as to ensure high principles, character, ability and a record of voluntary service. It would be wide enough to allow men from every walk of life and with elementary school training to take part in it if they fulfil the test. And it would be strict enough not to be influenced by mere wealth or learning or cunning in granting admissions

Whether in office or outside it would study and initiate study, investigation and research of various national international, urban and rural problems concerning every department of life It would neither identify itself with nor reject the help and study of particular schools of thought

Such Congress would not represent itself as Gandhian to the public and non-Gandhian *inter se* Its attitude towards the constructive institutions like the A. I S A, A I V I A, etc, would be the same as that towards any other institution unconnected with Gandhiji or old Congress It would seek to serve the people through parliamentary activities and to reach them (while in office) through explaining to them the Government policies and seeing to their application in such manner as would benefit the general public If uprightness, impartiality, civility and model life became the distinguishing features of a Congressman, the Congress would always be wanted

Wardha, 24-7-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

AMENDS

With reference to my article on "*Unclean Means*", my attention has been drawn to two errors of fact made therein The circular, of which a great part was reproduced by me, I am informed, was not issued by the Bihar Government.. or an authorized body, but by a so-called "Joint Committee of Officials and Non-officials'. Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, the Revenue Minister of Bihar, writes to me saying that according to the information, of the Government no such body as a matter of fact exists

Secondly, the resolution of the Manbhum District Congress Committee referred to by me was not passed but rejected by that body by 55 to 43 votes. As a result of this 38 members of the D. C C including the President and the Secretary resigned.

Since that article was written my attention has also been drawn to the kind of methods employed by the propagonists of the pro-Bengal agitation both in Manbhum and West Bengal If the reports are correct, and I see no reason to disbelieve them, the agitation is inflammatory in character and incites the people to violence If the circular, which I was responsible for giving publicity to, is a hoax, I have been grossly deceived by the Bengali friends who sent it to me As the friend from whom I received it is incapable of practising fraud upon me, I am afraid that he too was deceived in the matter by those who supplied him with it and led into hasty steps No wonder that my article has been made a convenient tool by the pro-Bengal propagonists But thereby they have, instead of rendering service, done disservice to their own cause For, if I am capable of criticizing strongly, I am also capable of apologizing freely and doing everything to make amends without reservation

After the above was written, I received a full letter from Shri Badrinath Varma Minister for Education Bihar, dealing with the subject complained of and clearly speaking what the policy of the Bihar Government is on the question of languages in these areas I reproduce elsewhere almost the whole of the said letter omitting only such portions as are not quite necessary to clarify the Government side The policy, if fully implemented appears to be good but if anything more is to be done, better ways than the kind of propaganda which is being carried on could be employed for further improvement.

Let me repeat, that whichever side uses unclean means, even if it succeedes in achieving its object, it will not succeed in bringing happiness to the people of Manbhum or establishing good relations between the people of the two provinces They will simply sow seeds of discord and attife The matter does not appear to me such as could not be settled in a clean and peaceful manner

New Delhi, 30-7-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

I am glad to share with the reader the following views of Dr Kailasnath Katju on the duties of constructive workers and those who believe in Gandhiji's constructive programme They are culled from one of his letters

"Organizers and workers should make a solemn resolve that they shall never look up to or ask for Government help for the prosecution of their activities and that they shall solely rely upon their own efforts, their own funds or such funds as they may be able to collect from others interested in this enterprise The wider the circle of financial supporters beginning with the cultivator with his As 8 or Re. 1 the better for the success of the work I attach the very greatest importance to this particular feature because naturally office and office holders become centres of all power, political and otherwise Office means patronage, means finance, and there is the greatest danger of our workers of the constructive programme opening centres and then rushing to ministers for grants. The moment that is done, I register a mental note of my own that the particular enterprise is not likely to succeed. Over and over again I have seen honoured friends and other co workers wasting their time in securing financial support from Government and then comes the irritation when that support is either given grudgingly or inadequately or is made subject to necessary official restrictions Not only this, the moment you get or depend upon official financial support it seems to me that that particular enterprise loses a great deal in its moral appeal and does not carry that moral influence which it should. I am not against accepting official financial support, but I am decisively of the opinion that the ministry of such an enterprise should be the widest possible non-official support If that support comes from the masses of our cultivators so much the better Official support should come unsought unprayed for. It should be really the minister who should beg you to accept the grant and not the organizers rushing to the Secretariat at Lucknow or Nani Tal begging in the minister's office or at his house. That makes all the difference in the world. If the Government are serious about the furtherance of the constructive programme then it is up to them to promote it in the manner they may like best I have my own views upon it I do not know how but in some way or other Gandhiji has made this programme almost unworkable through official agency. It is not only a programme for the development of cottage industries it is really a programme for the upliftment of the individual himself and that upliftment can only come when the individual or the group concerned make a voluntary effort and are not goaded on through a soulless official agency But Government of course are responsible for the proper expenditure of public funds and they may adopt such measures as they think fit But somehow or other the impression left on my mind is that all these Special Training Centres just go half the way and do not serve the purpose completely The ideal source would be for hundreds of selfless workers of unquestioned and unquestionable integrity to combine together and spread out into the villages doing this work and the Government giving them grants in lump sums for encouragement in their work such grants being only a fraction of the funds that may be necessary for their purposes.

"Another aspect which has struck me more and more forcibly as time passes by is that of personal example particularly in this field of constructive endeavour. I think that Gandhiji was able to carry his message of the spinning wheel to every hamlet in India not only because of his wonderful personality but also because he spun himself daily without fail I now see with great regret that there is not much real faith in the efficacy of the spinning wheel. If such faith existed one might see it working in practice. I do not know how many of our ministers in the Central and the Provincial Governments of India ply the wheel every day I know the tremendous burden of responsibilities which rests upon their shoulders but nevertheless I suggest that to carry the message of the spinning wheel to the masses of India it seems necessary that our biggest men and our ministers should reinforce it by practical application thereof in their own lives Mere preaching unfortunately these days does not carry us very far. Gandhiji insisted upon manual labour upon doing oneself what we ask others to do My remarks are not merely limited to ministers and persons occupying high office they are equally applicable to all our leaders whether they are in office or out of office. I think personally that it should be almost a sacred duty of every Congress worker be he a leader or a follower if he really believes in the constructive programme to set personal example in this respect He must spin himself daily and let it be widely known that he does so If he were to do so in congregation every day, so much the better. If he wishes to encourage cottage industries, he must set an example of using the products of those cottage industries in his own home just as Gandhiji used to do it as long as he lived The Constructive programme is not only an economic programme, it is a comprehensive programme for the elevation of the individual in a variety of ways the economic advancement being only one of the side advantages, if I may say so flowing from the programme itself And the moment you divorce the moral side from the economic side and concentrate on the economic side alone it seems to me that in these days when there are so many other ideologies confusing the public mind you are likely to fail

"Gandhiji wanted the Congress in the old sense of the word to be dissolved. So far as politics were concerned, he thought that the Congress register covered the entire population He wanted to leave politics alone I imagine, to the politicians, to

Parliamentary parties [illegible] ministries The constructive programme [illegible] band of soldiers in this field. But political power attracts It attracts still more in an authority ridden country like India There is a sort of a halo or a glamour round the man who possesses political power I think Gandhiji, when he thought of his selfless workers, also thought of their acquiring influence in the present set up by the austerity of their life, by the moral integrity of their character and by the intensely unselfishness of their devotion and unconnected with any association with or support of those who possess and wield political power. If these devoted workers work silently on their own without depending in any way on official support or patronage, then I am sure by the purity of their life and by the loftiness of their character and endeavour they will succeed.

"I imagine I have said nothing very original, but it is sometimes the obvious which we ignore I am only anxious that the aspect which I have emphasized should be carefully borne in mind

"Nowadays, when the dark night of adversity has yielded place to the sunshine of political power all Congressmen naturally want to enjoy it and also to serve the public through the beneficent use of such power. I am deeply anxious that those who come forward to tread this path of selfless service may achieve success which they so richly deserve. I should love these workers to take in hand the organization of multiple co operative societies for the development of *khadi* and other cottage industries. That will bring them into the closest contact with the villager and they can render inestimable service to him, because a well organized co-operative society of this kind requires careful and efficient handling.'

Since the Constructive Workers Conference at Sevagram, there have been similar Conferences in various provinces I ask the reader's pardon for reproducing the following from a letter written to the organizers of one of such Conferences, some days ago

'These Provincial Conferences are necessary but I should like to warn the workers against falling into one or two errors One is, that we are likely to feel that the successful holding of conferences is by itself a part of service, and are liable to draw up a programme of one conference after another, such as District Talukas, etc, another is to regard that the passing of carefully worded resolutions along with speeches in support of them is execution of the programme a third one is to look to Government or non official all India institutions for material support and lead in every matter.

"Government—Central or Provincial—as well as non official all India institutions do have their place and spheres of duty But if the workers relied too much on them, all organizations might collapse if these bodies did not function fully, and the people would never attain that *Swaraj* which will ensure *Sarvodaya*.

'I therefore request the workers to carry *the people* with them, and to make *the people* work for the fulfilment of the Constructive Programme on their own [illegible] The various targets in the programme should be fixed in terms of possible popular effort w[illegible]her Government or non-official central institutions could give them aid or not'

Wardha, 8-7-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

POLICY OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN BIHAR

My attention has been drawn to an article appearing in a recent issue of the *Harijan* under the heading '*Unclean Means*' and its Hindi version in the *Harijansewak* of the 11th July 1948 The subject-matter of the article has been a great surprise to me That the article should have emanated from you is still more surprising and, I should say, painful I should have expected that in a matter like the one which forms the subject-matter of the article and in which serious imputations are made against a Provincial Government some attempt at least should have been made to ascertain the truth of the allegations I need not point out to you that a great mischief has been done, unwittingly of course We would not have minded if the article had appeared in any other paper and I believe the mischief would not have been as great But what is written in the *Harijan* and what emanates from your pen are unhesitatingly given credence to by the ordinary public and accepted almost as gospel truth by a large section of the people. I do not know how the impression created by the article in question can be counteracted I am writing this letter to explain to you the exact position, but I must at the outset tell you that no circular of the type which forms the subject-matter of your comment has been issued by the Bihar Government nor any of their officers are associated with any activity which can even remotely be described as '*unclean*' A section of our Bengali brethren are, however bent upon discrediting the Bihar Government and its officers in their zeal for getting certain portions of this province amalgamated with Western Bengal and no method is considered too low to achieve the object in view The circulation of the imaginary circular is only an instance of the depths to which these friends can descend It is very painful for me to say all this but that is about the truth and only a visit to the spot and careful scrutiny of the prevailing position by an impartial observer can reveal the full extent of the undesirable tactics that are being resorted to by our friends I wish you had first-hand knowledge of the situation

2. I need not, however, pursue this matter further and would content myself by giving you in brief the actual facts of the situation which are very simple The Education Department of this province is very anxious to re-organize the educational system on national lines and inasmuch as basic education or Nai Talim has now been accepted to be the type of education that has to be introduced throughout the country, an attempt is being made here to assimilate the existing primary and middle schools also to the type as far as

practicable so that ultimately when an adequate number of basic education trained teachers are available these schools might be easily converted into the full basic type Of course, full-fledged basic schools are being separately established also and as fast as our resources in men and money could allow With a view to achieve the object in view the syllabus of the existing primary and middle schools has been completely remodelled and teaching of and practical training in arts and crafts of various kinds, particularly spinning, weaving gardening etc has been introduced The medium of instruction is also being changed and it is to be as far as practicable the mother tongue of the child in the primary sections. There is, however, provision for the gradual change of the medium in the higher classes into Hindi as that has been accepted to be the State language of the province and is likely to be accepted as State language by the Central Government also and because that is to be the medium of instruction at the secondary stage and the University This is to enable those whose mother tongue is not Hindi to take full advantage of the facilities for higher education and to enter the various services without difficulty There is no truth at all in the statement that Bengali children are being forced to give up their language On the other hand, in areas in which the Bengali population predominates the medium of instruction will be Bengali as in regions where Hindi is the prevailing language Hindi will be the medium of instruction in the primary classes Similarly, the tribal languages like Santali, Mundari, Ho and Uraon will be the medium of instruction in the regions where these are the prevailing languages. This will go on up to the lower primary standard In the upper primary stage a little of Hindi will be introduced but the medium for the children will continue to be as before In the middle stage, however, the medium will be changed into Hindi for non-language subjects but the children will continue to read their mother tongue and this they will be allowed to do till as long as there is provision for the study of literature in the secondary and University stages Therefore there is no question of any body being forced to give up his own language On the contrary, the present is an attempt to enable even those children who had not been receiving their primary education through their own tongue to do so For instance the Santals, Mundari, Uraon and Ho children were so far being instructed through the medium of Hindi or Bengali Now for the first time they will have the opportunity of getting their primary education through the medium of their own tongue What is being attempted in Bihar is in consonance with what has been accepted by the Educational Conference attended by the Educational Officers of all provinces at Delhi and the Bihar Government are attempting nothing more What appears, however, to trouble our Bengali friends in Manbhum is that they do not want that the Santals and the Hindi-speaking children should get their education through the medium of their respective mother tongue For reasons which I need not discuss here Bengali had been imposed in the past upon all those who reside in Manbhum and our Bengali friends would like to perpetuate that state of affairs Probably it is known to you that not less than 70 to 80 per cent of the population in Manbhum is either Hindi-speaking or speaks one or other of the tribal languages, mostly Santali All these have so far been forced to read through the medium of Bengali from the earliest stages Under the new syllabus they will be free to choose their own language as their medium of instruction in the primary classes as the Bengalis are and will be free to get their primary education through the medium of Bengali Some of our Bengali friends who are mostly settlers from outside, obviously do not like this change and that is why they have been trying to adopt all kinds of tactics to give this Government a bad name in the outside world

3 The Bihar Government has been trying to be as fair as possible to the non-Hindi speaking people. Probably you do not know that conscious of the fact that the teaching of Hindi to the non-Hindi speaking people may impose a little burden upon these people and may be interpreted as being unfair to them as compared to Hindi-speaking children, the Education Department is trying to arrange that so far as practicable just as non-Hindi speaking children are to learn Hindi so Hindi-speaking children of the predominantly non-Hindi speaking regions should also learn the regional language—Bangali, Santali etc as the case may be This will help also to establish cultural contact between the speakers of different languages and so to create among them understanding and goodwill

*

5 I have tried to give above the bare facts You will kindly excuse me for writing this long letter but I could not help doing so because facts had to be brought to your notice for a proper appreciation of the exact situation

Ranchi, 23-7-48 BADRI NATH VARMA
Minister for Education & Information

CONTENTS

		PAGE
'FOR HARIJANS ONLY	K. G MASHRUWALA	193
LEST WE FORGET—VIII	M K GANDHI	195
BAPU	D F TANKSALI	195
REFORMATION OF THE CONGRESS	K. G MASHRUWALA	196
AMENDS	K. G. MASHRUWALA	197
CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS	K. G MASHRUWALA	198
POLICY OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN BIHAR	BADRI NATH VARMA	199
NOTE		
REMINDER	K. G M.	194

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs 5 | Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

August Fifteenth

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 24 AHMEDABAD SUNDAY AUGUST 15 1948 TWO ANNAS

NON-EDIBLE OILS OF INDIA

OIL CONSUMPTION IN SOAPS

Our annual consumption of soap in the Indian Union may be taken at 30 crore pounds of soap at a lb per head After making due allowance for fillers like silicate etc this quantity would consume roughly 75000 tons of oils At present edible oils like coconut and groundnut oils are mainly used for this with some addition of *mahua* castor oil tallow and rosin

NON-EDIBLE OILS

There is a great shortage of edible oils in our country The total oil and resources available for edible purposes provide approximately half an ounce per day per person as against two ounces per nutritional minimum requirements It will be a [illegible] contribution therefore towards relieving this [illegible] shortage if the edible oils used in soaps and other industries can be released and replaced by non-edible oils In India we have a number of trees like *neem karanj kusum sal* plam and others [illegible] yield oil bearing seeds Unfortunately there is practically no information regarding the quantity of oil seeds available from these trees not regarding the quantities crushed But it is certain that only a negligible proportion of this source is tapped at present If full use is made of these non-edible oils they will contribute not less than one third of the quantity of oils used in soaps at present i e about 25000 tons of oil per year

THE PROBLEM

Excepting a few big concerns like the Calcutta Chemicals the Godrej the Kerala Soap Institute the Lunda Soap Works of Calicut which consume certain quantities of neem oil there is little demand for non-edible oils The reasons may be that (1) these trees are scattered and their seeds ripen in the rainy season thus presenting the problem of seed collection, (2) most of these non-edible oils are unsaturated and possess bad odour and do not make good soaps if used in their raw form, and (3) most of the soaperies are ill-equipped for processing these oils

REMEDIES

If the non-edible oils are to be utilized the problem will have to be solved on all the three fronts Proper collection of seeds will have to be organized with initial subsidy from the State if necessary The drawbacks of the oils will have to be removed [illegible] and deodorizing them Treating [illegible] only [illegible] also [illegible] it will raise the proportion of non-edible oils used in [illegible] 7 [illegible] 20 [illegible] can be used [illegible] they are not used it will [illegible] and [illegible] in reducing its rapid [illegible] these oils will be [illegible] the high prices that [illegible] were [illegible] Thus non-edible oils [illegible] by [illegible] 33 [illegible] and coconut [illegible] the present [illegible] Refining [illegible] will [illegible] 17 [illegible] 25 [illegible] Rs 26 per [illegible]

Once the Government decides [illegible] action [illegible] will be [illegible] work The [illegible] and hydrogenating machines [illegible] and an Oil [illegible] [illegible] oils [illegible] 1946 [illegible] civilian purposes [illegible] 1946 [illegible] but [illegible] treatment [illegible] advantage both to the oils and to the [illegible] based on a rough estimate they can fulfil [illegible] one-fourth of the [illegible] and hydrogenating factories working [illegible] 1946 [illegible] will [illegible] remember that these [illegible] and hydrogenated oils not only [illegible] purposes but [illegible] such as manufacture [illegible] soaps glycerine certain pharmaceuticals [illegible] and a number of other articles The [illegible] demand for hydrogenated [illegible] because such oils [illegible] The factories can certainly supply [illegible] Only they have to take [illegible] edible ones

[illegible] the non-edible oils [illegible] the distribution of [illegible] It will have [illegible] some factories to utilize certain [illegible] edible oils in their soaps This compulsion [illegible] course be necessary only till [illegible] refined and hydrogenated Once the [illegible] will create a natural demand for themselves

OIL CAKES

There [illegible] point of view from which this question has [illegible] examined The utilization of non-edible oils will automatically supply oil cakes

which can be used as fertilizers Taking on an average 30% oil extracted out of these oil seeds, the 25000 tons of oil will produce roughly 80,000 tons of oil cakes Some of these oil cakes like that of *neem* seeds have been experimented upon and found very useful as manures as will be clear from the following extracts of a report from the Director of Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi He says

> From the experiments carried out with *neem* oil-cake at this institute with Pusa soil it was found that nearly 60% of the added nitrogen was nitrified in 8 weeks against 70% of the nitrogen of castor *sarsson* and groundnut cakes It has been found to possess protective effects against white ants

> 'As regards actual manurial value, some experiments were carried out in the U P. where *neem* trees abound On crops like sugarcane, paddy cotton potatoes, etc. it has shown good effect as will be seen from the following data

Experimental Station	Crop	Increase over no Manure	Comparative Effect of Castor Cake	Doses
Pratabgarh	Sugarcane	138 4%	90 5%	With doses of 15000 lbs. of cakes
Gorakhpur	Sugarcane	10.8% 18.1%	20 8% 17.7%	105 lbs N.
Pratabgarh	Paddy	10 4%		75 lbs. of cake
Aligarh	Cotton	15.4%		100 lbs. N.
Kanpur	Potato	154.9%		200 lbs N.

JHAVERBHAI PATEL

Hindustani Examinations

Hindustani examinations in 116 centres of Gujarat and Kathiawad will take place on August 21 and 22, 1948 In all the four examinations 5754 examinees will appear This is an increase of 1504 over the number appeared in the last examination held in February 1948 Last year, 9015 examinees appeared in these examinations, while this year the number goes up to 10004

Gujarat Vidyapith GIRI RAJ KISHORE
Ahmedabad, 3-8-48 Secretary, Examinations
Gujarat Hindustani Prachar Samiti

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs Four* Postage etc. *As Ten*

THE NATION'S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]
Edited by
C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*
Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M K Gandhi)

II

AHIMSA OR LOVE

(concluded)

Ahimsa as regards sub-human life is from the Ashram point of view an important aspect but still only one aspect of this comprehensive principle Our dealings with our fellow-men are still more important than that. The commonest form of human intercourse is either violent or non-violent Fortunately for humanity non-violence pervades human life and is observed by men without special effort. If we did not bear with one another mankind would have been destroyed long ago *Ahimsa* would thus appear to be the law of life, but we are not thus far entitled to any credit for observing it.

Whenever there is a clash of ephemeral interests men tend deliberately to resort to violence But with a deliberate observance of non-violence a person experiences a second birth or 'conversion' We in the Ashram are out to observe *ahimsa* intelligently In so doing we meet with numerous obstacles disappointments and trials of faith. We may not be satisfied with observing *ahimsa* in deed only Not to think badly of any one, not to wish ill to him though we have suffered at his hands not to hurt him even in thought, — this is an uphill task, but therein lies the acid test of our *ahimsa*

Thieves have visited the Ashram from outside, and there have been thieves in the Ashram itself But we do not believe in inflicting punishment on them We do not inform the police, we put up with the losses as best we may This rule has been infringed at times. A thief was once caught red-handed by day The Ashramite who caught him bound him with a rope and treated him contemptuously I was in the Ashram at the time. I went to the thief, rebuked him and set him free But as a matter of fact *ahimsa* demands from us something more than this. We must find out and apply methods which would put a stop to thieving altogether For one thing we must diminish the number of our 'possessions' so as not to tempt others Secondly we must bring about a reformation in the surrounding villages. And thirdly the Ashram ministry should be extended in scope so that the bad as well as the good would learn to look upon the settlement as their own.

We thus find that it is impossible for a man with 'possessions' to observe *ahimsa* even in the gross meaning of that term. A man of property must adopt measures for its security involving the punishment of whoever tries to steal it. Only he can observe *ahimsa* who holds nothing as his own and works away in a spirit of total detachment If there are many such individuals and organizations in society violence will not be much in evidence As gunpowder has a large place in a society based on violence and a soldier who can handle it with skill becomes entitled to honour and rewards even so in a non-violent society self-suffering and self-control are its 'munitions of war' and persons

endowed with these qualities are its natural protectors The world at large has not still accepted *ahimsa* in this sense India has accepted it more or less but not in a comprehensive manner The Ashram holds that *ahimsa* should be universal in scope, and that society can be built up on the foundations of *ahimsa* It conducts experiments with this end in view, but these have not been very successful I have been unable to cite in this chapter much that would hearten the votary of *ahimsa* This does not apply of course to *ahimsa* as applied to politics, to which I propose to devote a separate * chapter

(*To be continued*)

NEMESIS OF NEPOTISM

Some time ago two scholars in China, were overheard talking in this strain

"Why does every one who becomes an official turn out to be such a bad man? ' asked one of the other

The other answered, 'Oh! it is not that you have your facts upside down Anybody in China who is already rotten, will turn out to be a successful official '

I was reminded of this the other day when I heard a number of selfless social workers discussing the curse of corruption which has assumed, unfortunately, the magnitude of a major malady since the fateful 15th August, 1947

The causes of the 'curse . in question, are many But I am concerned at the moment with only one of these namely, Nepotism. When those in office big or small, confer appointments and other favours on their relatives and friends not on the sole consideration of strict justice to, or intrinsic merit of, the beneficiaries but as if the latter were their grandsons or nephews, (which the word 'nepotism" derivatively signifies), a double derogation of the divine is committed, that is, of the virtuous and the worthwhile —inasmuch as Merit is ignored and Demerit is encouraged

Now when virtue —using the term in its broadest sense—is dishonoured Nemesis sets in and without fail sooner or later overtakes him, who provokes her righteous wrath Apart however from the retribution- which may be meted but eventually to the individual concerned there is a collateral devaluation and degradation of those values and verities which constitute the crux and core of civilization.

And pray, why this murder of Merit? So that the "murderers" may gather more and more of *mere things*,—the tinsels and trinkets of the world? Indeed, as the author of *No Retreat from Reason* says

> The rescue of political of social of spiritual values, crushed by the weight of things is becoming the crucial issue of the will to survive.

Truth to tell, the tragedy of the modern age is due to the fact, to quote again the above author, that we have "substituted for an interest in the salvation of our souls faith in the beneficence of material gain

However was it not to make us conscious of this consuming disease of the twentieth century that Gandhiji came and lived among us? Did he then, labour and teach in vain? If so then, we shall have killed him not with three but with three hundred million bullets.

G M

"THE SUPER BOMB"

A Globe news message tells us that in America they have discovered a new Atomic Super Bomb, a thousand times as violent as the Atom Bomb This is prepared not from uranium but from heavy hydrogen

While the common people everywhere are anxiously awaiting for the return of peace, the authorities in power in many nations are planning large-scale destruction The lessons of the last two wars appear to have been lost as far as this section of humanity is concerned We are told that Russia is persistently strengthening its armed forces and having big air parades to demonstrate their might. Marshal Stalin s son, Major General Vassili Stalin, is holding a demonstration to show the possibilities of jet plane aerial battle and according to Reuter's report the Russians are gloating over their achievements as compared to the preparation of the Allies

This state of affairs does not begin and end with Europe Even our poor country has to spend what little wealth it produces in carrying out an ambitious programme to build up the Royal Indian Air Force, the objective being to make it the most powerful air force in the East The Government of India are hoping that within about 20 months the Indian Air Force will have 4 more fighter squadrons including a Bomber squadron and a jet squadron along with the latest types of jet air-craft More than the expenses involved, what is perturbing is the mentality behind this programme. It shows that our leaders are pinning their faith to armed forces in spite of the disastrous experience of Japan so near us

In building up our Navy we have to look to the scrap heap of other Naval powers We are picking the cast off clothing and over size boots while the other nations are building more modern types of battleships- We provide them market for their second-hand goods! Recently, the Royal Indian Navy took over H M S "Achilles" and Lord Mountbatten hoped that we would buy a couple of Air-craft carriers and cruisers These are ways of Great Britain settling her accounts with us and coaching us up to take up her discarded arms at fabulous prices

With the attainment of freedom we had hoped that our leaders will show the world that India believes that violence never settles the dispute but understanding and friendliness will always call for mutual goodwill Therefore it is time that people took a genuine interest in the affairs of the State and acted as a check in the all-out violent programme that is before our country.

J C KUMARAPPA

* This chapter was never written. — V G D

HARIJAN

August 15 1948

AUGUST FIFTEENTH

The twin brothers Hind and Pakistan complete their first year today finding with the general condition of life and health of children in full the first year has been precarious to the life and health of both Both have passed through critical crises and one cannot still confidently say that they have safely passed the perilous Who knows what the next few years are likely to bring The fact that the adversities through which the country has passed and is still likely to pass are more man-made than pre-ordained and brought about by every type of inhuman conduct imaginable adds to the regret In this beautiful country of ours richly endowed with gifts of nature man alone has been vile and the enemy of his own kind and of everything divine and noble in him It takes minute thousands of years to produce a man who attains during the span of his life to near an approach to Divinity a one can conceive an immortal Being A kind Providence produced one such in our time But folly persuaded one to believe that his very divinity was injurious to our social and political ideals and allowed to live longer the further development of the Divine in him could be carried absolutely up in our nature And so we killed him with our own hands This was too much for one of the first years of these twins

The twin children India and Pakistan have been continuously with joy and sorrow All these heart-rending incidents depressed several of us and redrew them towards pessimism I have received letters in the occasion of the first birthday They read more like letters of condolence and sympathy rather than cheer and faith While I sympathize with this lamentation I do not wish to encourage it You do not see even a young widowed mother mourning the birth or birthday of her child even though the child has not kept good health during the year and has in addition lost its father No mom wants to look sad on one's birthday simply because one has not kept well and is still on the sick-bed and has also suffered heavily during the preceding year There is something in the phenomenon of birth itself which one associates with its date and which in spite of all the adversities of the preceding year fills one with the hope of a better life in the future

The instinct to feel cheerful on one's birthday is not inexplicable The birth of a life the birth of a fresh hope if one may something The birthday reinforces that hope Life and hope are inseparable from each other Even a person who has completed a hundred years and is lying helpless in the bed and is unconscious of desires remaining must feel happy on the day of his birth cheers up a child, if for no other reason than that of having succeeded in living upto an old age He may have been happy or unhappy During his life and may have even often wished to be relieved of life still there is an inner urge to feel grateful for having been gifted with longevity And this manifests itself in a strong or weak manner on the birthday There is perhaps, an unconscious faith that his mere existence is a boon

So let us cheer up on this important day of our national life Let us not look at the world from that side only which is gloomy with dark clouds but also in the direction from which they disappear

Like Rama and Bharat, both born almost on the same day the people of Hind and Pakistan are and ought to be like one soul in two bodies The accident of having two bodies has brought about their nursing by two different mothers who are jealous of each other Consequently the twins have not been as happy as they should have been during the year Even Rama and Bharat had to pass a period of fourteen unhappy years The period saw the death of the father, the abduction of Sita and a perilous war with Ravana. Similarly it may be that bad times are still in store for us But that should not allow us to lose hope Like Rama and Bharat we must resolve to valiantly fight every evil both outside of us as well as inside our own selves remembering that the true way of fighting evil is not the employment of greater evil but of greater good We may or may not succeed in removing evil from the world But let us resolve, as Gandhiji did that it shall not be said of us that we gave up resistance to evil in despair and let it down before it Let us not give up the hope that the people of the two Dominions some day will get over all these evils, and enjoy healthy, vigorous and peaceful life and live with the same concord as Rama and Bharat May God's grace descend upon us

New Delhi 1-8-48 K G MASHRUWALA

The National Anthem

I had refrained from entering into the controversy between *Vande Mataram* and *Jana-gana-mana* which seems to be going on for some time A fair correspondent desires me to express my opinion. She herself has pleaded for the second and advanced several reasons in support of her choice

The fact is that in matters like these, the opinion is formed first and reasons come in later And the opinion is not formed on grounds of reason but by the appeal it makes to one's ears and heart So I do not wish to put forth any grounds

All I shall say is that while I like *Vande Mataram*, I like *Jana-gana mana* better But I would abide by the decision of the Central Government whatever it is and accept it with all my heart

New Delhi 4-8-'48 K. G M

VEGETABLE GHEE

I have received some correspondence blaming me for not having stressed the point of vegetable ghee ever since my taking over charge of *Harijan* That is true Perhaps I can give a very long list of subjects on which Gandhiji wrote but I have not. Simply because I have accepted the burden of *Harijan* I cannot replace Gandhiji But one of the reasons for not referring to the question of vegetable ghee was that so far there was nothing extra which I could add to what Gandhiji himself had said or done in the matter However, I may inform the readers that the Go-seva Sangh, Wardha, has not at all slept over the matter It has been energetically pursuing it and pressing it upon the authorities

To me, the question is important on moral grounds before which those pertaining to health and economics become subordinate. The vegetable ghee has its economic importance more for its capacity of being adulterated with genuine ghee than other factors This has corrupted and has been corrupting the morals of the villagers as well as the traders The number of people who prefer the vegetable ghee as such are few They, too, have taken to it because they realized that even when they went in for the purchase of pure ghee the substance they got was more or less Vanaspati mixed with a little genuine ghee and charged at a price greater than that of the Vanaspati A great majority of people still try to buy ghee and pay for it a price which is much higher than that of the Vanaspati but get a substance adulterated with Vanaspati Even peasants have learnt the trick of mixing it with butter with the result that even when you purchase butter you purchase along with it the Vanaspati Thus Vanaspati is a substance which directly promotes dishonesty Even if there were no other ground for stopping the manufacture of this product, this should be regarded as a sufficient one

The problem of cattle-breeding has become more difficult on account of this substance The genuine ghee producer not being able to get adequate price for ghee neglects his cattle and both the health and the quality of milk are getting deteriorated Just as bad coins drive out good ones the Vanaspati will in the long run drive out ghee from the market. Thus it is an issue which is independent of the opinion of technical experts on the nutritional value of the Vanaspati or hardened oil I feel that the issue is being unnecessarily confounded by bringing in the question of nutrition Nutritional research may be important for determining the relative values of butter, ghee, unrefined oil and refined oil. Hydrogenated oil stands differently

It is contended by some that the city consumer demands Vanaspati instead of the refined oil, because of the appearance of the former in a granular form. Without eating ghee itself he is able to obtain the satisfaction of taking something like it. He wants to persuade himself into believing that he is using ghee. If there are such people indeed, a proper thing is to make them realize their mistake and train them correctly instead of catering to them a thing which is not to their benefit. Those who cannot afford to consume genuine ghee because of its expensiveness should take oil in the form of oil itself and not in the form of a substance which looks like ghee but is even perhaps inferior to oil. Even as we may not allow opium trade we must not allow the trade of edible hydrogenated oils

I also draw the reader's attention to Shri Jhaverbhai Patel's article on "Non-edible Oils of India" published elsewhere in this issue, as indirectly bearing on this subject

New Delhi 3-8-48 K G MASHRUWALA

ISM, INTEGRITY AND CHARACTER

[It is a coincidence that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed views similar to those set forth in the course of the main article of the last issue, in his speech at Madras while unveiling Shri Rajaji's portrait at the Legislative Assembly Chamber, on July 24th 1948 —K. G M.]

"While I was young I used to attach a great deal of importance to what may be called various 'isms', policies, etc Of course, I still attach importance to them because they represent a certain objective, a certain approach and a certain method of work. I still attach importance to them, though relatively, in a lesser degree now than previously Why? Because I have come to feel more and more that the primary thing I should seek in an individual is not so much, what creed he possesses his religion, politics or economics, important though they be The primary thing in an individual is his integrity If he is not a person of integrity, then it does not do very much good, even though he possesses high ideals from a political or an economic point of view

"I valued integrity But somehow I felt that the expression of a certain policy was more important. But my later experience came to show that the expression of mere policy could not be taken for granted Indeed, much of the high ideals put forward by persons were often exploited for base purposes Apart from deliberate exploitation of these purposes unconsciously many of our people thought that they have done their duty to the country by merely giving expression to certain noble sentiments and then possibly indulging in anything but noble activities So I have come to value much more the integrity of the individual than merely his expression of certain political or economic policy although of course, in dealing with national and international matters one cannot just go merely on the basis of integrity, important as it is Integrity is a basic thing out of which policy may grow, but integrity is not policy

"There is another aspect I must speak about. Every country, normally speaking has a certain individuality and genius of its own How is this greatness of a country measured? Not by its riches, nor by its material possessions. In India what is valued, respected and honoured, is obviously not material possessions, or persons with high decorations

and titles Even though we may have *Rajas*, *Maharajas* and *Nawabs*, Highnesses and Exalted Highnesses, they are really not thought of much by the common man Title or no title riches or otherwise these make no difference to the ordinary individual Possessions do not appeal to an Indian mind though of course many people bow down before money and power Essentially, the thing India has honoured in the past and even today honours, is wisdom and learning. More even then that, India honours a certain spirit of service That is the fundamental thing that has always been placed first in the Indian mind, not in every individual mind but the group or the national mind, if I may say so So, we honour tremendously a man like Mahatma Gandhi for, what I may call, the opposite of possessions titles, etc. Likewise we honour Rajaji for his spirit of individuality service and sacrifice Rajaji represents fundamentally the highest type of the mind of India." JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(*From* 'The Hindu' of *25-7-'48*)

"THE MODERN DEBTOR"

It had all along been accepted in the past that the man who pays the piper calls the tune. The creditor usually dictated terms to the debtor India has attained independence but has not increased her bargaining capacity She is the acknowledged creditor of Great Britain for about 1200 crores after making all manner of unilateral deduction from her credits A delegation led by our Finance Minister went to London to settle the terms of agreement regarding the settlement of Sterling Balances The outcome of it is that Great Britain whose income is over £ 800 million has successfully pleaded that it is impossible for her to pay in the near future, the amount that she owes to India which is less than 1/6th of her annual income In ordinary life we would consider it absurd for a man who earns Rs 3000 a year to plead that it is beyond his capacity to pay off a debt of Rs 1200 Yet our debtor has successfully convinced our representatives that the situation calls for a very long term settlement!

After the devastation brought in India by the British and American forces using India as their base for Asia in the last war, our rural parts require a considerable amount to be spent on development. The credits were obtained by England taking by political power commodities from India for war use Now they plead their inability to return the amount in a reasonably short time We require a great deal of capital to develop our rural areas Erosion has to be stopped Irrigation works have to be developed and canals have to be built. These are all items on which the recovered amount of Sterling Balances should be spent but it would seem as though interested parties are anxious to lay their hands on this wealth so that their own programme of industrialization may be stepped up Our negotiators have been more than anxious to obtain capital goods for industrialists of India. When we look at this question it would seem wrong to obtain these Sterling Balances and use them for the benefit of the industrialists while leaving the countryside, which built up the credits to suffer for lack of materials. We had suggested previously also that this money when recovered should be utilized for the purpose of betterment of the village people We cannot take the money that belongs to one section of the population and give it to the other section. But unfortunately industrialists in our country are almost as powerful as the industrialists abroad, and therefore they are influencing the Government to agree to financial terms which would certainly be detrimental to the interests of the rural population

We trust that as and when the money is realized the Government will see its way to spending it in rural area for the benefit of the people

J C KUMARAPPA

SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER-VI-VII

14-5-1948

The *dargah* of Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer is regarded as the greatest *dargah* in India It is known in short as the *Dargah Sharif* (the holy shrine) of Khwaja Pir. For the last eight centuries an annual *urs* is held at this place for nine days commencing from the 1st day of *Rajab* The special feature of this *dargah* is that it is visited not only by Muslims but also by Hindus. Guru Nanak had also come here and prayed in it During these 800 years Ajmer has been ruled by Rajputs Marathas and other non Muslim kings but every ruler took care to protect and maintain the *dargah* with due respect

Owing to the recent communal disturbances several Muslims of Ajmer have migrated to Pakistan. Gandhiji was anxious that *urs* of *Dargah Sharif* should be held as usual this year also without any obstacle He had therefore promised to visit the *urs* when it came But God willed it otherwise and took Gandhiji in His own care.

Several Muslims of Ajmer requested Shri Vinoba to visit the *dargah* in lieu of Gandhiji Shri Vinoba consented and reached Ajmer on the 9th May, i e a day previous to the commencement of the period of pilgrimage.

While the pilgrimage lasts Friday naturally witnesses the largest prayer gathering On Friday, (14th May) Shri Vinoba reached the *dargah* at 1 30 p m sharp The prayer was about to begin After the customary *khutbah* and *namaz* (praise and prayer of the Lord) were over Shri Vinoba was requested to address the audience The calm and serene atmosphere which prevailed in the gathering during the prayers had deeply moved Shri Vinoba and when he is so moved it becomes almost impossible for him to speak His voice failed him and tears began to roll down his eyes He spoke for about 15 minutes with great difficulty

The scene that followed Shri Vinoba's sermon will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it Shri Vinoba was seated on a high dais Hundreds of Muslims, children young and old went up to Shri Vinoba to kiss his palm and apply it to their eyes This was called *musafa*. They did it with such feelings of love and respect that every spectator was moved to the extreme There were tears in the eyes of several Muslims It reminded old Muslim workers of the days between 1918 and 1921 when Gandhiji had attended

[illegible] and addressed [illegible] which Shri Vinoba [illegible] to Shri Vinoba [illegible]

[illegible] and his speeches in Ajmer [illegible] the minds of the Hindu [illegible] that the atmosphere of Ajmer [illegible] by his visit.

[illegible]

(Prayer Speech, April 10, 1948)

In the [illegible] Shri Vinoba expressed his happiness [illegible] them. They knew that Gandhiji [illegible] the pilgrimage but God had willed [illegible] as the *Quran* had said. It is [illegible] He alone knows when and how [illegible] Shri Vinoba was not there [illegible] It was impossible for him [illegible] could have done. God had not given him [illegible] opportunity. All that he could do was to express [illegible] kind regards for them. They had [illegible] Ajmer on Gandhiji's mission. [illegible] but God alone knew whether [illegible] He did not believe himself to be anything more than an humble servant of God (*Khadim Khudaiyar*). But no sooner had Shri Vinoba said this he corrected himself by saying that that too was, perhaps a figures of speech, for to speak accurately, God did not need anybody's services. He was *ganir* (most independent). In the name of service the so called servant simply served himself. It was not possible for man a speech to speak about God in an exact manner. As the *Quran* said, if all the oceans became ink and all the trees provided pens even then it would not be possible to give the full and correct description of God. There was a similar verse in Sanskrit also. But still, man tried to do it and got self satisfaction by making an honest effort to do so. But after making all attempts he was forced to wind up with *Allah he Akbar! Allah he Akbar!* (Thou art great, Thou art greatest of all.) Language could not proceed further.

It was said that man must believe in God. But what was the meaning of believing? Anyone might say that he believed in God. But it was one thing to say and quite another to do it,—and so when one said that he believed in God he must prove it. What was the proof of belief? It was that the believer must do good deeds, serve the poor and liquidate his egotism. Then only could he say that he believed in God. Mere assertions had no value.

The *Quran* further said that the fruit of evil deeds was evil and of good deeds good. If one did not witness the truth of this statement during his lifetime he would do it afterwards. There was no escape from it. The life was a test. God had granted life to man in order to test his faith. If he passed the test during the short span of his life he was a true believer.

The people of India had during the last few months done grossly evil things. The Hindus Muslims Sikhs—all were guilty. It was no use attempting to apportion the percentage of blame among them. The proper thing was humbly and sincerely to pray to God saying, 'Thou art our Help and our Light forgive us our trespasses.' If God were to apply strict tests as he had every right and authority to do, he could punish those who had trespassed. But where was the man who could pass a test if God applied it strictly? So man's ultimate resort was to ask humbly for forgiveness. Shri Vinoba said he therefore, prayed to God humbly on behalf of all the Indians—Hindus Muslims Sikhs and others, to grant them pardon for what they had done.

Concluding, he said, he would not be able to speak further even if he tried to. This country belonged to all. All the communities were born in the dust of this land and would again return to it. They must therefore love one another, have room for one another in their hearts and live like brothers. He was anxious to see a day dawning over India when all the people of India belonging to every religion men as well as women congregating together to offer their prayers to God. It was not customary in India for women to join with men in their prayers. But customs were changeable and could be changed in order that they might advance further. For they must reach a stage when at the time of standing in the presence of the Maker they forgot all differences whatsoever, whether of caste creed race or sex. He who had consciousness of distinctions even at the time of prayer could not be said to be standing in God's presence. Surely the star did not shed its separate light in the presence of the sun. In the same way every individual must merge himself in God. For He alone is real everything else being evanescent.

2

NAMES AND FORMS OF GOD

The same evening, Shri Vinoba held the usual Ashram prayers at 6.30 p.m. at the *Dargah Sharif* and again addressed the people who had gathered there. He said that it was a matter of regret that though the Hindu and the Muslim lived together in India for about a thousand years one did not know the distinctive features of the other's religion. Only some saints like Kabir and Nanak did so.

The principal feature of Islam was that it declared the unity of God unequivocally. They called it *tauhid* meaning unity. This constant and unequivocal declaration kept the minds clear. Hinduism also believed in the unity of God but it was usual in Hinduism for people to pray to God in different names. God had innumerable principles and the principle which a devotee wanted to develop for himself, he attributed to God through a special name and worshipped Him in a special manner. If, for instance, a devotee wanted to develop the principle of kindness in himself, he thought of God as an embodiment of Kindness and Mercy and Compassion. He who wanted to be truthful attributed Truth as His fundamental principle. Worship also thus took different forms. This led to misunderstandings at times. There was a reference to such misunderstandings in the *Quran* also. Somebody asked the Prophet how it was that sometimes He called the Deity as *Allah* and sometimes as *Rahim*. Did the Prophet worship different deities? The Prophet replied that *Allah* and *Rahim* were one. They had just heard the psalm, which said that *Rahim Kare Rahiman* (He who acts kindly is Kindness itself). Hindus had imagined various concrete forms for personifying the different principles attributed to God. People must have often seen in the papers published for masses and the labouring classes, that information of events was often conveyed through appropriate pictures instead of language. In the same way images were metaphorical representations of God's attributes. The Hindus had developed a technique of worship through such images. It made things easier for them although it was also capable of creating false notions. To avoid the latter Islam unequivocally rejected pictorial representations and emphasized His unity. This was a very important contribution a

good clearance for which the world must be thankful to Islam It was necessary to get beyond the pictorial representations and believe that there was only man and the same God who dwelt in the heart of every one.

15 5-48

3

NO PRIVATE VIOLENCE

This was Shri Vinoba's last post prayer sermon at Ajmer. After having stayed for a week, he was leaving Ajmer that night He was happy to stay with the people. They had treated him as one of themselves. Everyone vied in showing their love towards him, for which he felt very very thankful to them He referred to the meetings at the *Dargah Sharif* of the previous day and was glad to note that a happy change in the atmosphere had come over Ajmer The usual Ashram prayers were held at the *dargah* The Sanskrit verses were recited and all listened to them with due devotion and respect It was indeed the grace of God and the martyrdom of Bapu that brought this about It was most necessary to preserve the good atmosphere which had been created Shri Vinoba repeated what he had said before that Ajmer was from ancient times the place where various religions met together. It was an important central place of Hindus, Muslims Jains and Arya Samajists That could not be a mere accident He was reminded of the Pushkar Kshetra nearby which was dedicated to Brahma. They knew that Brahma was represented as having four faces in the four directions. He looked at the world from every side and also made his face visible from all sides.

Shri Vinoba said that the tragic events which had taken place towards the end of the last year should now be forgotten and be relegated to history. They must now again spread the message of love which was more permanent.

India was a very great country. Men from all parts of the world had at some time or other made it their home It was almost a federation of all the nations of the world A country of that type had a heavy responsibility upon it Gandhiji had given them the message of non-violence It was the message of India herself Gandhiji was only an instrument for delivering it In a country as big as a continent and inhabited by countless social groups human life and liberty could stay and thrive only through non-violence, that is to say by abjurement of violence from every department of life. But he did not want to stress that point at that meeting He wanted to speak about non violence only in a limited manner. He wanted them to consider how the people could remain free in a country inhabited by different communities. The only way was to give the power of punishment to the ruling authority and to be non violent in one's own person If that was not done and people used violence against one another and took the law into their own hands, it would be impossible to have an orderly Government in the country It was therefore necessary that individuals must accept the law of non violence in their own behaviour

A time must come when the power of punishment even of the Government must become worthless for want of an opportunity to use it If the people were fully disciplined in their internal organizations and life, Government would not need its power of punishment and they would attain the stage known as ideal anarchy. The intervening stage between ideal anarchy and private vengeance was the delegation of the power of punishment to the State That was the way to proceed from violence towards non violence If India took to this road it would also solve the world problems because India was a small world by herself In the pictorial representation of God it was usual among Hindus to give a weapon into one of the hands of the deity It meant that God alone was entitled to use a weapon If India could reach that stage it would achieve what no other country had achieved But even if they could not do that they could at least delegate the use of weapon to the State and themselves become votaries of non violence That was the way to bring peace and unity in the country It would reduce the possibility of aggression from outside Armies would have no work and it would be possible to employ the soldiers in producing food That was the ideal to which they had to reach

It was an ideal which was worthy of every aspiring young heart There was a great responsibility upon the younger generation India had obtained her independence through non violence There had been battles of freedom in other countries also But no country had accepted non violence as a technique for winning independence. The eyes of the world were now riveted upon India to see how India developed this unique weapon of theirs in future Young men of India must realize that they did not need to learn their sociology from the West. In the matter of sociology, the countries of the West were yet infants India was experienced and aged. It had a wide and liberal science of social order It had to be developed further and perfected so that it could become a guide to other nations also They must not imitate the insanity which had been prevailing in the West If they did so, they would always be slaves of the West and lose their own originality This young man must therefore develop the strength of non violence. They must study the basis of Indian civilization They must realize that all the thought currents from the times of the Vedas till the present had their stage by stage towards non violence No country had such rich inheritance as India It was the responsibility of young India to preserve that inheritance and increase it.

D D

CONTENTS

		PAGE
NON-EDIBLE OILS OF INDIA	JHAVERSHAI PATEL	201
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION	M K. GANDHI	202
NEMESIS OF NEPOTISM	G M.	203
THE SUPER BOMB	J C KUMARAPPA	203
AUGUST FIFTEENTH	*K. G MASHRUWALA	204
VEGETABLE GHEE	K G MASHRUWALA	205
ISM, INTEGRITY AND CHARACTER	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	205
THE MODERN DEBTOR"	J C KUMARAPPA	206
SHRI VINOBA AT AJMER —VI-VII	D D	206
NOTES		
HINDUSTANI EXAMINATIONS	GIRI RAJ KISHORE	202
THE NATIONAL ANTHEM	K. G. M.	206

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 2 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 2

Revenue in Kind

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No 25 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, AUGUST 22 1948 TWO ANNAS

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT

HIGH PRICES OF CLOTH AND FOOD

Vinobaji's usual post-prayer speech at Rajghat on Friday this time (6th August) referred to high prices in general and of cloth and food in particular which had been causing great hardship to the poor

When the control on cloth was lifted, Government and people put their trust in the mills But, Shri Vinoba was constrained to say with regret, the mills had betrayed the trust. Betrayal of the interests of the people was their continuous record of the last forty years In 1906, when the movement of Swadeshi and boycott of British goods began mills made huge profits Thereafter also, they took every opportunity of exploiting the difficulties or patriotic sentiments of the people to their own advantage They did not consider the good of the nation

It was difficult to say how far the new measures sought to be imposed by the Government would succeed in their aim Such remedies succeeded only if there was honesty in men In the absence of a high standard of character, every measure got frustrated Purification of character was the first essential condition for the success of all effort for all round happiness

But he was convinced, Shri Vinoba said that the correct solution of the cloth problem lay in the *charkha*. India was a producer of short staple cotton which the textile mills were unable to use They therefore exported Indian cotton and purchased the more costly long-staple cotton from abroad At times it was not even available Then there was the difficulty of transport Also it necessarily needed employment of agents and sub agents and a long chain of middlemen. *Khadi* was free from all these difficulties It could use the short staple cotton needed few middlemen and little transport Only if Government accepted the *khadi* principle and whole-heartedly encouraged its production and the people also accepted the *charkha* as a part of their daily self help work, could the problem of cloth be satisfactorily solved

As to the mill industry to the extent it was necessary, it must be nationalized as soon as possible Not that it could solve the poor man's problem For that the *charkha* was the only remedy

But cloth was not the principal topic, he wanted to speak about that day He wanted to discuss the problem of food prices Controls led to black marketing and decontrol to sky rocketing prices Thus the poor man was between the fire and the frying pan his hardship remaining unallayed In his opinion, the only way out of the situation was for the Government to collect land revenue in kind. Thereby it would always command a good stock of food of its own and thus be in a position to control effectively the price of food It would be a convenient mode of payment for the cultivator and would also be profitable to the Government Under the present system the Government collected revenue on settlements made several years ago, when the price of money was much higher than what it was now If under a settlement made ten or fifteen years ago the Government received Rs 10 on a particular field its purchasing power having now dwindled down to that of Rs 3 of that period the Government was really getting impoverished by collecting the revenue in money

Indeed, it was a matter to be carefully considered whether there could ever be a good settlement in terms of money. Settlement presupposed something made *pakka*—firm a long term solution It was impossible to do that in terms of money Because, money was a veritable rogue given to changing its face constantly. Its value always varied. One could never hope to come to a *pakka* settlement with a rogue And yet it was strange that the world had appointed money to be its principal intermediary between transactions. It was this unreliable intermediary which had got both the Government and the people into the present mess. Money by itself was a valueless thing, incapable of being employed for any purpose by itself. And whatever imaginary price it was given varied from day to day But a seer of grain retained a constant value as an article of necessity, except what change might take place in its nutritional efficiency which was comparatively rare

No doubt, collection of revenue in kind would require government to have its own godowns shops etc But governments had to discharge such administrative functions under any case and they could do so Government would be imitated by people — particularly villagers — by payment of wages in grain with the result that there would be greater stability in prices of food stuffs

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

D M.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN BASIC SCHOOLS

On page 7 of the Revised Syllabus of the Training of Teachers for Basic Schools, we find the following paragraph under Cultural Studies

"(c) Reverential study of the different religions of the world showing how in essentials they meet in perfect harmony the Religion of Man "

Nowhere could be more suitable than the columns of the *Harijan* for discussing ways and means for carrying out of this part of Basic Education The following remarks, therefore, which are in no way authoritative, are intended merely to initiate a discussion on this important subject by outlining what is being done in one Basic Training School As we have only just begun the work the scheme cannot be other than tentative, but something on the following lines is what we hope to work out during the next few years

At the daily school assembly with which the day begins, we have a short reading from the scriptures of one of the great religions—a week of different passages from Hinduism, a week from Judaism a week from Buddhism Christianity Islam, etc These passages are translated into the children's mother-tongue and as we take them in rotation each passage recurs about once in six weeks so that the children get familiar with them without the daily repetition of the same passage, which is apt to be mechanical Moreover they are becoming familiar, not with one only but, with a a number of great and beautiful passages In addition to this for about 10 or 15 minutes, twice a week a story lesson is taken with the youngest children in which are told very simply stories of Buddha, of Rama of Jesus of Mahommad and any other stories from the religions of the world, which are simple enough for young children to understand. In the top classes of the Junior Basic School (Grades 3 and 4) this can be developed further by the introduction of more difficult stories and parables and can be correlated with general knowledge by associating the various stories with the religious festivals as they occur Whenever possible an attempt will be made to get a representative of the religion which is being celebrated to come and talk to the children about that religion and what the festival means to those who belong to it Thus the festivals will cease to be just holidays and become opportunities for the study of comparative religion for co-ordinating the knowledge they have already got, and (most important of all) for inter-religious contacts and fellowship

In the senior Basic School (Grades 5 to 8) probably the best way of developing the subject will be to correlate it with history, showing where and when the different religions of the world took their rise and the part they have played in subsequent history A wealth of useful material on this subject can be extracted from the pages of Pandit Nehru's *Glimpses of World History*

I suggest that a course of this kind should be a part of the work of every Basic Training School

The tone of the teachers throughout should be reverent but objective the tone of the sincere and impartial historian no attempt being made to criticize or to weigh the relative merits of the various religions The passages and stories chosen should be the best available in every case so that the children may grow up with some conception of the heights to which human beings have been enabled to rise through faith in God That their historical studies will also show them the depths to which human beings can sink, when vision gives place to fanaticism, faith to superstition, and devotion to formality will be all to the good and will perhaps help them, when they are old enough to understand those things, to be broad-minded and tolerant while at the same time grasping the greatness majesty and universality of true religion

Shillong 17-7-48 A MARGARET BARR

WHY GOOD PROJECTS FAIL

There was an All-India and C P Provincial Conference of experts and officers interested in compost manure on the 5th, 6th and 7th July last at Nagpur As I was extremely and practically interested in that problem, I took the opportunity of attending it

The C P Government has been carrying out a scheme of compost manure for the last three years. It is a good scheme and I have obtained very good results from the use of compost manure But the system is capable of several improvements. I attended the Conference with a desire to put before experts some of my experiences But the difficulty of language proved a great impediment and to a great extent I had to come back disappointed. Almost all the proceedings were carried on in English of which I understand not a word His Excellency the Governor of C P as well as the Ministers for Food of the Central and C. P Governments very kindly gave a gist of their speeches in Hindi also, though I was perhaps the only person in the audience who did not understand English But later this was found to take up much time and so I was requested not to ask for translations and get information from friends later on The Health Minister was good enough to promise me to explain his speech in Hindi to me in private after the end of the proceedings This offer of the Health Minister created merriment among hearers, who gave cheers I did not resent this merriment. But it did put me a-thinking about the irony involved in the fact that those who had to carry out the scheme in actual practice and make it successful could not follow and participate in the deliberations while those who discussed it had nothing to offer except articles instructions or orders on paper without ever themselves handling and testing the manure itself I wonder how a scheme could ever be successful in this way It may be that because several of the participators of the Conference were from South India, they

could not have followed Hindi or Hindustani All the same, it is as clear as daylight that Government and experts must write and speak the language of the people through whom their schemes have to be implemented. If their discussions are carried on among themselves without the help of those who are the actual workers in the field, it can never achieve success except perhaps with the speed of a snail.

However, in the afternoon session of the Provincial Conference on the second day proceedings were carried on in Hindi and I had an opportunity of participating in its discussions It was a very small meeting I placed before the meeting my pleasant as well as unpleasant experiences of compost manure I am thankful to the meeting for bearing me politely and patiently, in spite of my unpolished language. But I was anxious to make my views reach those who were directly or indirectly concerned in the preparation of manure and these people were not present there In my opinion every citizen is concerned in this matter because every house throws out refuse every day and consumes grains and vegetables

I refer to compost manure which is made from the refuse and night-soil of cities The town-people throw into the same dust-bin manure-producing refuse along with such things as broken glass crockery, vessels, tins pebbles stones etc The sweeper collects all these things together in the same cart and all this is emptied in the same pit. The result is that Mother Earth receives in her food things which are both edible as well as non-edible for her If we get a little grit in the rice or bread served to us, we are annoyed, and there are persons who would lose their temper for such carelessness of their mothers, sisters, wives or cooks But we never consider what Mother Earth must be feeling for being served with a manure, which is her food, with things such as stones broken glass etc. Indeed, the people in the cities do not perhaps even know what becomes of the sweeping of their houses when they have thrown it into the dust-bin Perhaps they do not even know that it has anything to do with the production of food which they eat If we were to succeed in our schemes and want to save the country from shortage of food, it is necessary to remove the ignorance of the educated city-dwellers and make them understand their relations with and responsibility to the cultivator Unless they both co-operate, it will always be an unprofitable activity The mixture of substances which are not useful for manure is a serious loss The cultivator and the bullocks have to carry unnecessary weight in the name of manure but which is really useless substance to the great detriment of the soil in which it is spread Pebbles and particularly broken glass are dangerous to the feet of bullocks and cultivators engaged in the field If the foot is injured the animal or the man often becomes incapable of working for several days. I once injured my own finger with a piece of glass at the time of filling my cart with manure It became septic and had to be treated for about a fortnight.

When I referred to this at the Conference it was suggested by some that it was impossible to separate the two in the cities or before putting it into the manure-pit, and the *kissans* themselves must make some arrangement for separating the two! The good experts did not seem to realize that if it was impossible for the Municipalities to separate the two before throwing them into the pit and reserving two different pits for each kind of dirt, it was more difficult still for the cultivator to sift it either at the time of taking it away or after reaching his field It is the duty of the Municipality as a public body doing public service to see that it gave the manure in the best possible condition for being used as food for the soil This shows that there is a great need for the social training of the educated citizens as well as the illiterate domestic and public sweepers. It must be a part of the adult education programme Since the cities are large-scale manufacturers of compost manure, city people should be made to realize the necessity of having separate dust-bins for things from which manure could be made and for things not useful for manure Pieces of glass could be re-utilized for manufacture of glass and stones and pebbles could be used for filling up pits or making of roads

A pit of 20 x 6 x 3' might hold six tons of manure But actually it is doubtful if the cultivator gets even as much as four tons out of it of good manure. Two tons have to be paid for and carried to the field not for improving but actually damaging the soil It must be realized that this is as bad and dishonest as selling adulterated milk or other food. If the Government wants to make its scheme successful and if the Municipalities want their towns to remain clean and their manure to obtain the best price and a half-mark for its quality they must take care to provide it to the cultivators in the best form. It does mean more trouble, but it will be more paying ultimately Otherwise, after a short experience, cultivators will refuse to purchase city manure to the great loss of both the Municipalities as well as the fields

Another drawback in the present system of manufacture of manure is that the lower layers of the manure-pit remain in a raw condition while the upper portion appears to have become ripe for use This is dangerous for the health of the remover of the manure as well as for the soil. Care must therefore be taken to see that upper layers are so timed that the lower layers get sufficient time to become good manure Municipalities and their experts as well as the city people and the scavengers have all to learn how to take care of the sweepings and refuse and dirt of their houses and latrines and to carry out their respective functions very carefully if we want to show good success within say a period of five years in the project of Grow More Food.

Sevagram, 7-7-'48 BALWANTSINGH

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

HARIJAN

August 22 1948

REVENUE IN KIND

The reader will find elsewhere in this issue the report of Shri Vinoba's speech at Rajghat on 6th August last in which he has recommended the collection of land revenue in kind as a remedy against high prices of grains

The reasoning behind the proposition is simple If one wanted to keep the price of a commodity at a particular level, he must be prepared to sell and be in a position to supply it to the consumer if the latter could not get it in the market It means that he must have sufficient stocks in hand Government is already attempting to do it through its system of 'procurement', imports and distribution through its ration shops Procurement is not popular because the cultivator always feels that the price paid by the government is less than what he would be able to get in the open market and also that more quantity is compulsorily purchased from him than what is safe for him to sell to meet his own needs This feeling persists even if government resells the grain through its ration shops at a price lower than its cost price Moreover it involves a double transaction The cultivator sells part of his produce to procure cash for payment of the land revenue This I believe is sold either to a wholesale dealer or to a consumer With the cash so obtained he pays the revenue And then Government makes its purchases for purposes of procurement All this could be saved or reduced if government resorted to collection of revenue in kind instead of cash

But I am aware that the system of payment in kind is unpopular with the cultivator This is on account of its association with the type of payment in kind generally in vogue in the country under the *bata* system It is well known that under the *bata* the tenant cultivator has to bring all his produce of every variety of food grown by him on the common *khale* (threshing-floor) where the produce is weighed by the landlord's agent and divided in stipulated proportion between the landlord and the cultivator This leads to harassment of the cultivator in various ways The cultivator is saved from it if he has to pay a stipulated rent in cash

What is suggested now is not a return to the above system. It is not suggested that the government should collect a particular part of every edible substance grown by the cultivator in his field The cultivator might have grown, say, in an acre of *jowari*-land, along with or instead of *jowari*, *tur*, cotton, *mirch* and sundry other things It is not suggested that the Government should collect some portion of all these things but that it should fix for a number of years in the same way as it has done in respect of revenue in cash, the equivalent of cash in terms of a few things like rice, wheat, *jowari*, *bajri* maize and if necessary also cotton *tur* gram, ground-nut etc — things, which it wants to have control over for the absolute needs of the nation

In fixing the equivalents of cash in terms of produce two facts must be remembered. First, the present assessments were fixed when prices of grains were very low, or, to put it the other way when the purchasing power of money was considerably higher than at present. It would not be unjust, therefore to equate a rupee of the land revenue with what it could purchase of the various kinds of produce in a bad year sometime before the war. Secondly inflation and high-prices have solved the difficult problem of rural indebtedness and made the cultivator comparatively prosperous in terms of money The Government on the other hand, is now a heavy loser, as it receives by way of revenue an equivalent of hardly a third of its previous worth The result is that while the purchasing power of government, the producer of currency, is reduced — its commodity, the currency, being in abundance — as also of all those employees, who receive only fixed salaries or wages, the purchasing power of every producer — whether of raw material or manufactured article — is so much raised that he does not care if his things are not sold promptly, or he has to purchase what he regards his indispensable needs at exhorbitant prices On account of the former he is not interested in speeding up or increasing production, and on account of the latter neither a policy of control or of decontrol becomes effective Owing to the great exodus the shortage of food, the expensive military operations and the various rehabilitation schemes, the Government is the greatest purchaser and importer and it has to issue currency for all these purposes Thus a good deal of money is produced every day, quickly to disappear in the box of the cultivator or the manufacturer This process cannot stop unless Government collects its dues directly in the shape of various articles thus reducing the necessity of issuing new currency Thus it might demand so many lbs of cloth cement, essential chemicals etc in payment of every rupee of income-tax Further it should also itself become a producer of some types of articles through nationalization and decentralization Production of cloth through nationalization of mills and through the charkha is an important item of this type. Encouragement of small-scale village manufacture side by side with the nationalization of the large-scale factory if any of the same or similar article would give the government more effective control over prices and currency than what mere fixing of prices by executive orders and penal laws can

New Delhi 11-8-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

SUBSTITUTE FOR COMMUNAL RATIOS

Owing to a number of facilities available in towns, town people easily beat village people in competitive examinations. Similarly Brahmans are able to score over non Brahmans because the age-long system of caste, which allowed only a small section of the population to attain scholarship and administrative ability, has given the former an almost hereditary advantage over the latter and enabled them to develop those faculties from generation to generation. Consequently unless some special facilities are given to the hitherto backward sections of the people to come in line with the advanced ones, competitive tests of selection will not give them a fair chance to take advantage of the theoretical universalization of education and administration. The cry against 'communal tendencies,' 'proportionate representations', provincialism etc., and plea for 'pure merit and efficiency' in itself the cry of an interested community namely the Brahmans.

"What applies to Brahmans and non-Brahmans applies also to separate Hindus and Harijans and to Bengalis and Biharis, Assamese etc. Adoption of some kind of communal, provincial and other narrow basis for some time at least seems to be the only way to create necessary conditions for a casteless and classless society. Can you suggest an alternative to the fixation of communal ratios for the encouragement of the backward sections?

The above has been paraphrased from a correspondent's letter. There is some substance in the question. My suggestions not only for admission to educational institutions, services etc. but for various other venues of this kind are as under:

1. Except for those services where a statutory percentage has been recognized for some years to some for Harijans, Anglo Indians etc. neither an enquiry should be made nor any value be attached to the caste, community, religion, or province of the applicant.

2. To enable backward sections to come up in line with the advanced ones, the people might be classified on an economic basis in some such manner as follows:

A — People with income of Rs. 300 per annum or less
B — between Rs. 300 & 1000
C — " Rs. 1000 & 5000
D — " exceeding Rs. 5000

Suitable and sufficient places might be specially reserved and freeships, concession fees, scholarships etc. provided for people of each of the classes A, B and, if necessary, C. These classes would cover a great majority of the present backward sections. These reservations and grants should be in addition to scholarships, prizes etc. open for all in general.

3. For admission to services etc. Shri B. R. Diwakar suggests a method which is worthy of consideration. He suggests that about 50 to 60 per cent of appointments might be made in order of merit from the top, the rest might be made from the *bottom*, that is, from the second or pass class applicants in an order starting from below and going upwards. It should be remembered that attainment of high rank at examinations is not always a guarantee of efficiency and ability and connotes nothing about the person's character. On the other hand those who have not stood high in examinations are not necessarily less intelligent, efficient or able. There have been great scholars, statesmen and administrators who have scored poor at examinations.

This mode of discrimination can well go on as long as there is great inequality or concentration of wealth, opportunities or particular type of ability in particular sections of the population. The only test to be applied equally to every one should be that of character if a method of assessing it accurately could be discovered.

We should also remember that, everything said and done, these avenues touch a very small fraction of the people, that they become covetable because of the great difference between the lowest and the highest income in general and of public servants and degree-bearing professions in particular, and because of the neglect and under-development of villages as agriculture-cum-industrial units. The ultimate solution of the problem lies in reducing the difference between maximum and minimum incomes and development of agriculture, village industries and decentralization.

New Delhi 10-8-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

ETHICS OF MANUAL LABOUR

Shri Kanaiyalal Malpurwala has been organizing a spinning week in one or another of the wards of Bombay commencing from the 20th of every month since the death of Gandhiji. Last month it was held at the Majdoor Manzil of the Bashtriya Mill Majdoor Sangh. For the convenience of workers instead of spinning consecutively for seven days it was decided to do so on every Saturday and Sunday for five weeks. The Ministers of the Bombay Government take interest in this function and one or another of them makes it a point of addressing the spinners either at the beginning or at the end of the week. Shri Kedarnathji (known generally as simply Nathji) who has been taking interest in this work ever since its beginning, also addresses the spinners every time. His address to the labourers at the last function deserves to be considered by all. About 80 workers took part in this sacrificial spinning. They span 140 hanks during the period.

Shri Nathji said that the last month's function was significant for the fact that it was made successful with the help of manual workers. It was true that brain-workers led the world in several ways. But they lacked the practice and the will to work with their own hands. Manual labourers were trained to create things with their own hands and they learnt craft work very quickly and attained great swiftness in it. If a brain-worker was compelled by circumstances to work with his own hands he felt helpless. He had used his intellect to get work from others and live on others' manual labour. Hence the manual labourer was less afraid of facing adversity, being self-reliant and able to cut his way through.

Even in war there was not as much need for intellectual work as for work involving physical labour and strain. An agriculturist also had to do a good deal of physical labour That was why soldiers and workers in armies were mostly drawn from these classes.

People used to doubt the utility of the *charkha* and asked Gandhiji as to how it could bring Swaraj Such questions really arose out of unwillingness to do anything involving manual labour Unwilling hands were generally prone to argue more on these matters When Gandhiji put the counter question, if *charkha* could not bring Swaraj, would they show what other work could do it, they had no answer

Shri Nathji reminded them that the progress of a nation depended upon constructive work Gandhiji kept this firmly in his mind and evolved his own ideology of economic order It was not the ideology for the peace and happiness of India only but for the peace and happiness of the whole world As a result of intensive thinking, he discovered the *charkha* There was a deep meaning in it It was the symbol of *sarvodaya* (the well being of all)

If they would cast their eyes on the world, they would find that every nation was puzzled on the question of how to subsist No one could say what was to happen ten years hence The policy of destruction which was going on everywhere was wrong and could never bring happiness to mankind It would be only when every one realized that in order that one might live one should enable others also to live that these problems would be solved

' The philosophy which rules the world today is that others should work for me and I should use my cunning and intelligence to get the utmost of their labour Feudalism, zamindari proletariat capitalism usury etc had all arisen from this the common aim underlying being achievement of happiness consistently with evasion of bodily labour God had given limbs to everyone, but man was unwilling to put them to use The law of Nature demanded physical labour from every one And so the ethical code was that every one must labour for his wants It was true that a person could not create with his own hands all that he needed The corollary would be that each one should do something for others Only when one had worked for others that he could be entitled to take something which the others had created. It should be a pledge with every one who wanted to live in conformity with the ethical code that he should not take from others anything without paying its full and just price Only if every one behaved as could all disputes come to an end The fundamental cause of all disputes was unwillingness to work

If anybody thought that the rich were happy, he was mistaken The worker was better equipped for happiness than the rich man because he was always self-reliant He had the self-confidence that he could maintain himself with the labour of his own hands He did not feel helpless under trying circumstances He therefore escaped from several worries which made the rich man helpless and an object of compassion'

"To a large extent the origin of sin lies in desiring to live on the labour of others. If we could understand the importance of labour we would try to be as self reliant as possible. We would desire to use our own limbs for our requirements and since it was be done only to a limited extent we necessarily would not increase our wants to an unlimited extent Gandhiji showed us the royal path to the solution of the complex problems and disputes of the world and also gave us as a symbol the earnest instrument leading to that path The insistence of self-spinning is not a mere imaginary or day dream idea of self sufficiency During the days of control, when the rich people felt scarcity of cloth those who span by their own hands never experienced it There were several other merits also he said in the *charkha* It gave a golden means of obtaining peace of mind for those who were distracted by troubles of various sorts. Those who took to the *charkha* with the proper understanding and became concentrated in it quickly recovered mental peace What more grace of God could there be than attainment of mental peace'

'Gandhiji was a man of God He was a man of action One can honour him only by going along the path showed by him A tribute to a *karmayogi* (man of action) like Gandhiji cannot be paid by words It may be paid only through action Dedication of one's life to one of the several items indicated by him is true tribute to him

(Abridged from the original in Marathi)

BAPU—MY SAVIOUR

III

Ever since Vidya's passing away on July 20, 1943, I was observing the date (20th) with due solemnity I would fast the whole day and in the evening feed the poor and give alms in her name I was not sure however, if I could observe the day in the same way in the Ashram. So I consulted Bapu about it and this is the advice that I got from him

"The best way to celebrate the date (20th) is for you to devote yourself wholly to spinning or some Ashram labour of your choice and connect *Ramanama* with it.'

Asked if it would be proper to feed the poor etc he wrote

' Wholly unnecessary. You may give something for those who are in real need. '

On the following day (20-10-'44), after the usual morning talk, Bapu wrote as follows

Today is the auspicious day for you I had often made Vidya weep. She used to weep like you and ask me to show her God I used to chide her and tell her that she would see God in the spinning wheel and not by sitting near me. She realized the truth of it at last

We are machines as well as the machinists Our body is a machine and the soul a machinist Today you have to take machine-like work from your body and report to me about it

I could not understand Bapu saying that one would see God through the spinning-wheel, so on 21-10-'44 I requested him to further clarify the point. As a result he gave me a fairly long talk and then wrote out the gist of it as follows

'Whatever object a man meditates upon, he most assuredly sees God through it. The spinning wheel is the best medium of all and its results are so obvious, too-

I then told Bapu that in spite of my constant effort to the contrary, utter loneliness had gripped me and I felt that I should have someone by me to relieve me of this oppressive feeling True, God is our eternal companion but men being what he is he instinctively turns to the company of his own species to find support and strength Thereupon Bapu wrote

It is because a man needs the support of his own kind that there exist institutions like Ashramas etc That a man draws support from personal intercourse only is not so. Some find that support through correspondence, and some through meditation And yet there are others who derive their sustenance from the holy sayings of the departed ones just as we do daily from Tulsidas.

Next day (22-10-44) while autographing Vidya s dearly-cherished picture of *Hope* he inscribed the following two lines on it

'Hope is eternal Its worship never goes in vain

And on 23-10-'44, in response to my desire to be with him all my spare time so as to prevent my mind from wandering about, Bapu wrote

'There is no harm in your being with me, but at that time you should ply the *takli* just as Mahadev and Krupalani used to do. Then it will not be theft of God's time. *Takli* is our silent friend. It makes no noise and provides the world with all the thread it needs While plying it, we can see as well as hear everything. I go again so far as to say that if you totally absorb yourself in work in this way then by God s grace your hearing may also be restored to you But when you become a *karma yogi* like this, you would hardly care for your ears. My *Vanar Guru* (Chinese Monkey model) deliberately closes his ears for the surrounding noises some in its way

From that day onward I used to pass practically the whole of my free time in Bapu's cottage and in his immediate presence I must own that his sacred presence always exercised a magical influence upon me It would soothe me at first then inspire and encourage me to do the right thing in a right way, and also enable me to emerge from my narrow shell and share with Bapu, at least to some extent his world-wide interests

On the morning of 24-10-'44 I found Bapu in a particularly happy and jovial mood. He was vivaciously cutting jokes with a group of children Finding me looking at him in considerable astonishment, he told me that he loved children immensely and was never so much at home anywhere as in their company After the children had gone I inquired from Bapu as to what was the secret of his perennial joy so that even in the midst of his numerous worries and responsibilities, he was able to retain his composure and cheerfulness intact. This is what he then wrote down in reply

'The secret of my serenity and joyfulness consists in my utter reliance on God that is, my immovable faith in Truth. I know that by myself I cannot do anything There is God in me and whatever I do is done at His bidding How can I then be unhappy? And I know too that whatever he does through me is all for my good This knowledge also should serve to keep me happy God took away Ba that was for Ba s own good Hence Ba s separation should not be a matter for sorrow for me And so also you should consider it a sin to grieve over Vidya s death

Thus Bapu daily continued to give me food for thought in order to bring peace to my distracted mind He was equally concerned with my physical health, too He well knew that I would not be really at peace so long as my defective hearing was not set right Though time and again he would tell me to regard my deafness as a blessing from God, yet I would not leave off brooding over it. I regarded it a definite handicap and was naturally, therefore very anxious to get rid of it if I could. Bapu, therefore, consulted for my ears every *vaidya* and naturopath who happened to visit the Ashram at the time. Finally he decided upon my taking a course of nature-cure treatment at Bhimavaram in Andhra Desh I was to leave for it on 28-11-44. And so as the day of my departure from the Ashram was drawing near, I was experiencing a sort of nervousness So much had I grown accustomed to Bapu's sweet company and his daily inspiring discourses to me, that I found it very hard to tear myself away from him even though it was in obedience to his wishes I felt I would be missing him very keenly and there would be nothing to compensate me for it. When I was thus in a state of perplexity, an idea occurred to me. Why not ask Bapu to write something for me daily and have it regularly sent on to me at Bhimavaram by post for the consolation of my mind? So early morning I hesitatingly broached the matter with him

'Bapu I have got an idea I don't know how far it would meet with your approval-

'Well, what is it? gently asked Bapu looking up from a pile of correspondence he was about to attend to

"Bapu it just occurred to me last night how nice would it be if you could daily write something for me You know Bapu, I am more or less cut off from the world on account of my deafness. This daily personal contact with you has proved a veritable boon for me. It has given me new courage and greatly pacified my restless spirit So I would very much wish this precious contact to continue in some form or the other even while I am away from you. That is why I am suggesting that you should write daily for me be it even a few lines It will go a long way to soothe me"

Bapu listened to me in a truly Bapu like way. When I had finished, he said 'Your proposal is quite good. I will certainly consider it.

Bapu a favourable reply greatly eased my mind Next day when I repeated my request to Bapu, he

said that it was still "under consideration" On the third day, however I told him that I would be getting ready an album containing loose sheets for the purpose and keep it handy by his side so that whenever he felt the inclination or the urge to write, he should do so forthwith Happily, Bapu assented to it and so I lost no time in getting the album prepared by an Ashramite friend. I handed it over to Bapu on 16 11-44. For the following few days I remained quiet and left the whole thing to Bapu's sweet will I have no words to describe the joy I felt when on 22-11-'44 morning Bapu told me with a beaming face

"Anand I have started writing for you and I have done so from the 20th"

'Have you really? Oh, Bapu!' said I overcome with joy Immediately my head went down before him in sheer gratefulness I could not fail to appreciate his pointed reference to the date viz. the 20th which I considered so auspicious for me and which, as I have already said I used to celebrate every month in commemoration of Vidya's passing away. From that day (20-11-44) on for close upon two years Bapu continued to write daily a thought for me Throughout the period of my stay at Bhimavaram for treatment and for a long time afterwards, a dear friend in the Ashram used to send me by post daily Bapu's thought of the previous day These thoughts are most unique and the only ones of their kind. Bapu has chutned them out like butter from his mind For me, they constitute a blessing and the richest heritage from my beloved Bapu, and I have not a shadow of doubt that they would be regarded equally so by the entire world. I propose to bring out the first instalment of these thoughts in the near future under the title *Bapuke Ashirvad* But more about this grand book in my next

(To be continued)

Allahabad, 26-5-'48 ANAND T HINGORANI

Correction

On page 195 (column one) of *Harijan* of August 8, 1948 in the last line but one of (e) for *shut* read *shun*, and in line six of (g) for *human* read *humane*

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By Nirmal Kumar Bose

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

Price Rs. *Four* Postage etc *As Ten*

THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]

Edited by

C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*

Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

SHANTINIKETAN — JANUARY 1949

In the course of an appeal for funds, Dr Rajendraprasad says

'A World Pacifist Meeting is to be held in India at Shantiniketan in January 1949 The original object was to enable a group of international pacifists and others to meet together under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi to find a way out of the present darkness Unfortunately his death has removed that possibility However, the plans for the Meeting into which Gandhiji fully entered, are being pursued for we felt that it is all the more necessary that peace workers can meet the close associates of Gandhiji and take counsel together

"World Wars and the present trend of world events point to the fact that the spirit of man has gone astray It seems that it is only by the mobilization of the powers of the spirit of man that a way can be found to free mankind from oppression and violence It is our hope that a meeting, as proposed, of peace workers from all over the world — who will have an opportunity for close personal intercourse with each other so as to strengthen their own conviction and the common mission will generate new spiritual power in the world so that a satisfactory way of life may be found for mankind

An All India Invitation Committee and an Executive Committee representative of the various communities in the country, have been formed with Horace Alexander and Hiralal Bose as secretaries and Bhagirath Kanoria as treasurer, to make the arrangements for this Meeting

Fuller details about this conference can be obtained from the Secretary to the Committee for World Pacifist Meeting 1 Upper Wood Street Calcutta 16

It is estimated that for expenses in connection with the conference in India a sum of Rs 2 50 000 (two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees) will be needed In view of the importance and international scope of the conference I have no doubt that the public will not grudge a contribution The object of this meeting namely to find ways of achieving peace, concerns everyone No donation therefore is too small and every anna will be gratefully accepted Contributions may kindly be sent to Shri Bhagirath Kanoria, Treasurer World Pacifist Meeting, 8 Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta'

27-7 48

CONTENTS PAGE

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT D M 209
RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN BASIC SCHOOLS — A MARGARET BARR 210
WHY GOOD PROJECTS FAIL BALWANTSINGH 210
REVENUE IN KIND K G MASHRUWALA 212
SUBSTITUTE FOR COMMUNAL RATIOS K G MASHRUWALA 213
ETHICS OF MANUAL LABOUR KEDARNATH 213
BAPU — MY SAVIOUR — III — ANAND T HINGORANI 214
WORLD PACIFIST MEETING RAJENDRAPRASAD 216

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 5 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 9 or 14 sh or $ 3

Charkha Jayanti

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 26 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 29, 1948 TWO ANNAS

"HARIJANSEVAK"

Readers of the *Harijan* must be aware that the Navajivan Press publishes editions of this weekly also in Gujarati and Hindustani, — the latter both in the Nagari and Urdu scripts The Hindustani editions bear the name *Harijansevak*. It is necessary to take particularly Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani speaking readers into confidence regarding the present position of the *Harijansevak*

Gandhiji did not favour the policy of running a paper even for propaganda purposes if it did not meet its expenses He held that if the *Harijan* had a message to give and if the message appealed to the people, people would make it self-supporting by subscribing to it in sufficient numbers He was also opposed to make papers self-supporting by publishing advertisements Except on rare occasions or during the initial period of a paper, Gandhiji's papers became more than self-supporting.

For some time before his death both the editions of the *Harijansevak* were not paying their way The Urdu edition had always been run at a great loss. Readers are aware that after Gandhiji's demise, the publication of all the editions of the *Harijan* had been suspended for a few weeks After its recommencement it took long before the public began to take interest in it, with the result that the circulation of every one of the editions fell from its height They have not yet regained the circulation which stood in the beginning of February The English and the Gujarati editions are however able to stand on their own legs The Nagari and Urdu are not — the circulation of the last being hardly two hundred.

The *Harijan* weeklies stand for a message As is well known they are not newspapers They are also not literary periodicals, as such. But the *Harijansevak* came also to have a second role as an organ of the Hindustani language which Gandhiji desired to be recognized as the common national language of India It was his conviction that that language alone could become the common language of India. It was spoken in those tracts of the Jamna-Ganga Doab which was inhabited by both Hindus and Muslims in large numbers by both the literate as well as the illiterate public It was also the medium employed by writers in popular literature. It was free from partiality towards any particular ancient language It could not be called Hindu language or Muslim language

Unfortunately, the Hindu-Muslim tension created along with other evils a keen linguistic controversy in the country It became a matter of honour with several prominent men of both the communities to show their regard, love and pride for their respective ancient scriptural languages and scripts by cultivating distaste and avoidance of the language and script of the other community Thus two distinct and eventually hostile styles of the common language of both the communities began to develop with rapidity Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani which were once synonymous terms now acquired distinct connotations. It became, therefore incumbent upon Gandhiji, as the apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity, to make the *Harijansevak* in both the scripts the organ of the common language

But it is clear that no service could be rendered by a paper, published in whatever language you will if people did not read it or encourage its reading That is the position of the two *Harijansevaks* The poor circulation might be due to disagreement with the ideas conveyed through these papers, or with the language in which they are conveyed, or accidental — such as, ignorance of their existence even (which is not unlikely) Whatever it is it is necessary for all those friends and readers, who believe that the Hindustani editions of the *Harijansevak* in the Nagari and Urdu scripts publish ideas and views which benefit the people, to make their publication possible The Navajivan Press desires to gauge its position during the next two months before deciding whether both the editions or, if not both, which of them should be continued I hope and request the friends and lovers of the message of the *Harijansevak* and of Hindustani to make their best endeavour within this period to enable both the editions to continue

Wardha, 20-8-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

NOTICE

Readers will kindly remember that subscriptions or orders for any of the *Harijan* papers should always be addressed to the Managing Editor of the paper required, at P O Box 105, Ahmedabad, or be paid to the local branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya. The annual subscription for each edition is Rs 6

J D DESAI

SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY IN INDIA

Among the numerous problems that free India has to face is that of complete scientific education through the mother tongue The problem of carrying this change, however is not so simple as it may appear at first sight.

2 The importance of the subject has been recognized all over the country since a long time and various attempts made in this connection need not be enumerated. With the withdrawal of the British from the political arena the problem is now how to plan for the weaning away from English as the State language and how to adopt the new State language to the requirements of regional, inter-provincial, national and international requirements The All India Educational Conference has already decided that English will no longer be medium of instruction in primary and secondary education and that within five years we should be prepared for the substitution of English So also the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and University Educationists, held in May last to examine the question of medium of instruction and examination at University stage, resolved that efforts should be made to effect the transition in five years and that the period of transition should be utilized for preparing for the perfection of the regional or the State language of the area concerned

3 A strong criticism of the latter Committee has been directed towards the period of transition. Pandit Mathichandra Sharma, Vice-President of the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan considers even a period of 5 years too short as 'in many Universities the mother tongue would replace the medium of instruction for most subjects at a much earlier date' This school of thought is strongly of opinion that we are capable of producing perfectly efficient indigenous terminology common to all India and that Sanskrit is a language which would weld all Indians together and should form a basis of all scientific terminology acceptable to all Indian languages

4 Similar appears to be the view of the authorities of the Nagpur University who have supported "Prof Dr Raghuvira's scheme of the Great English-Indian Dictionary' and entrusted him with the preparation of scientific text books based on his system of terminology Dr Raghuvira has worked out one idea, viz —that derivatives should be systematically evolved out of certain fundamental concepts His system has all the advantages which ingenuity and persistent attachment to one idea can secure, but a perusal of Volume I Chemistry Part I, does not convince any serious student of the subject that it would be acceptable even to most of the 82 signatories with whose co-operation the terminology is claimed to have been prepared. This volume only deals with Chemical Elements, their derivatives and compounds.. symbols, suffixes etc A great deal of ingenuity has been spent in coining Sanskritized words, e g. जलजन for Hydrogen, जारक for Oxygen, तेजगु for Radium स्फटगु for Aluminium, शुल्वारीक for Sulphur, शुल्वारीक लिपीक for Sulphur matches, त्रपुपत्र for tinplate, भूयवर्शन for Nitrophenol, भूयवर्शन द्वि-शुल्वाधिक अम्ल for Nitrophenol-di-sulphonic acid These examples are enough to indicate the unsuitability of nomenclature from the point of view of either international practice or the immediate requirements of the common man It might be clever and learned to combine and collate information about philological and phonetic derivation of various groups of words, but it is useful to remember that such attempts at evolving a new scientific terminology will fail, if they do not meet with two important requirements Firstly, the terminology should not completely cut off all chances of international contact with the English-speaking nations of the world. Secondly, it should not ignore the local usage of scientific terms by local agriculturists, factory worker the businessman and the local newspapers Further, it must be recognized that many hundreds of the existing state organizations always used regional languages and had never fully accepted English either as medium of administration or of education, and that they have already initiated the use of certain words which cannot be replaced now

5. The importance of international contact cannot be exaggerated even after full freedom has been achieved for India On the other hand, India with its population of one fifth of the whole world and with its large and growing importance in commerce industry and politics has to retain, maintain and develop its cultural and political status and to discuss many problems at international level At a time when international standards have to be fixed and modified to suit local requirements in the fields of health disease and treatment in the preventive and curative side of human and veterinary medicine, in the fields of transport by air, water or land, in the spheres of industrial and labour welfare, and in the progress of knowledge and science it would be great loss if international scientific terminology is entirely ignored In the zeal of attainment of freedom and assertion of our individuality as a nation, we should not be unpractical or isolationists in this sphere In this connection, I entirely agree with the following opinion attributed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

> "We should be bold enough to lift bodily foreign and technical words which have become current coin in many parts of the world and to adopt them as Hindustani, i e as intra provincial words. Many words can and should thus be taken in. An attempt to have a separate and distinguished scientific vocabulary will be merely satisfying our sense of vanity It will not necessarily advance sciences.'

Shri Mashruwala also has condemned all efforts which make the terminology difficult or which ignore the genius of the regional language and past usage.

6 Let us also not forget that as Indians begin to make their own new contributions to science and literature, they will coin hundreds of words which the whole world will have to accept on their

owo inherent merit Indian languages have sufficient strength and vitality not to get "decultured" for having taken a few thousand words of foreign origin Nor would this mean that a keen supporter of Indian culture,— and in this category the present writer would like to yield his place to none,— should be afraid of losing his opportunities for the development of Indian languages There is vast and broad field for ingenuity in coining words for the scientific terms concerning concepts, qualities and properties, phanomena processes and their derivative adjectives verbs adverbs etc names of scientific instruments, apparatus tools and machinery There is no necessity or justification for the forcible adoption of either international scientific terms, nor of an All India terminology, when the requirements of a local regional area can be best met from words already in use locally, as long as they express the scientific idea correctly

7 To illustrate the last point the example of Gujarati language may be discussed a little in detail. Long before either the Hindi or Urdu scientific glossaries were first prepared, problem of Gujarati scientific terminology had already been tackled in Gujarat under the patronage of the late Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda by one of its foremost scientists, Prof T K. Gajjar The latter's scheme of technical education, through the Kalabhavan at Baroda, led to the foundation of a system of scientific terminology, and a polyglot dictionary was also commenced The far-sighted patriotism of the Baroda ruler led to the sagacious decision of adopting Gujarati as the State language in law courts and State accounts and in the highest technical education A series of text-books and reference books in Gujarati including a dictionary of legal terms of about thousand pages, provides material which will open the eyes of many novices in this field. The comparative high standard of literacy in Gujarat and large number of periodicals and newspapers published in the Gujarati language and the large number of workmen employed in Gujarat factories have all provided opportunities for developing a scientific terminology applicable to trade, manufacture and industry the value of which cannot be ignored Further, the prosperity and the progress of Gujarat depends upon its synthetic culture It has developed through centuries of its contact through numerous races and tribes that have migrated into this land of peace and plenty Besides the traders and artisans belonging to no one particular community or economic class have also been as much instrumental as, if not more than, English educated men in introducing several English and European words in their pure or corrupt form into our languages Besides the Hindu population, Parsis, Khojas, Memons, Jews and Christians have contributed much to the sanity and the progress of this land The plethora of 400 small Indian States in the limits of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawad which are being merged or otherwise absorbed in the Indian Dominion supplied no small encouragement to the evolution of indigenous terms required in daily administration and discussion However broad-based may be the Gujarati scientific terminology on Sanskrit, it cannot ignore contributions of European, Persian Arabic or Urdu origin to its vocabulary and any attempt by the new Committee appointed by Government of India to ignore this point of view is bound to lead to disastrous failure

8 In addition to the Scientific terminology prepared by the Baroda State the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, the Gujarati Forbes Sabha, the Vernacular Society (Vidya Sabha) and the Gujarat Vidyapith have all made several attempts These are being synthesized by the Gujarat Research Society and it proposes to publish in consultation with other sister institutions a workable list of scientific terminology in Gujarati

9 To conclude, the essential requirements of a scientific terminology for either Hindi or Urdu as national languages or for any regional language may be laid down as below

Part I International and Interprovincial Division

This would form the basic portion and would cover (i) names of chemical elements (together with international atomic weights) and their components, and their symbols,

(ii) names of diseases, orders general and species in Botany and Zoology

(iii) mathematical notation, e g log , sine cos, tan, etc

(iv) names of units of measurements of metric or other systems e g. second inch, foot, centimetre etc (except when *tola* or seer is adopted as additional units) or of matter or energy, e. g electron neutron ohm ampere.

Part II Regional Division

(i) expressions or words for concepts, qualities e. g meter specific gravity heat density, velocity etc.,

(ii) words for those instruments apparatus for which no proper names have been already accepted, e g pedal, stone burner etc.

(iii) words for processes phenomena chemical and physical reactions

When the Indian Dominion works out a State Language with Hindustani and / or Urdu as basis, a glossary of basic scientific terminology on the above lines will have to be prepared But this basic terminology should not be compulsorily imposed on other provincial or regional languages which should have sufficient scope for development for its own linguistic genius in regard to the categories mentioned under Part II above. P G SHAH

NOTICE

Lovers of Gandhian literature and the *Harijan* papers who are inhabitants of the Madhya Bharat Province will be pleased to learn that we have been able to establish a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya at Indore All the *Harijan* papers, viz., the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijansevak* (Nagari), the *Harijansevak* (Urdu) and the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) as also all the publications of the Navajivan Publishing House will be available at the branch whose full address is

Navajivan Karyalaya (Branch)
5, Gandhibhavan
Yashvant Road Indore

MANAGER

HARIJAN

August 29 1948

CHARKHA JAYANTI

For several years past we have been celebrating Bapu's Birthday in every part of India. He was with us all these years. This is the first time that it has to be observed after his loss

Gandhiji gave his consent to the celebration of this day In one of his writings he says

"I have called my birthday celebrations the *Khadi Week* Birth and Death constitute a pair I would feel unhappy if this annual observance is forgotten after my death Hence it is that I have encouraged the observance of my birthday in the form of *Khadi Week*"

Later he changed the name Khadi Week into Charkha Jayanti (the Festival of the Spinning Wheel) Writing again in the *Harijan*, in 1946, he wrote

'My birthday, so far as I know, was never celebrated before the date got connected with Charkha Jayanti It was here (in India) that it was joined with Charkha Jayanti"

Hence, in celebrating the Jayanti the people will have but fulfilled his expectations. The Charkha Sangh has passed the following resolution on the subject

"The Board of Trustees is of the opinion that the celebration of the Jayanti of the Charkha which Gandhiji loved so deeply and to which he gave such importance as to himself name it *Charkha Dwadashi* (the *Charkha Twelfth*) should continue and those who have faith in the message of the Charkha should celebrate this day with even more solid work than hitherto The Charkha Sangh therefore, appeals to the people to give a permanent place to the Charkha Jayanti in the national programme

The celebration of this festival in every home and in every village, in the way expected by Gandhiji is one of the ways—and a solid one—of perpetuating his memory Memories of great Masters are better and more permanently preserved by acting in accordance with the principles which they preached and practised- We all know how Charkha was the dearest activity to him as embodying his faith in a nutshell

The Charkha Sangh desires the public to observe the Jayanti this year from 26th September to 2nd October (both days inclusive) and suggests the following items of work

1. To spin as much as possible during the week,

2. to organize congregational and individual spinning spinning competitions non-stop spinning, spinning to attain a fixed quantitative target and similar other ways It is recommended that such spinning should be done with self-made slivers If possible, a weeving programme might also be organized

3 to arrange readings, speeches discussions etc. on subjects relating to hand-spinning and hand-weaving, explaining to the people the value of the Charkha in village uplift in the present set up of social and economic order, the place of *khadi* in relief work and in the goal of self-sufficiency, its importance as a supporter of other vocations besides weaving and as the centre of all constructive programmes, its educational, moral and spiritual value for creating the sense of self-respect, for inculcating habits of self-help and for the emancipation of the mind and the formation of character,

4 to visit as many villages as possible to deliver the message of the Charkha to the people

5 to organize cleaning and sweeping programmes in villages

6 Each branch of the Charkha Sangh should organize the programme of village cleaning, Charkha repairing, popularization of spinning and weaving, prayer gatherings etc in at least 80 villages within its area The workers should invite the co-operation of other constructive organizations, Congress Committees, and other bodies in this work.

7 To enroll as many associate members of the Charkha Sangh as possible, (an associate member is one who contributes self-spun yarn at the rate of one half of a hank—320 rounds—every month to the A I S A)

In previous years it was usual to collect subscriptions for the Charkha Sangh in the shape of hanks of yarn It has been decided not to make that appeal in the present year to enable the collection of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. It is to be desired that the people should work energetically for the collection of that fund during the Charkha Week. But the workers should devote their attention to the popularization of the Charkha. The enrolment of associate members is a new item for this year The reason for this departure is that we need thousands of workers and associates for organizing all-round village service for the establishment of a society based on non-violence through the Charkha in accordance with Gandhiji's ideal.

The removal of Gandhiji from our midst casts the responsibility of conveying the message of the Charkha to every home in every village upon all those who profess love and respect for him. He wanted seven lakh full-time workers to convey his message of self-help and self-sufficiency through Charkha to reach every village In view of the prevailing atmosphere and conditions, it is difficult to expect seven lakh full-time village workers It would be an initial step in the direction of this gigantic task if we could enroll as many associate members of the Charkha Sangh

Sevagram, 25-7-'48 DHIRENDRA MAJUMDAR
President All India Spinners' Association
(*Adapted from the original in Hindustani*)

FEAR OF LINGUISTIC DISRUPTION

In my previous article, (*Harijan*, 4-7-1948), I had referred to a school of thought who entertained fear of disruption, if regional languages became the media of instruction in regional universities And I had said that it was not a genuine fear

The stock example given by this school in defence of their fear is the communal electorate in our country. They say, 'just as the communal electorate split our land and people into twain, linguistic universities will help to accentuate provincialism which is already there, though dormantly and isolationist tendencies will grow more The analogy will be conclusive if only it is true But fortunately for us it is not true, nor telling

Firstly let us not forget that communal electorate as a socio-political measure was a bad thing both in its aim and intent That it was undemocratic and reactionary and therefore scientifically wrong needs no mention But worse, there is enough evidence to show that the Britisher in India thought it out and used it as a device to stem the rising tide of India's freedom movement. And it was carefully and scrupulously nurtured and the resultant communal fires were fed on ultimately to end in Pakistan

The question of linguistic universities is totally different. One's own language as the medium of instruction far from being wrong is the right thing educationally and scientifically And the aim and intent is not to breed provincialism but to give the greatest freedom to the individual to grow to his full height by educating him through the instrument which nature has given him. Therefore those who harp on the analogy of communal electorates in defence of their fear should note this very vital difference which vitiates and falsifies the whole analogy

Again, it cannot be said *per se* that language breeds regional parochialism or isolationist tendencies Language is a biological and social product, and naturally regionalizes itself in human society It is a mere instrument in our hands with which we can make or mar our human unity The instrument does not tend to nor make for one or the other What it really does is to supply the natural medium of expression and communion to the child Therefore there need be no fear that the mere act of introducing regional languages will in any way result into or breed provincial isolation, or tell adversely upon our national unity Rather to preserve and consolidate that unity and to ensure in its service the best contribution that linguistic regions have in their capacity to make to the nation, we should introduce the natural medium of instruction for the child, and rest assured that it can never harm us if we really are and mean to continue and work for our national unity Therefore, the real problem is how to secure that

It is here that the introduction of Hindustani as a compulsory subject up to the degree courses comes in We must have a common all-India language for inter-provincial intercourse and central administration That is what Hindustani written in two scripts stands for It must take the place of English in our education English will be a third language and will come in in its own proper and legitimate place

Again, it must be noted that national unity is a product mainly of two forces — the cultural and the political Our regional universities must work for out one culture which is the common background of our regional local diversities The trouble is that much loose talk of separate cultures and cultures appears to go on in this connection As Gandhiji warned us, The exclusive spirit is ever uppermost Everyone thinks of himself and his family No one thinks of the whole of India The centripetal force is undoubtedly there but it is not vocal, never boisterous, whereas the centrifugal is on the surface and in its very nature makes the loudest noise demanding the attention of all. It manifests itself most in matters communal This has given rise to fear in other fields " As for example, in the field of education and its medium

The other and more apparent force working for unity is strong central government and administration. This we have assured to ourselves The centralized foreign rule working through the foreign language gave us some semblance of unity in some of the upper layers of our body politic Our central rule working through a language* born of us, namely Hindustani, which will enrich and be enriched by the regional languages, can surely produce better and sounder unity of the whole of our people, and not merely of the upper few as English did

If we view our problem this way, we see that, rather than be afraid of the regional languages as media of instruction, we should welcome it as a right step in our cultural and educational reconstruction programme. They in alliance with Hindustani and a central government working for the true interests of the whole of our people, will give us scope for full development consistent with the fundamental unity of our people

Ahmedabad, 6-5-48 MAGANBHAI DESAI

[*Note* — I think it would be helpful if we accept the following broad principles

(1) Every matriculate must be expected to be at least a good bilinguist, viz of a regional language and Hindustani

(2) Hindustani must be conceived of as one to be developed as fully as any other Indian language or English A graduate must have good and not merely 'working' knowledge of that language He must be able to speak and write it correctly and idiomatically, and if necessary make use of

* It will interest the reader here to know the composition of Hindustani vocabulary which Kaka Kalelkar describes as follows :-

"Hindustani in its literary form would be a happy blend of simple Hindi and Urdu It has been found that Sanskrit words in their popular *prakrit* forms form the bulk of the vocabulary of all the Indian languages It is generally not recognized that the number of Arabic and Persian words that have gained currency in most of the provincial languages of India is by no means insignificant."

— *Harijan* — 18-4-48

Hindustani text-books. It must not therefore be a neglected subject either in the pre-university or university education It must receive as much attention as English gets at present but without being made the medium of all instruction.

(3) For exchange of professors as well as for utilizing the services of ex-provincial professors, it may be necessary to allow Hindustani as the medium of instruction as exceptions. The option should not be regional language or English, but regional language or Hindustani.

(4) Cosmopolitan cities like Delhi Bombay Calcutta, Kanpur, Nagpur etc. might well have universities or particular colleges as well as schools in which entire instruction is given through Hindustani.

Wardha, 20-7-'48 —K. G M.]

SOCIAL SERVICE

We are now politically free to build our society according to our plan It is an uphill task for which both the best brains and the constructive geniuses as well as the rank and file of the country will have to work assiduously For every body is fitted for one kind of work or another Shri Jairamdas Daulatram rightly stated "However great the intellectual the academic and the technical qualifications for service a public servant may possess he lacks the highest qualification if he lacks the spirit of service' Quite recently Acharya Kripalani asked every citizen who had now attained political freedom to take to the right service of the people It was his duty to work and act It was his religion. Mahatma Gandhi who formed a war council to launch civil disobedience against the foreign government did not like to be called the First Dictator but the First Servant. Shree Gopal Krishna Gokhale founded a society known as the Servants of India Society and Shree Lala Lajpat Rai brought into being a Society called the Servants of the People Society The Pope of Rome styles himself a "Servant of the Servants of God" The late king Amanullah of Afghanistan declared himself a "servant of the people" Indeed the highest end of human existence on this earth is service of human beings Social service is the *sine qua non* of democracy

Our shastras enjoin upon us service of the society "With society are we connected in it do we terminate this life therefore should we do our duty as it arises, and not await our convenience" And to ensure social wellbeing, they issue this directive "Be you alike unto one another to the mode of eating and drinking. In one yoke do I unite you all Just as the spokes of a wheel are all united in the nave, so you all unite together in adoration to God.'

'March together, have joint deliberations, let your minds be in accord with one another, work in unison just as the celestial orbs have been doing '

Nothing could be more emphatic and pronounced than this Had our countrymen and especially the Hindus acted up to these clear injunctions of our holy scriptures we would never have seen these dark and dismal days There would never have been any untouchability and never this cursed caste system which not only separated man from man but shut the doors of progress over crores of people Says Marcus Aurelius "When a considerable class in a State holds aloof and ceases to labour in the common interest, that State is near its end." Had we but been in the habit of social service we could never have even conceived of untouchability and the caste system not to speak of making India virtually a breeding ground of these two dehumanizing institutions How the caste-Hindu has suffered crores of people to go to rot simply by his want of a feeling for society, its importance and greatness!

Man has been credited with a soul whose realization must come through both the sides — the moral side and the spiritual side The moral side represents training in unselfishness and control of desire The spiritual side represents sympathy and love Can we be said to possess a soul unless we love and sympathize with our brethren and serve and suffer for them? Love would go to naught if it could not be employed as a bond and cement of society, as the spring and spirit of the universe. When a person loves the One in him realizes Its truth of unity by uniting with others, and there is Its joy And this mighty passion of love when controlled and universalized takes the shape of social service or service of humanity It does not allow him to remain egoistic or self-centred Just as a chick struggles hard to peck through the wall of its little world as it feels that there is something beyond its dear prison of shell waiting to give it the fulfilment of its existence in a manner it can never imagine similarly a man of evolved soul feels choked and suffocated in the prison wall of his ego and must come out at all costs to dive deep into the common sea of humanity

Where everybody is acting for social service, where a physician a teacher, an engineer, an agricultural expert a lock smith and a kitchen maid — all do understand the purport and value of social work, there is no sorrow, no despair, no starvation, no misery, no worry and no betrayal. In such a society tragedies are averted, calamities warded off, misfortunes avoided and troubles removed because all its members are of one mind and devoted to one another And if despite all the efforts of the society, any calamity does come, its sting is at once taken out because it is shared by all willingly and cheerfully It has not been said in vain that even the death of the crowd together has its own jubilation.

In such a society the necessity of God is felt only by those chosen few who really have an irrepressible craving for Him But when as in modern India the ruling passion is "everybody for himself and the devil for the rest", "in the sorrow of death and suffering of despair, when trust has been betrayed and love desecrated, when existence becomes tasteless and unmeaning, man standing upon the ruins of his hopes stretches his hands to the heavens to feel the touch of the Persons across his

darkened world' (Tagore) ha finds none to help him in this world

When India was in the heyday of her glory, we gave priority number one to our society as is evident from this injunction 'Not by the house is made the household, but by the performance of the householder's duties—nor even by wife and children if the householder be wanting in karma" Karma here does not mean the looking after his family interests but the performance of his specific duty—the fulfilment of his obligation to society

But we spend a lot of time in rituals and ceremonials, in reading texts without knowing their meaning and in mechanically conning the name of God, but we never think of society, we never think of corporate life, and we never throb with common aspirations and common interests It is why most of us plough our lonely furrows and saunter about with looks of despondency Without rendering service to society even *mana bhakti* and *yoga* might become vice and laziness Bertrand Russel had the hardihood to write that there is no difference between a devotee of God and a drunkard because both care for themselves and not for society the former indulging in contemplation and the latter in wine bibbing

Perhaps that was the only thing which good but weak men could do when we were slaves But now India has become free and we have to build up our future according to our plan. Poverty, misery, wretchedness squalor, cowardice, ignorance, inertia and self-seeking surround us on all sides. Just start from your home with your eyes open and you find some men spitting recklessly and coughing and hawking persistently, some lolling on their shops and keeping off the flies, some blowing a portentous puff under a tree, some playing backgammon, some gossiping and gadding some spreading scandal some prying into the affairs of others, some uncasing in a dirty pitch and some sitting listlessly without any vim and purpose, without any pep and energy—so on and so forth Do we think that mere political freedom would remove all our ills? If so, then we are sadly mistaken, for, political freedom is a gateway to progress and not progress itself It simply provides opportunities and enables the enfranchised people to attain to such heights which they could never have dreamt of even in their slavery If such is the case, then we shall have to exert ourselves to the utmost to bring about the desired end. Thousands and lakhs of our young men will have to take up the work of social service and lead a life of dedication. Pandit Nehru and other leaders will have to formulate a regular programme of social service and then devoted youngmen will surely come forward in thousands to offer their services for this holiest cause I wonder and wonder as I think how Indians became self-centred self-complacent and unmindful of their society when a life of self-abnegation was the chief theme of their daily prayers as given below

"Let my life be a life of dedication, let my vital breath, eyes, ears, intellect and spirit be dedicated to service let my [illegible] lore understanding, prosperity and knowledge be dedicated to service. Let the sacrifice itself be made in a spirit of utter abnegation' This spirit of disinterested service, we forgot and even now have forgotten Social or political service without this spirit leads to grabbing and grasping to self-aggrandisement and scramble for power, as a result of which the social or political field becomes the arena of fierce competition and party strife Acharya Kripalani has given a timely warning to Congressmen, who thought that because they had done something for the struggle for freedom, they must get power and position. In the *Gita*, Acharya Kripalani said, it was written that a man enjoyed heaven to the extent he had done good work and, after he enjoyed his work he fell again Those who 'are now enjoying heaven for the acts they had done in the past their fall is certain in the near future," he added

Our ideal was social service absolutely without any interest and Gandhiji tried his best to revive that ideal We must imbibe his teachings in this respect and make *nishkam seva* (disinterested service) our chief goal

SUNAM RAI

LEST WE FORGET

IX

I HAVE A HORROR OF SMOKING'

(a)

I have a horror of smoking as I have of wines Smoking I consider to be a vice It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink in that it acts imperceptibly It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer It is an unclean habit

(b)

[I] have always regarded the habit of smoking as barbarous dirty and harmful . I cannot bear to travel in a compartment full of people smoking. I become choked

(c)

. . Cigarette smoking and coffee and tea drinking are not necessities of life Some take 10 cups of coffee a day Is it necessary . . for keeping them awake for the performance of their duties? If [that is so], let them not drink coffee or tea but go to sleep. We must not become slaves to these things Cigars and cigarettes, whether foreign or indigenous must be avoided Cigarette smoking is like an opiate and the cigars that you smoke have a touch of opium about them . . How can you foul your mouth by converting it into a chimney? A drunkard in Tolstoy's story is hesitating to execute his design of murder so long as he has not smoked his cigar But he puffs it and then gets up smiling and saying 'What a coward am I,' takes the dagger and does the deed Tolstoy spoke from experience He has written nothing without having had personal experience of it And he is much more against [smoking] than against drink. But do not make the mistake that between drink and tobacco, drink is a lesser evil No If cigarettes is Beelzebub, then drink is Satan

UNITY THROUGH LANGUAGE

A Socialist correspondent writes

"I am keenly following the writings regarding the language problem that appear in the *Harijan* and also the controversy that rages now in our country

"With the eclipse of the British rule in India we have lost the common chain of slavery, but have not been able to find another chain that will tie us together irrespective of religion caste and province The fissiparous tendencies have reared their heads and the Indian Union is in danger People have begun to think in terms of their caste religion and province We do not think ourselves to be citizens of India and our world has shrinked to the narrowest possible area or group

"Amongst the various remedies advocated common language is one. The sooner we give Hindustani its proper place the better for us I am no expert But as a humble onlooker of events, I see that Hindustani is not being given its proper place The field of Hindustani is being limited. In the context of the present situation a common language will prove to be a cementing factor, much of the rancour of provincialism that has for the time being won in the fight against nationalism will vanish That Hindustani should be the lingua franca is no more a debatable point But I am in favour of introducing Hindustani not only as a medium of instruction in all schools and colleges above primary stage but also in provincial courts and provincial government offices With the introduction of the Gram Panchayat system — this will be introduced to every province soon — the work and jurisdiction of the courts will be limited and Hindustani may be introduced without any disadvantage to the people So also in Government offices

"There is no use introducing regional language, as some advocate That will again give an opportunity to many people drunk in provincialism to fight for acceptance of this or that language as a regional language Hindustani is better understood in an Assam or Orissa village

"About the script also a common script for all Indian languages will help one to have an easy access to the different languages and literatures This will be a great cementing factor in the present day situation Gradual substitution of the various scripts by nagari will not be disadvantageous. No one can object to it in the name of culture and tradition

"I hope experts should view it in its proper merit.

I appreciate and endorse the sentiment behind the above suggestions though not all the suggestions in detail As I have stated in a previous article, greater scope will have to be given to Hindustani, if that language is to be fully developed We shall have to be bilinguists to a greater degree While schools and colleges should predominantly teach through the regional languages in cosmopolitan areas and institutions both the regional as well as the national language may be allowed side by side. For instance in Bombay there might be Hindustani schools and colleges also in all universities where professors have to be imported from other provinces they might be allowed to reach through Hindustani University students should be expected to follow Hindustani lectures, though they should have liberty to answer in the regional tongue Let us remember that regional languages and Hindustani are not dissimilar and mutually unmixable languages like Indian languages and English.

In the principal government offices and high courts, as well as in courts of cosmopolitan cities Hindustani might be the language of record, liberty being allowed to litigants and advocates to apply or address in the regional tongue

But at the same time, I would ask the reader to consider some of the root causes of this controversy They are these people are not agreed with regard to the structure of Hindustani The writer has chosen to spell his word as Hindusthani. That itself may well become a hardly contested point of communal or linguistic honour If the principle on which the common language is to be built is settled *unanimously* other difficulties would diminish

So also with regard to the script If the various provinces agree to the gradual liquidation of their particular script, and to adopt *nagari* in its place I would revise my attitude toward the Roman script, and would appeal to those who use the urdu script to drop that script also

The correspondent says "People have begun to think in terms of their caste, religion and province." I wish to point out to him that the Marxian propaganda of class-war has also a responsibility in the matter As Pandit Dwarkaprasad Mishra, Home Minister for C P says, in Indian setting all group-politics ultimately end in fostering caste-mindedness, because that is the only group-consciousness which is deeply rooted in the Indian mind Class-ism is as unhealthy as provincialism and communalism. It also is caste. Differences of class, caste, religion language sex etc might be realities of life What leads to unity or conflict is whether we make use of them for mutual peace and co-operation or jealousy and base exploitation and the means which we employ for, if necessary, liquidating any of them

Wardha, 28-6-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
"HARIJANSEVAK	K. G MASHRUWALA	217
SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY IN INDIA	P G SHAH	218
CHARKHA JAYANTI	DHIRENDRA MAJUMDAR	220
FEAR OF LINGUISTIC DISRUPTION	MAGANBHAI DESAI	221
SOCIAL SERVICE	SUNAM RAI	222
LEST WE FORGET—IX	M. K. GANDHI	223
UNITY THROUGH LANGUAGE	K G MASHRUWALA	224
NOTE		
NOTICE	J D DESAI	217

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Re 5 Six months Re. 3 FOREIGN One year, Re 8 or 14 sh. or $ 2

Gandhiji's Birthday

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No 27 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1948 TWO ANNAS

MAKING SWARAJ SUCCESSFUL

[Speaking at a public meeting on the Independence Day at Indore, Shri Vinoba made the following observations. —D M]

India had obtained political power. That only meant that she had now obtained those facilities, which were not available to her before, for removing poverty from the land and rendering service to the people When Rama went in exile for 14 years Bharata governed the State on his behalf and as a trustee for him In the same way the administrators of India should understand that this country belonged to the poor masses and they had to administer her affairs in their name as their trustees and for their benefit The sun of independence must furnish to the people the proof of its rise by showing that the State now worked for them, and that the educated man who formerly avoided them or came to them simply in order to exploit them had now engaged himself in their service The people could not feel that Swaraj had come to them simply by looking at the flag flying against the background of the sky. They must feel its warmth. Even as the sun did not cast its brilliant and energizing rays only on the palace of the Maharaja but distributed them equally to the houses of the poor and the low even so the light and warmth of Swaraj must reach every man in the country

It was inevitable Shri Vinoba continued that in so large a country like ours there should be differences of opinion giving rise to different parties But he would ask them all whether there was also not something on which all of them could agree something which was common to them all Let us find out that common factor, take it up and render service to the country on at least that programme That might lead to the resolution of other differences also in course of time Laying emphasis on differences only would create more differences and give rise to competition for acquisition of power The result would be that even though we had obtained Swaraj, we would not have the joy of feeling it

Shri Vinoba desired to emphasize one more thing also. Everyone must do something for actual production of food and cloth They all believed that there was deficit of food and cloth in the country Let them those as has been said in the *Upanishads* pledge to produce them. If everyone including lawyers doctors, professors merchants, judges students and other men of letters, produced something of these every day, they could gradually expel poverty from the land. Gandhiji had placed the charkha before the country for that very purpose Cloth was an article of universal necessity and spinning was a productive activity in which every one could take part The principle behind the emphasis on the charkha lay in its capacity to produce one of the most necessary items of human needs

The *Gita* had taught the way to approach God through karma (action) But we did not understand its full implication. Indian philosophers had not given it their full attention. Some resorted to *bhakti* (or devotional actions) and some to *dhyana* (concentration) The *dhyana* again occupied themselves with thinking Nobody realized that since everyone wanted food every day it was necessary for them to do something towards its production The pursuit of that activity in the proper spirit could do three things simultaneously, namely reduce the burden of the labourer be an offering to God and also purify one's mind

Personally Shri Vinoba had obtained much inspiration through understanding the *Gita* in that sense In the middle ages labour had been deprived of its dignity Artisans began to be considered low castes and untouchables Manu had said: कारुणि: कारुकं — the hands of a labourer are always pure But we forgot that advice and began to forsake all manual labour The *sannyasi* gave up labour so also the student and the devotee too! Thus the burden of those who did manual labour increased and they and their vocations were deprived of the respect and prestige due to them. If they wanted to make the country prosperous they must raise the dignity of labour and also its market value The difference in the wages of the carpenter, the professor and the judge must be removed. Just as the sun gave equal light to all and the moon spread her cool lustre equally on every one so also should the means of subsistence be available to all in an equal measure

Some people asked him how those who did higher type of work could maintain their position and prestige, if all were made equal Shri Vinoba asked them if any of them had rendered higher service to the world than Krishna Krishna had given to the world the highest philosophy of life and yet what was he? He worked amongst cow-herds grazed cattle, tended horses washed dishes at the sacrifice of Yudhishthira. The *kirans* of India did not know the *Gita*, and yet for the last five thousand years they regularly raised the cry of *Gopal Krishnaki Jai* (Victory to Gopal Krishna!) every year How could this have occurred? It was because Gopal Krishna did not only teach philosophy to pandits and politics to kings but also raised the value of physical labour Shri Vinoba exhorted

every one to resolve from the 15th of August to do some productive labour every day That alone would bring positive proof to them that India was on the way to prosperity

(*Abridged from the original in Hindustani*)

VANASPATI AND OIL

I have received a few letters thanking the *Harijan* for taking up the cause of pure ghee The following is a typical letter from a representative of the agriculturist class

> *Vanaspati* has been ruining the country in various ways It is degenerating the people morally with the sin of adulteration It has become extremely difficult to obtain true ghee and to place reliance upon anything shown to us as such It will be a great service to the country if you will pursue this subject until you succeed and exert all your influence to stop its production. It does not matter even if there is scarcity of ghee for a time In this cunning world of ours it will not be enough to take such measures as colourization and the like. It is necessary to prevent its manufacture altogether, so that people can get more oil, and the fraud on ghee might stop
>
> At the same time you will please also exert to get a law enacted for preventing the slaughter of milch animals and to encourage cow breeding for cows are ultimately the source of milk and ghee and the maintenance of agriculture Thereby the dearth of pure ghee would be more quickly removed.
>
> I pray to God to give success to your efforts, so that manufacture of pure ghee may become possible and the people may feel the joy of having acquired Swaraj

I agree generally with the views of the writer but at the same time it is necessary to understand fully the difficulties lying in the way On account of these difficulties even Gandhiji could not succeed in this matter, I count nothing before him The main question is a moral one But where morality and economic interests conflict, in a civilization in which industrialization plays the senior partner's role there is always an attempt to brush aside the ethical issue by advancing counter-arguments or trying to meet it with half-hearted measures There is every possibility of this happening in the case of *vanaspati*

One of the arguments advanced by *vanaspati* producers is that ghee did not begin to be an adulterated commodity only since the manufacture of *vanaspati* Formerly it used to be adulterated for purposes of trade with fat and other filthy materials. *Vanaspati* has, even if it has encouraged adulteration, provided a substance which is several times superior to the former adulterants Of course, these arguments are spurious and meant only to justify what is unjustifiable at the root It is like a milk-seller saying to the public, "True, I mix some water in my milk But I want to assure the public that I always put in it pure distilled water and not any dirty liquid which the common milkman does. I am prepared to provide distilled water for this purpose to all those who need it'

Another argument is that if, for instance people prefer neatly packed white-paper cigarettes instead of ordinary *bidis* and are prepared to pay for it, is it wrong to allow them that satisfaction? In the same way if people want the refined oil in a granulated hardened form, and if experts prove that no harm accrues to their health in taking it in that form, why should you object to its manufacture? You must be satisfied with some measures which will check its adulteration with ghee If you will, let the penalty on adulterators be very heavy Let experts and inspectors be vigilant and the buyers more watchful and rest satisfied with these In an imperfect world of ours it is too much to expect prevention of all fraud You must not kill a thriving industry simply because you cannot fully control its abuse

This too is no argument in justification of the industry But yet as matters stand there is every likelihood of their prevailing with the authorities.

Even oils are not free from the evil of adulteration I understand that deodorized white oil (i. e kerosene) is mixed with ground-out and other food oils A writer from far off Pakistan complains that mustard oil, the usual article of food in Bengal, is mixed with a substance called *batch* oil with the result that people suffer from boils and liver troubles

The fact of facts is that the moral character of all of us—agriculturists cattle-keepers middlemen, industrialists, scientists, and public servants—must considerably advance before any measure whatever can succeed I have no faith in mere penal laws. Strong public opinion is always more potent than law

Let the public and workers take this as a reason for putting in all their effort to raise the moral level of the people The conscience of the people engaged in the production and sale of edible substances must be appealed to to take a vow of not adding any adulterant, whether *vanaspati* or any other A law becomes successful when it is broken by only a handful of asocial men but is obeyed generally No law which is widely disregarded in practice can ever succeed.

Wardha, 25-8 48 K. G Mashruwala

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By Nirmal Kumar Bose

With a Foreword by Gandhiji

Price *Rs. Four* Postage etc. *As Ten*

THE NATION'S VOICE

(Second Edition)

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931.]

Edited by

C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*

Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

THE ROMANCE OF CO-OPERATION

In these days when Dictators and so-called Democrats stalk the entire world with weapons of destruction to annihilate the common man, it is both a consolation and a solace to rehearse a brilliant chapter from the history of Denmark Mutely but marvellously this little country of hardly thirtysix lacs of souls has evolved a group life through co-operation which is at once a challenge to Fascism and Socialism

Prior to the Nepoleanic wars Denmark was a nation of substantial importance. Unluckily she sided with the French warrior and lost heavily as a consequence of his overthrow It was at this time that she lost some of her valuable colonies America rose as her competitor in the market and Germany closed her doors by a protective tariff. This entirely dislocated her trade. In its wake came floods and draughts, epidemics and plagues which rendered the country prostrate and collapsed.

But happily the tide began to turn in the seventies It started with new ideas of education Bishop Grundtvig (1783-1872), who is known as the spiritual father of Denmark, started the People s High Schools His education was a sort of *Nayee Talim* for his country and was related to the farm and cattle of the Danish farmer Kold, his brilliant successor completed the work of his master and organized the entire nation for the unique experiment of co-operation

Denmark is an agricultural country and its farmer, therefore, instinctively turns to land and cattle for new life Indeed, the Danish cow, the giver of plenty gave the whole nation a new message and a new method of life. The Danish peasant took to dairying butter and cheese making raising of hogs and fowls and production of bacon, and through persevering attention to details and by establishment of co-operative marketing and buying agencies he gradually won an uncontested place in the market of England.

The details of co-operation may briefly be noted. It is so naturally woven into the life of the farmer I Through co-operation he performs for himself almost all functions that in other countries are done by others for him He assembles his milk and makes and markets his own butter and cheese. He kills his own hogs in his own abattoirs and sells them in London through his own export agency His agents collect his eggs and bring them to his own egg-export society where they are candled, graded and made ready for shipment to a foreign market

Co-operatively he buys food for his cattle as well as agricultural machinery, fertilizers and seeds in distant lands. He manages his own banking in his locality and establishes his own credit Through mutual societies he insures his house and live stock. He maintains breeding societies of pedigreed hogs, cattle and horses and controls societies for selling off his products Fifty years ago the Danish farmer was enveloped by middlemen and the consumers and had to market through hostile agencies Today he is besides being a farmer a manufacturer a merchant, and an exporter all in one In this way there is scarcely an activity or an agricultural need which is not represented by its own co-operative organization It is therefore, usual for the farmer to be a member of at least half a dozen co-operative societies covering the whole range of his needs The work is managed so wonderfully that Danish bacon is shipped to England in modern motor ships fitted out with cold storage facilities and Lur' brand bacon is a favourite breakfast dish in every English home In like manner Danish butter too is a world-famous article Encouraged by this success the farmer has extended his co-operation to the manufacture of toasting coffee, chocolate tobacco bicycles etc.

The co-operative movement is so pervasive that it is hardly less than an industrial system comparable to socialism The following figures (1933) will enlighten the readers regarding the extent to which the co-operative societies have pervaded the entire nation

	Societies	Members
Socialism for production and sale	2 189	4 31 141
Semi-state for purchase	2 841	1 53 875
Consumer Co operatives	1 624	3,35 900
Other Co operatives	6	7 49,946
	6 860	16 69,862

It is hardly necessary to say that the farmer had to fight stern opposition from private dealers who sought to kill co-operation in its infancy by paying increased prices to the farmer to destroy their loyalty to the co-operatives Private merchants imposed monopoly prices But the farmer defied the trap

* * *

The co operatives besides being an economic solvent, served as a training school for democracy In most co-operatives the rule of 'one man, one vote prevails no matter how much the share of the member This has made the farmer conscious of his importance and power in politics He entered Parliament and negotiated changes in the interest of the common man Gradually he managed to eliminate big landlordism and to grow small farmsteads with State aid In this conversion of the farmer into an owner we have an economic foundation of Danish democracy It is interesting to note his progress from tenancy to ownership

	Tenants	Free Owners
1850	42 6%	57 5%
1919	5 7%	94 3%

Big landlords are known as Gaardmaends and the small ones as Husmaends Till 1900 Gaardmaends were in the majority in the Danish Parliament. Since then Husmaends became the power They have joined hands with the workers and artisans

and have risen as Social Democrats who now rule the country

This is the marvel wrought by the Danish farmer on the strength of co-operation. There was no revolution and no appeal to force All this has been achieved in little more than the lifetime of a single generation without bloodshed. The nation has trusted its liberties without reservation to the will of the majority Is this not non-violent rule in a way? Can we not evolve in terms of Gandhiji's teachings some such co-operative method to nullify the present diabolical animosities and to stabilize our hard-earned freedom?

R. S

HARIJAN

September 5 1948

GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY

I do not know why it became necessary to discuss whether Gandhiji's birthday should be observed or not as usual I had taken it for granted.

Gandhiji came in the line of the great World Masters and Ideal-setters like Rama Krishna Buddha, Mahavir Jesus, Zarthushtra, Socrates Confucious, Mohammed and others In India and I think, all over the world, it is the birthday of great men which is regarded more significant than the date of their death Their birth announced the beginning of a new era Their deaths have been looked upon as tragedies, even when the dates have been annually observed. As a matter of fact the dates of death of several great masters are not known at all

It is otherwise with ordinary people In India, only a handful of people care to observe their or their children's dates of birth, marriage etc A majority do not have even a record of these events As Gandhiji has written about himself, it was not usual in his family to observe the birthday Shri Kasturba's date of birth is still perhaps a matter requiring investigation Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's birthday had to be found out from his school registers He himself did not remember it. The reason is that the importance of the birth of a human being is not prima facie assumed It has to be proved by him by his life and works If it is worthy people will take pains to find out the date If it is unascertainable, they will even assign an imaginary date to him

But, if not the whole world, near relations try to remember for some years the date of death of their ancestors and observe it with ceremonial rites A satirist says that it is in the fitness of things that the world makes this distinction between a great man and an ordinary man The former saved the world by his birth, and plunged it in sorrow when he died The latter created a burden upon the world by being born, and relieved himself and the world by dying And if he left effects for his children they must all the more feel grateful to him for dying Though, therefore, they might feel sad for a while there is an inner urge to rejoice over his death, and so it is natural that his anniversary should be observed with ceremony and sweetmeats He might have been vain enough to celebrate his own birthday while he was alive, but his children cannot go on doing so after him

Who can doubt the significance of the birthday and the deathday of Gandhiji? If in course of time between the two dates only one has to be nationally observed, I for one, have no doubt that it should be the birthday and not the other

With his instinctive wisdom Gandhiji gave his birthday a unique orientation. He associated it with the *charkha*, in his opinion, his best and most invaluable gift to India and the down-trodden humanity Until we understandingly take that gift, all the homage that we might pay to him whether on his birthday or anniversary will have been superficial Shri Dhirendra Majumdar, Gandhiji's successor in the Charkha Sangh, has rightly laid all his stress on the *charkha* in the observance of the Gandhi Week I hope the public will catch the *charkha* spirit and respond to the appeal heartily

Wardha 21-8-48 K G MASHRUWALA

SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST BROKEN

[As the public knows Shri Bhansali was on complete fast since 9th August For 12 days he did not take even water. Necessarily it caused anxiety to all friends near and abroad When Shri C Rajagopalachari arrived at Sevagram yesterday, he was appraised of the fast and Shri Bhansali's desire to meet him Shri Rajaji was unwilling to put Shri Bhansali to the trouble of going over to Sevagram to see him Instead he immediately sent him the letter reproduced below Shri Bhansali could not but honour the note by immediately fulfilling His Excellency's hope. He broke his nearly twenty days fast after a brief service of prayer with orange juice —K G M]

Sevagram,
27-8-'48

My dear Bhansali

I hope you will break your fast at once. I know you can go on and die cheerfully and you will all the time be feeling supremely happy But it is not what you should do

Many crimes have been committed during these last sad and tragic months, not the least by those who call themselves patriots and Hindus You cannot pick and choose

In the highest interests of our motherland I should ask you to break your fast. You require no "assurance" except that I ask you to do it I believe the authority I possess covers this

Yours affectionately
C RAJAGOPALACHARI

GANDHIJI'S EVALUATION OF MAHADEV DESAI

Long before Mahadev Desai and Narhari Parikh joined Gandhiji in 1917 they were already very intimate friends The following letter written by Mahadev Desai to Narhari Parikh needs no apology for its publication now I have translated it rather freely —K. G M]

Bombay 2nd September, 1917

My Dear Narhari

This is entirely personal to you. Please do not share it with any one

I have already informed you that I was regularly attending upon Gandhiji daily at his place of residence On the morning of the 31st August Bapuji plunged me in an ocean of love surprise and joy by the words he addressed to me. It is rather difficult to put down in words the short conversation of that day but I shall try to do it as best as possible ' There is a reason for asking you to report yourself daily to me (Ultimately) you are to come and stay with me. I have tested your worth during the last three days I have found the young man whom I was in search of for the last two years Will you believe it? I wanted someone to whom I could one day entrust all my work and rest in peace, one on whom I could lay myself down with a sense of relief I have found that one in you You have to prepare yourself for coming over to me, giving up the Home Rule (League) Jamnadas[1] and all I have spoken in this way to but a few people during my life (In fact) only to three namely Polak, Miss Schlesin and Maganlal I have to address similar words to you today and I do so with joy because I have markedly observed in you three virtues namely honesty and loyalty, along with keen intelligence When I picked up Maganlal there was nothing special in him externally But, do you not feel surprised at what Maganlal is today? He had not taken much of education I made him my first apprentice for press work He first learned to set Gujarati types thereafter English, then Nagari Tamil etc and began to set them in a very efficient manner And I saw that he acquired all this skill in a very short time Thereafter he has also shown his skill in various other types of work But let me put away Maganlal's story Maganlal has not that capacity which I see in you I have been convinced that on account of your qualities you will be useful to me in various fields of work [I had been hearing all this with some surprise some bashfulness and with absolute silence But I could not resist interrupting him now, and said ' But I have not given you any proof of my work ! What follows hereafter was to answer to that]

' How can you know that? I can assess the worth of a man in a very short time I found out Polak's worth within five hours Polak saw a letter of mine on and sent me a reply and came to see me Immediately I marked him out and then he became mine He married and became a solicitor while he was still with me Before his marriage he told me that it was necessary for him to make some money to run the household and I promised for his children I told him definitely You are now mine Your concern about yourself and your children is my concern It is I who am marrying you and I do not see any objection to your marrying (immediately) Thereafter the marriage took place in my own house. But I must leave that story at that. What I want to tell you now is that you give up your plans about Home Rule and Jamnadas[1] go to Hyderabad enjoy life for a year or so see the world and its pleasures until you feel satiated. After going to Hyderabad the day and the moment you feel that you are losing your individuality there, send in your resignation at once, and come and sit beside me immediately (Upon this I told him that I was prepared to join him even at that moment) I know you are ready but I press you to see the world and enjoy life for a while and be satiated with it I shall also need your knowledge of the co-operative movement. We have to purge that department of its defects Don t worry Go away for a while and then return to me I do not want you for the Ashram school or other work but for me personally I shall carry on without you for a year or six months while you are away '.

I was drinking this nectar for about half or three-fourths of an hour when people began to gather around him and our private conversation came to an end I have been going to him every day and I shall be going up to Palghar with him tonight. Having regard to such warm affection as he has shown I do not think I would be doing anything wrong in sending with him fruits for Shankarbhai[2]

I told him (Bapuji) this morning that Banker[3] was angry with me. " Why ? ' Because of my determination made the day before yesterday " " Then you must bear his irritation There is no alternative Upon this I said " His suggestion was that if I was not going to Hyderabad and staying on at Bombay, then he did not understand why Gandhiji should object to my joining the Home Rule League rather than the (Provincial Co-operative) Bank. I have told him (Banker) that he would be able to find another Organizer in lieu of me But he says ' No it is not possible to find one like you My position is rather awkward These people value my worth a good deal more than what I do myself Upon this Bapuji gave his conclusion in brief " If we accept for ourselves the value which people put upon us we would be undone Let them evaluate you as they please. You are not concerned with it. You stay on at Bombay and it is sufficient that you give the League as promised two hours every day in the evening as an honorary worker

This is how things stand The letter has become rather long But if I don t convey these things to

1. Shri Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharamsey Joint Secretary of the Home Rule League founded by Mrs. Annie Besant.

2. Narhari's eldest brother who was ill at the time

3. Shri Shankarlal Banker also a promoter of the Home Rule League

you to whom [illegible] I? Please return this letter to me after [illegible] I have reproduced in the letter Bapu's [illegible] almost verbatim Perhaps they might be forgotten in the course of time I have not communicated, to my father or others my reasons for changing the previous resolution of joining the Home Rule (League) These are things which it would be folly to convey through letters Some day I might show this letter to father and *ginny*[4]

Please let me know regularly Shankarbhai's[4] condition I had telegraphed to Hyderabad that I could join if they paid me Rs 300 per month There is no reply If I don't go to Hyderabad, I shall stay on in the bank here as long as Bapuji wishes I shall rent a house in Bombay in a short time I have to make my preparations from now on for joining Bapu as soon as summoned 'Preparations mean (of course) enhancing my worth God grant me strength to do it I shall begin my translation of Gokhale's speeches from tomorrow I shall be able to do a little only in the mornings as I have to give two hours every day in the evening to 'Home Rule I hope your *ginny*[4] has recovered

Yours
Mahadev

(P S) I now have the faith that life which at times I was getting tired of because I thought that it was useless, is worth living Of course I am not yet able to accept all those encomiums which Bapuji poured on me and made me so bashful All I can say is that I had never obtained such a certificate before during my life and will not obtain again Even if in future I become instrumental in doing something and receive the world's praise therefor, still these expressions of the heart will always remain the most cherished treasure of my life

A CORRECTION

Mr H S L. Polak has kindly sent the following correction

'In the issue of the *Harijan* of June 20 there appears a small error of fact in the interview as recorded of Mr Kingsley Martin with Gandhiji on January 27

It reads

"Gandhiji went on to relate how he had resisted a certain millionaire in South Africa who had introduced him at a public meeting as a mere passive resister and weak because as an Indian there he was landless and without rights

'The reference is obviously to Mr William Hosken (see *Satyagraha in South Africa* p 174 *et seq*) Mr Hosken was not a millionaire though a well-to-do businessman He was President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa a Liberal member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly and a good friend of the Indian community being Chairman of the Committee of European sympathizers with the *satyagraha* movement (*idem* p 278) of which I was myself the unofficial secretary

Wardha, 26-8-48 K G MASHRUWALA

4 Bengali abbreviations for *grihini* that is wife

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(*By M K Gandhi*)

III

BRAHMACHARYA OR CHASTITY

This observance does not give rise to ever so many problems and dilemmas as *ahimsa* does. Its meaning is generally well understood but understanding it is one thing practising it is quite another thing and calls forth all our powers. Many of us put forth a great effort but without making any progress Some of us even lost ground previously won None has reached perfection But everyone realizes its supreme importance My striving in this direction began before 1906 when I took the vow There were many ups and downs It was only after I had burnt my fingers at times that I realized the deeper meaning of *brahmacharya*. And then I found that expositions made in books cannot be understood without actual experience and wear a fresh aspect in the light of it. Even in the case of a simple machine like the spinning-wheel, it is one thing to read the directions for plying it and it is another thing to put the directions into practice New light dawns upon us as soon as we commence our practice And what is true of simple tangible things like the wheel is still more true of spiritual states

A *brahmachari* is one who controls his organs of sense in thought word and deed The meaning of this definition became somewhat clear after I had kept the observance for some time, but it is not quite clear even now for I do not claim to be a perfect *brahmachari* evil thoughts having been held in restraint but not eradicated When they are eradicated I will discover further implications of the definition

Ordinary *brahmacharya* is not so difficult as it is supposed to be We have made it difficult by understanding the term in a narrow sense. Many of us play with *brahmacharya* like fools who put their hands in the fire and still expecting to escape being burnt. Very few realize that the *brahmachari* has to control not one but all the organs of sense He is no *brahmachari* who thinks that mere control of animal passion is the be-all and end-all of *brahmacharya* No wonder if he finds it very difficult He who attempts to control only one organ and allows all the others free play must not expect to achieve success He might as well deliberately descend into a well and expect to keep his body dry Those who would achieve an easy conquest of animal passion must give up all unnecessary things which stimulate it They must control their palate and cease to read suggestive literature and to enjoy all luxuries I have not the shadow of a doubt that they will find *brahmacharya* easy enough after such renunciation

Some people think that it is not a breach of *brahmacharya* to cast a lascivious look at one's own or another's wife or to touch them in the same manner; but nothing could be further from the truth Such behaviour constitutes a direct breach of *brahmacharya* in the grosser sense of the term

Men and women who indulge in it deceive themselves and the world and growing weaker day by day, make themselves easily susceptible to disease If they stop short of a full satisfaction of desire the credit for it is due to circumstances and not to themselves They are bound to fall at the very first opportunity

In *brahmacarya* as conceived by the Ashram those who are married behave as if they were not married Married people do well to renounce gratification outside the marital bond, there is a limited *brahmacarya* But to look upon them as *brahmacharis* is to do violence to that glorious term.

Such is the complete Ashram definition of *brahmacarya* Still there are men as well as women in the Ashram who enjoy considerable freedom in meeting one another The ideal is that one Ashramite should have the same freedom in meeting another as is enjoyed by a son in meeting his mother or by a brother in meeting his sister. That is to say, the restrictions that are generally imposed for the protection of *brahmacarya* are lifted in the Satyagraha Ashram where we believe that *brahmacarya* which ever stands in need of such adventitious support is no *brahmacarya* at all The restrictions may be necessary at first but must wither away in time. The disappearance of restrictions does not mean that a *brahmachari* goes about seeking the company of women but it does mean that if there is an occasion for him to minister to a woman he may not refuse such ministry under the impression that it is forbidden to him

Woman for a *brahmachari* is not the doorkeeper of hell but is an incarnation of our Mother who is in Heaven He is no *brahmachari* at all whose mind is disturbed if he happens to see a woman or if he has to touch her in order to render service A *brahmachari's* reaction to a living image and to a bronze statue is one and the same But a man who is perturbed at the very mention of woman and who is desirous of observing *brahmacarya* must fly even from a figurine made of metal

An Ashram where men and women thus live and work together, serve one another and try to observe *brahmacarya* is exposed to many perils Its arrangements involve to a certain extent a deliberate imitation of life in the West I have grave doubts about my competence to undertake such an experiment. But this applies to all my experiments It is on account of these doubts that I do not look upon any one else as my disciple Those who have joined the Ashram after due deliberation have joined me as co-workers, fully conscious of all the risks involved therein As for the young boys and girls, I look upon them as my own children, and as such they are automatically drawn within the pale of my experiments. These experiments are undertaken in the name of the God of Truth He is the Master Potter while we are mere clay in His all powerful hands

My experience of the Ashram up to date has taught me that there is no ground for disappointment as regards the results of this pursuit of *brahmacarya* under difficulties Men as well as women have on the whole derived benefit from it, but the greatest benefit has in my opinion accrued to women Some of us have fallen, some have risen after sustaining a fall The possibility of stumbling is implicit in all such experimentation Where there is cent per cent success it is not an experiment but a characteristic of omniscience

(Translated from Gujarati by V G D)

(To be continued)

GURJAR-NAGARI SCRIPT

Readers of the Gujarati and Nagari editions of the *Harijan* might have noticed a script reform introduced by me in the prevailing Gujarati script, in order to bring it in conformity with the Nagari script. A sample of that script is presented every week in the issues of these editions

The difference between the Nagari and the Gujarati scripts is very slight indeed The first difference which strikes one's eyes even on superficial observation, is that the Nagari always carries a headline over its letters and has straight vertical bars, while in Gujarati the letters are printed without a headline and all vertical lines are slightly bent towards the right at the lower end For practical purposes, it might be said that Nagari is Gujarati script over-lined (instead of being underlined as is often done in English), or that the Gujarati is Nagari with the over-line removed This is of course, not vital to the phonetic value of the letters

The other difference is a little intrinsic—though not quite as much as in other Indian scripts. There are about 15 letters in Gujarati, which seem dissimilar and not easily identifiable by a person conversant only with the Nagari script Of these fifteen six namely ઇ, ઈ, ઉ, ઊ, ઋ, ૠ, are already being adopted in Nagari in their reformed forms of ि, ी, ु, ू, े and ै that is as forms manipulated from the basic letter अ Hence there are only nine letters which present a difference between the Nagari and Gujarati scripts, and might confuse a Nagari reader

I have given these nine letters the following altered shapes -

Nagari :	अ क ख ज झ ट ठ ब भ
Gujarati Present Form .	અ ક ખ જ ઝ ટ ઠ બ ભ
" New Form	અ ક ખ જ ઝ ટ ઠ બ ભ

This small and simple reform makes Nagari and Gujarati scripts identical in every respect, except that one is overlined and the other is not It presents to the press two forms of printing comparable with the Roman and Italic forms of the European script There is an increasing tendency among modern Nagari writers to drop the headline in hand-written matter and this script presents its printable form

There is one letter which deserves to be mentioned ङ and ञ are respectively Nagari and Gujarati for the same sound ञ has the form of र + ब, and, but for the headline it would be difficult to distinguish between ञ and ख The

headline being absent in Gujarati, it was impracticable to do away with ઋ. Hence that letter has been retained That form is not entirely peculiar to Gujarati It also prevails in the *modi* script of Maharashtra and the *kaithi* script of Bihar and bears some resemblance with the same letters of Bengali and Kannad In fact it deserves to be introduced into the Nagari script as has been done by the *Khadi Jagat* and other publications of Wardha at the instance of Shri Vinoba (ઋ)

I am bound to admit that the Press and the literators of Gujarat, beyond a few exceptions, have not favoured my innovations I have been allowed to occupy a small corner of the *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijansevak* to experiment upon this reform Shri Vinoba has welcomed my reform and recommended that the entire *Harijanbandhu* might be printed in that script I wish I could do it, but that is not possible

In the course of an article contributed to the *Harijanbandhu* by Shri Vinoba on this subject, he observes

> 'Much as there is scope for reform in the prevailing Nagari script I wish that the knowledge of Nagari even as it is if it is wide spread will be beneficial to India. I wish that Nagari might be adopted as the script for provincial languages also with necessary additions and changes for indicating the special sounds of the South Indian and other languages But provinces are not yet prepared to go to that extent Gujarati can easily give the lead and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala a step in this direction deserves to be welcomed. Even as Gujarati and Nagari can be unified so also can Telugu and Kannad But it can be done only if the people of the two provinces choose to give up mutual jealousy
>
> If all India were to accept one common script Indian languages would fall into two groups the Northern languages and the South Indian languages But the two together will make only a group and a half, since the script would be common It would be so easy to learn any Indian language, if the difficult barriers presented by multiplicity of scripts were removed We might achieve more unity through the adoption of a common script than through other external means For all these reasons, I welcome the Gujrati Nagari forms

I have made my contribution Indeed it is before the Gujarati public for more than twelve years now It is for the reader the Press the man of letters and the Education Department of the Bombay Province to make use of or reject my effort

New Delhi 11-8-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

Correction

In the *Harijan* dated 15th August 1948 in the article by Shri J C Kumarappa at page 206 (*The Modern Debtor*) the income of Great Britain is mentioned to be £ 800 millions a year It ought to read 8 000 millions — ED

MOHAMMED WAS WISE

The nation is anxious to pay its homage to Gandhiji in every manner possible. The Government too does not wish to lag behind It decided recently to issue special Gandhi Postage Stamps to commemorate the first anniversary of Indian Independence Postage stamps are of course, meant to be affixed on letters and destined to be cancelled in the Post Office with a Postal mark And that has irritated another devotee of Gandhiji who cannot bear Gandhiji's portrait being disfigured with that ugly lamp-black seal.

So what Pandit Jawaharlal's Government carefully planned out of devotion has become a cause of distress to another devotee! The reason is clear There is idol worship in the minds of both And while one perceives only the installation of the idol the other perceives only its defacement! Mohammed-saheb was wise in forbidding representations of animal and human figures in every form or shape

Let us not look upon every representation of Gandhiji as if it was *Thakur* (family deity) Otherwise we shall make ourselves an impossible people to deal with

Wardha 23-8-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION

After the attainment of political freedom the Congress is committed to the redistribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis The activities of the Congress organization have also been conducted all these years on the same basis But, unfortunately the question of provincial redistribution does not appear to be handled in a proper way and consequently there is anger confusion and indecision in the minds of Congressmen as well as the public in general Some Congress leaders are all for the rearrangement of provinces on a linguistic basis and are actively working to this end in their respective spheres. A few others are vehemently opposed to the formation of provinces on the basis of language and prophesy that provincialism' would lead to the disintegration of the Indian Union There are yet other Congress leaders who plead for the postponement of the issue for five or ten years because they think that there are other more important problems demanding immediate solution They, however seem to have committed themselves to the creation of a separate Andhra Province perhaps to silence the bitter agitation that has been going on there for many years But this might mean only an invitation to other linguistic areas for making themselves as unpleasant and vociferous as Andhra in order to secure separation

I should, therefore be excused for stating that the question of provincial redistribution is yet in a mess and we expect our leaders to attach adequate importance and devote serious attention to the problem A policy of 'drift will not do Its consequences might be extremely dangerous and detrimental to national solidarity The national Government despite other pressing problems has

been successful in solving the tangle of the Indian States very creditably I earnestly feel that our leaders should try to tackle the problem of provinces with the same insight and wisdom It must be realized that this question is not, in any way, less important than that of the States, hence, it should be faced boldly and realistically If the Congress Working Committee, after discussing the whole problem threadbare, feels that the principle of linguistic redistribution requires revision, it should issue a comprehensive statement and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. If, however, the leaders are well convinced of the soundness of linguistic provinces, they should try to implement the Congress promise as early as possible Undue delay in doing a good thing may be unnecessarily fraught with evil consequences The appointment of a Commission by the President of the Constituent Assembly for this purpose is certainly welcome But unless the Congress leaders review the whole matter carefully among themselves and give a clear-cut and well-reasoned lead to the country, the Commission might not be able to make much headway In the absence of a definite policy, there will naturally be a plethora of suggestions before the Commission and the reactionary forces of separatism may in course of time, gain the upper hand

Personally I see nothing fundamentally wrong in the principle of linguistic provinces. Such an arrangement would be very convenient in using an Indian language for administrative and judicial purposes, the introduction of the mother-tongue as medium of instruction will also be very easy But it is utterly wrong to talk of separate 'cultures' in advocating linguistic provinces, and it is regrettable that, of late, several responsible provincial leaders have mixed much fury and hatred in their agitation for separate linguistic areas They have talked of *satyagraha* and even the shedding of blood. If this new myth of 'linguism' is allowed to gain momentum, our future is bound to be full of peril and disaster But if the question of linguistic rearrangement is viewed purely as a matter of convenience, no harm need be done to the solidarity and essential cultural unity of our nation

I have, however, to suggest a middle way In order to eschew the dangers of narrow 'linguism', we might have linguistic sub-provinces within the existing multi-lingual provinces For example, in the Central Provinces and Berar there may be created two sub-provinces of Maha-vidarbha and Maha-koshal — although I do not like these high sounding names — with separate legislatures and ministries administering specified sub-provincial subjects like Law and Order Revenue, Education, Health Excise and Agriculture But there should also be a small legislature for the whole province elected directly from the two sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies The Provincial Legislature should legislate only for a few provincial subjects like economic planning, communications and higher technical education its proceedings should be conducted in the national language The ministers of both the sub-provinces should be responsible to the Provincial Assembly There may be a common High Court and Public Services Commission for the whole province Similarly in the Bombay Presidency there can be three sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies for Karnatak, Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay as the seat of the provincial Government, The Madras Presidency can follow the same pattern The advantage in having such a provincial organization would be that while sub-provincial units will be linguistically homogeneous from the standpoint of convenience, the growth of unhealthy and exclusive 'linguism' would be automatically checked a good deal Further, it will not be necessary to redraw provincial boundaries in most cases the existing ones would serve our purpose This plan of linguistic sub-provinces will also be consistent with the principle of decentralization of political power The financial implications of such a scheme need not be prohibitive, the total number of ministers in the sub-provinces should be almost the same as that for the whole province today If we could have honorary Governors — and this should not be difficult now when there are so many pensioner Maharajas — the present provincial revenues will be adequate to maintain two or three sub-provinces without additional burden on the tax-payer

I do not claim that the scheme outlined above is the best method of provincial redistribution under the existing circumstances Nevertheless, I expect that it would receive due consideration at the hands of all those who are interested in the satisfactory solution of this intricate problem

S N AGARWAL

[I endorse Principal Agarwal's suggestion that the Congress Working Committee should reconsider the theory of linguistic provinces and give a revised lead on the matter and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. The Karachi resolution was passed at a stage when the circumstances were different and all those forces which have developed since were not present

Principal Agarwal is not the only one to raise the plea for revision of the old policy Shri Manu Subedar also in a series of articles has been earnestly pressing the same point He has urged and I think very rightly that economic burden on the tax-payer will increase considerably by the creation of several new States As it is, our present Indianized governments are showing no tendency towards reduction of high standards of top-heavy expenditure set by our British rulers More provinces will need more seats of government, secretariats, High Courts, Houses of Legislature and all that paraphernalia which go to make an administration top-heavy Shri Manu Subedar, therefore, wants even the present provinces to be scrapped and in its place divide the country in suitable divisions under Chief Commissioners and have them governed directly through the Central Government.

It will be remembered that another correspondent who had contributed in the *Harijan* on this subject some months ago went even a step further by suggesting that the unit of administration should be a district directly ruled by the Central Government

Principal Agarwal suggests sub-provinces under multi-linguistic States with separate legislatures and ministries for particular subjects He considers this to be a middle way I am not sure that this will be economical or accepted as a final arrangement. It might provide just a fulcrum for an agitation for complete separation later on

I also had ventured to suggest a scheme of mine two or three years ago in a small pamphlet But I do not think it will serve any useful purpose in burdening the reader with its details at this stage

The whole controversy shows that our minds are not yet clear regarding the limits of centralization and decentralization respectively and the exact importance of linguistic differences for purposes of administration and for the development of the people Every one has a pet idea of his own and every one wants it to be accepted by all. It is, therefore high time that the Congress High Command should step in and give a considered lead to the country

Wardha, 25-8-'48 —K. G M.]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF MAN —A RAPID SURVEY

The economic activity of man began with finding food and shelter for himself First he obtained what he needed from the ready stock available in nature by fishing hunting and gathering what he could

But as soon as civilization developed he began to co-operate with nature in obtaining his needs by controlled methods which would suit his convenience and conditions It is at this stage of civilization that we find agricultural people procuring their wants by working along with nature Man studies the vagaries of weather, rain and sunshine and with a knowledge of prevailing soil conditions adopts his methods to suit these environments. Here it is that we should look for science following the growth the knowledge and observations of the tiller

Applying the knowledge so obtained at this stage man has used his intelligence to convert the products secured from nature into useful articles for himself This third stage has led to growth of industries from the agricultural stage Generally speaking the industrial stage is one in which the worker is able to gather a larger share of the fruits of his labour for his own use This has been so because these industries are situated in towns and cities where the general level of education and consciousness of their rights is fast growing But the people on the land have not the organization not the self-interest developed to such an extent as to enable them to retain the benefits of all their labour for their own use The result is the state of affairs where it is said that agriculture does not pay This state of affairs has no relation to the nature of agriculture itself. Agriculture being more or less the source of all wealth it stands to reason that the agriculturist must control the share of wealth every man receives if the products of agriculture were properly exchanged and distributed, and he himself should be well off

Up to now, however under the conditions prevailing there is hardly any country where the agriculturist can be said to have received his due share This is much more so in our own land, steeped in ignorance and poverty The agriculturist has been generally the base on which the whole economic structure has been built up and he has had to bear the brunt of the battle without a share in the booty

In most countries labour conditions in industries have gone far ahead of conditions on the land It is to the credit of the Congress that it is now turning its attention towards the conditions of life of the tillers of the soil The Governments, till now, have mainly been concerned with obtaining from the tiller revenue for themselves, but they have done nothing to alleviate his conditions or to protect him from those who are stealing the results of his labour That having been the approach of the Government hitherto, it appointed middlemen to collect its dues from the farmers These intermediaries grew in status, influence and power and became ultimately under the foreign administration, the powerful class of zamindars The Congress Government has taken courage and has made up its mind to abolish all these middlemen between the tiller and the State.

Having abolished this middleman, it is now concerned with finding out ways and means of retaining to the tiller the benefits of his labour These devices take many forms, firstly his own control and legal rights of holding the piece of land on which he works The tenures in our land differ from province to province and even from locality to locality We have to evolve more or less a uniform system for the whole country taking into consideration the needs of the people This is the duty detailed out to the Agrarian Reforms Committee that is now touring the country to obtain information in regard to the types of reforms that may have to be instituted after the abolition of zamindari

The rightful dues of the farmer are taken away from him by various means One of it is in the form of rights to the ownership or occupancy of the land by middlemen stepping in. They charge rent which takes a big slice out of the resulting benefits from the producer's toil

Then the second method has been the mechanism of prices and money By this, distant places have attracted the produce of the farmers and have given him in exchange an inadequate return in the form of low prices which in their turn were fixed by produce exchanges beyond the knowledge of the producers, e g. markets at Liverpool and Chicago fixing prices for the Indian produce

There is no relation between the farmer's wants, his costs and price Naturally under such conditions, an undue share of the produce can be drawn out by trading on the financial ignorance of our farmers The farmer in India is in the position of a child which is made to part with a silver cup in exchange for a noisy rattle and this has been made possible by the extension of the money economy and the provision of transport 'facilities', which are often applauded as being great achievements in the development of the land In fact they have been the needles of the syringe with which the life blood of the rural population has been drawn out This matter needs careful handling to bring the money and price mechanism to function reasonably within their legitimate spheres For instance in places there are tanks which produce a good quantity of fish But the Government, in its anxiety to facilitate its administrative organisation of collecting revenue, has given out these tanks by auction to contractors who sell these fish in distant towns where they can get much higher prices To this end transport and cold storage arrangements are also furnished by the Government In fact what has been done is to take away the rightful food of the population from amongst their midst and to send it away to distant towns for the benefit of the middlemen and non-producers This is an injustice of a criminal nature Similarly their supply of milk and other articles of prime necessities have been taken away from the rural people before supplying their legitimate needs and placed them in the hands of non-producers to be marketed in distant places. What we have to do, therefore is to ensure that the produce of the local population is conserved for their own needs and give their requirements first priority and then plan on producing the surplus which can be supplied to town and city populations This has to be a proved surplus, after providing the adequate demands of the producers themselves Money economy should not be allowed to interfere unduly in the distribution of commodities amongst the various sections of society

J C KUMARAPPA

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer speeches from 10-9-47 to 30-1-48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi

Gandhiji himself has said in one of these prayer speeches that "*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer*" These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born.

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

A CO EDITOR'S COMMENTS

[The Editor of the *Harijan Patrika* (Bengali edition of the *Harijan*) has added a note to my article entitled *Amends* (8th August 1948), which it is fair to reproduce in English The following is a translation of the note —K. G M]

It is sad to find that the question of the Manbhum area is causing friction between Bengal and Bihar Gandhiji said in sorrow ' Every one thinks of himself and his family No one thinks of the whole of India.' There may be a dispute of interest between two provinces which may naturally arise. Such differences would do no harm provided the interest of India as a whole is kept in view by both sides Then a way based on truth would also be found to resolve the difference Shri Badrinath Varma's article has stimulated thoughts expressed below specially in view of the readers who are Bengalis

On discovering that the circular on the basis of which Shri Kishorlal wrote the article *Unclean Means* appeared to be a hoax, he has apologized and tried to make amends for the mischief resulting from his article He has also said relating to his correspondent who sent him the circular ' the friend from whom I received it is incapable of practising fraud upon me I am afraid that he too has been deceived in the matter by those who supplied him with it and led into hasty steps"

On the other side what has been said by the *Mukti*, the organ of the Manbhum workers in its issue of 26th July, 1948 relating to this circular is quoted below in part for the information of readers

> ' He (Shri Kishorlal) has said that the programme has been drawn up by the Bihar Government Although the circular is in conformity with the direction and hint of notice of the Bihar Government, it has been composed by the local representatives of the Bihar Government From a purely legal point of view objection may be taken to its being called a Government circular but in effect it is the work of the Bihar Government Shri Mishrawala's statement about authorship of the proposals may be questioned from the superficial view of formal accuracy but from the spirit of truth it is quite correct

These workers of Manbhum are followers and colleagues of the late *Rishi* Nibaran Chandra Dasgupta. In discussing the circular it is necessary to be acquainted with the views of these workers as well as those of Minister Shri Varma, for honoured workers and honourable ministers deserve equal attention from the people

Hence though the Bihar Education Minister has said that the circular is not a Government circular, the question whether the Government is indirectly responsible for it remains open.

In praise of the Bihar Government Officers Shri Varma has said, "nor any of their officers are associated with any activity which can even remotely be described as 'unclean'." Such unqualified eulogy of his departmental officers from a minister is only an exhibition of his extreme softness for the bureaucracy But a certificate of merit

in their favour from the minister does not prove that the others are inferior men. Shri Varma has questioned the authenticity of the circular and castigated the Bengalis of Manbhum about it. But the doubts about the doubtful authenticity persists in the public mind. For the *Mukti* is a journal which commands popular esteem.

In reference to the dissemination of Hindi in Manbhum Shri Varma says The medium in the primary stage will be the mother tongue then in the upper primary stage a little Hindi will be introduced, in the middle stage however the medium will be changed into Hindi ' The question is, what language will the tribal people — the Santals, the Mundas the Hos, the Oraons etc. — accept in the middle stage as the medium of instruction — Hindi or Bengali ? Referring to the claim of Bengali in the Manbhum area Shri Kishorlal states in course of his article *Unclean Means* in the *Harijan* of 11th July, 1948

> 'It is commendable that Bihar has adopted a single language — Hindi for its provinces, even though it is not so far as I am aware, the mother tongue in any part of Bihar It has thereby saved itself from a quarrel over languages of which there was every possibility if every local region of that great province had put forth the claim of its particular dialect But the question of Bengali stands on a different footing from that of the various dialects of Bihar These dialects have not developed into or claimed to be literary languages as Bengali is The latter language is spoken and written by millions in the neighbouring province which is greater than Bihar itself It is a rich language to which Hindi itself owes much for its own present status There should therefore be no desire to suppress the Bengali language to the extent it has come to stay in particular areas of Bihar in the natural or historical course of events

What Shri Kishorlal says here relating to the claims of the Bengali language is untouched by the disputed circular and can not be affected by it; Hindi is not the mother tongue in many areas in Bihar There are many other local languages there but Bihar has saved itself from linguistic quarrels by accepting Hindi. Similarly, the areas comprising Manbhum Dhalbhum etc. have been saving themselves by their adoption of the Bengali language during the last two or three centuries. This is the process which Shri Kishorlal has described as natural historical development and has therefore decried the efforts for suppressing this naturally prevalent Bengali language

Shri Varma has said that not less than 70 to 80% of the people of this area speaks Hindi or mainly Santali and that Bengali has been imposed upon them in the past But the series of census reports reveal that in Manbhum the mother tongue of 70% of the people is Bengali These periodical censuses are evidence of one aspect of the historical perspective mentioned by Shri Kishorlal Readers would readily see that minister Shri Varma's statement forms no part of this historical sequence Shri Varma has referred to some Bengalis in Manbhum as 'settlers from outside' It is good of him not to call all of them outsiders. And pray who are these outsiders ? The late Niharan Chandra Dasgupta came from Dacca and settled in Manbhum where he and his colleagues have attempted *gramseva* in the rural areas there Shri Varma has surely not meant to call these workers outsiders !

To sum up the controversy about Manbhum should cease Shri Kishorlal has pointed the way to a solution which lies in a true appreciation of the historical situation. For this purpose ministerial statements, bureaucratic high-handedness, plebiscite, caustic newspaper comments and publicity — any of these approaches to the problem or even their combined contribution will not help in its solution These will only add to disunity and friction.

Not that we who think of their own interest in preference to the interest of India but only some learned impartial servants of the people who can recognize the historical perspective, whose only concern is the good of India can sit together and find a solution to this situation ; Shri Kishorlal has clearly indicated this at the close of his article *Amends*

Shri Varma is a Congress minister As such his view that Hindi ' is likely to be accepted as the State language by the Centre ' had better remained unsaid.

NOTICE

Lovers of Gandhian literature and the *Harijan* papers who are inhabitants of the Madhya Bharat Province will be pleased to learn that we have been able to establish a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya at Indore. All the *Harijan* papers, viz , the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijansevak* (Nagari) the *Harijansevak* (Urdu) and the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) as also all the publications of the Navajivan Publishing House will be available at the branch whose full address is

Navajivan Karyalaya (Branch)
5 Gandhibhavan
Yashvant Road, Indore

MANAGER

CONTENTS		PAGE
MAKING SWARAJ SUCCESSFUL	VINOBA	225
VANASPATI AND OIL	K G MASHRUWALA	226
THE ROMANCE OF CO OPERATION	R. S.	227
GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY	K. G MASHRUWALA	228
SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST BROKEN	K. G M.	228
GANDHIJI'S EVALUATION OF MAHADEV DESAI		229
A CORRECTION	K. G M.	230
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION III	M K. GANDHI	230
GURJAR-NAGARI SCRIPT	K. G MASHRUWALA	231
MOHAMMED WAS WISE	K G M.	232
THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION	S. N AGARWAL	232
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF MAN — A RAPID SURVEY	J C KUMARAPPA	234
A CO EDITOR'S COMMENTS	K. G MASHRUWALA	235
INDEX		236-A

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 5 | Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 9 or 14 sh. or $. 3

INDEX VOLUME XI (1947-8) (concluded from Page 192H)

Trust Begets Trust (P. S) M K. G 480
Trust the Government (P. S) M K G 345
Trust Your Government (P. S.) M K. G 338
Two Ministers (P. S.) M. K. G 406
Unlicensed Arms (P. S) M K G. 354
Vande Mataram (P S.) M K. G 304
Virus of Communalism (P. S) M. K. G. 409
Visit to a Gurgaon Village (P. S) M. K. G. 427
Visit to Okhla (P S.) M K. G 445
Visit to Tehar Village (P S) M K G. 414
Warning to Me (P. S.) M K. G 294
Was It a Blunder? (P. S.) M. K. G. 363
Weekly Notes S N. 277
When should Government Resign? (P S) M. K G. 353
Who Is Blameworthy? (P. S.) M K. G 524
Why at Birla House? (P S) M K. G 521
Why Foreign Propaganda? (P S) M. K. G 471
Why Not Satyagraha? (P. S.) M. K G 520
Why Use It? (P S) M K G 466
With Gandhiji at Delhi A. K. 121
Worse than Cowardice (P. S) M K G. 509
Worse than Murder (P S) M K. G 477
Worthy of Blessing (P. S) M. K. G. 523
Yet Another Crime (P. S) M. K. G 394

Hindustani

A.I.H. Language Policy ANON. 81
English into Hindustani Instalments (12), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17) (18), (19), (20), (21), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26) (27), (28), (29) ANON 9,29,49,69,89,109,129,149,167 185,205,225,245, 265,285,305, 325,345
Fictors Cause — Hindustani (P S.) M K. G. 234
Gandhiji's Press Statement M. K G 3
Hindi or Hindustani (P S) M. K. G 352
Hindi v Hindustani M. K. G. 258
Hindustani M. K. G. 355
Hindustani Examination Results GIRIRAJ KISHORE 103
Hindustani Written in Nagari Only M. K G 400
Its Deep Roots M. K. G. 480
National Language (P. S.) 263
Opportunity for Punjabis KAKA KALELKAR 374
Provincial Governments and Hindustani ANON 68
Question Box M K. G 505
Religious Instruction, Military Training and the Roman Script M. K. G. 76
Take Care M K. G 332
The National Language (P S.) M K G 386
Thou too Gujarat! M K G 272
Urdu Harijan M. K G 516

Indians Abroad

Another Delhi Interlude ANON 147
Gandhiji's Press Statement M. K. G 160
Indians in East Africa (P S) M K G 457
Indians in South Africa (P S) M K G 254,470
Indians Overseas M. K. G. 395
Satyagraha in South Africa (P. S.) M. K. G. 380,396
Strive for One World M. K. G. 113
To South Africa M K G. 163

Indian States

Accession to the Union (P S) M K. G 422
Division of Kashmir (P S) M. K. G 422
Example of Mysore (P. S) M. K. G. 383
Junagadh (P S) M. K. G. 355,421
Kashmir and Hyderabad (P. S.) M K. G. 422
Princes and Paramountcy (P. S) M. K G 274
Travancore again (W. L) S. N. 214
Wither States? M K. G 197
Wither States? (P. S) M K G 361

Khadi

Blowing Hot and Cold J. C K. 141
Certified and Uncertified Khadi M. K. G. 504
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary ANON 144
Implications of the Charkha M. K. G. 478
Khadi Can Remove Cloth Shortage M. K G 505
Khadi in Our Life J. C. K. 172
Khadi v. Mill Cloth (P. S.) M. K. G. 414
Message of the Charkha (P. S.) M. K. G. 479
Orissa's Scheme J. C. K. 23
Orissa's Textile Policy J. C. K. 64
Rajkot R. S. Spinning Demonstration N. GANDHI 244
Reddiar Ministry and Khadi S. N. AGARWAL 140
The Last State I. C. K. 196
Spinning Still! M. K. G. 476
Where is the Obstruction? VINOBA 20

Labour

Labour's Role (P. S.) M K. G 350
Man or Beast? Jy. C. K. 198
Public Conveyances J. C K. 510
The Indian National Trade Union Congress ANON 157
The Why of It G NANDA 158

Leprosy

All India Leprosy Workers Conference S N. 450
Genuine Fear T. N. JAGDISAN 128
Infection in Leprosy T. N. JAGDISAN 42
Leprosy Conference at Wardha (P S.) M. K. G. 394
One World One Problem T. N. JAGDISAN 138
Problem of Leprosy (P. S.) M. K. G. 395

Miscellaneous

A Man of Prayer A. K. 215
American Drugs Basket V. G. D. 102
A Terrible Contrast M. K. G. 261
Bahn Amtul Salam ANON 20
Conflict (P. S.) S. N. 240
For Manufacturers of Flags V. G. D 401
Give Me a Mud House V. G. D 463
Hatred Let Loose at Hiroshima V. G. D. 360
Is Harijan Wanted? M. K. G. 300
Is It Asceticism? J. C. K. 359
Out of Stock K. G. M. 6
Reasonable Quotations M. K. G 391
The Inglorious Great V. G. D. 231
The Problem of Europe S. N. 237

Non-violence

Ahimsa A Fact of Life M K. G. 164
Ahimsa Never Fails M. K. G. 504
Another Delhi Interlude ANON 147,154
A Psychological Explanation M K. G. 420
Convert Poison into Nectar (P S.) M. K G 242
Diary of Gandhiji's Calcutta Visit ANON. 165
Do not Lose Heart MADAME PRIVAT 463
Faith in Non violence Re-enforced M. K. G. 184
Firm on Non violence (P. S.) M. K. G. 413
Fragrance of Non-violence (W. L.) S. N. 219
From America M. K. G. 212
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary ANON. 73,84,97, 106 133,144,162,174

Gandhiji's Walking Tour Diary ANON 37,47,56,61,78
Had His Faith Weakened? (P. S.) M K G 383
How Gandhiji Feels and Acts A K. 163
How should the Indian Union Act? (P S) M K. G 301
Implications (P S) M K G 425
In Delhi S N 177
Kingdom of God and Non violence (P. S.) M K G. 235
Love as Medicine S. N 404
Map 35
Men Who Have Suffered for Peace H ALEXANDER 437
'Mist of Death over New York V G D 170
No Denial of Credit (P S.) M K G 413
No Limitations M. K G 408
Non-violence M. K G 209
Non violence and Free India N K BOSE 301
Non violence at the Brave S. N 209
Outside His Field M K G. 412
Question Box M K G 55,172, 213
Reply to Richard Gregg M. K G. 468
Retaliation Not True Bravery (W. L) S. N 203
Satyagraha — Highest Weapon (P S) M K G 425
Some Important Questions M K. G 44
Strive for One World M K G 113
The Challenge Cup J C K. 190
The C O's Pacifists and Non violence J. C K. 441
The Delhi Interlude ANON 117 123
The Message of Asia M. K G. 116
The Sikhs (P S) M. K. G. 233
Violence Not Justified (P. S) M. K G 448
Was It Non violence? (P S) M K G 497
Where Ahimsa, where Khadi? M. K G 389
With Gandhiji at Delhi A K 121
Working of Ahimsa (P. S) M. K. G 406

Obituaries

A Worthy Example M K. G. 489
Dr. Joshi S. N. 329
Professor Dharmanand Kausambi S N 190
Tatyasaheb Kelkar M K G. 491

Personal

Action in Inaction M K. G 383
A Frenchman's Advice (P. S) M K. G. 371
All equally Guilty (P S.) M K G. 371
Bibi Amtul Salaam S. N 95
Birthday Greetings (P. S.) M K G 387
Father of the Nation? (P. S.) M K. G. 424
Gandhiji-Romain Rolland Meeting MIRABEHN 403
His Illness (P. S.) M K. G 372
Is He Buried Alive? M K G. 289
Is It Deserved? M K G. 501
Leaving Pohlies after the 15th? M K G 281
My Duty M K. G. 340
My Shame! M K G 329
No Depression M K. G. 368
No Inconsistency M K. G 432
Question Box M K G. 476
Their Charge (P. S.) M. K G 477
The Noakhali Hat (P. S.) M. K. G. 508
Two American Friends Consolation M K G 412
When Blessing Becomes a Curse M K G 420

Prohibition

A Misplaced Zeal J. C K. 375
A Prohibition Anthology V. G D 189 210
Cigars, to the Fore J. C. K. 455
Cinemas K. G M 28
Harijans and Liquor (P S.) M K. G. 508
One Drug for Another J. C K 375
One More Feather in the Cap J. C. K. 22
Prohibition of Intoxicants M K. G. 333
Races M. K. G 384
Racing and Betting M. K. G. 516
What Saddens the Heart X. Y Z 464

Refugee Problem

Advice to Refugees (P. S.) M. K. G. 414
Appeal for Blankets (P. S.) M K G 371
Appeal for Cotton Bales (P S) M. K. G. 415
Appeal for More Blankets (P. S) M K. G. 377
A Word to the Refugees (P S) M. K. G 360
Blankets (P S) M K G 372 388
Blankets rather than Money (P S) M. K. G. 379
Blankets Sent to Kurukshetra (P S) M. K. G 386
Camps in General (P. S.) M K. G. 448
Co operation among Refugees (P S.) M. K G 447
Donate Blankets Early (P S.) M K G 378
Duty of the Refugees (P S) M. K. G. 530
God is the Refuge of All (P S) M. K G 335
Grievances of Pakistan Refugees (P. S) M. K G. 513
Grievances of the Refugees (P S) M K G 466
Hardships of the Refugees (P. S) M K. G 472
Houses for the Refugees (P S.) M K G 355
Its Wise Use M. K G 452
Malpractices among the Refugees (P. S) M. K. G 448
More Blankets Received (P S) M. K. G. 379,390
Our Degradation (P S) M. K G. 339
Refugees (P S) M. K G. 352
Refugees and Honest Labour (P S) M K G 509
Refugees in Kurukshetra (P S) M K G 407
Refugees in Pakistan (P. S) M. K G. 416
Refugees or Sufferers? (P S) M K G 457
Refugees Staying with Friends (P. S.) M K G 394
Return of the Refugees (P S) M. K G 424
Sanitation of Refugee Camps (P S) M K G 396
The Heart Searching (P. S) M. K G 398
The Refugee Problem (P S) M. K G 390
To the Refugees (P S) M K. G. 381
Well-to-do Refugees (P. S) M K G 410

Religion and Ethics

Abode of God (P S) M K G 407
Act as You Think M K. G 413

A Jain Merchant's Sense of Social Responsibility V. G. D. 145
Another Cruse (P. S.) M. K. G. 391
Another Delhi Interlude ANON 147 154
A Perplexity M. K. G. 290
A Plea for Tolerance S. N. 253
Apt Lines M. K. G. 369
A Student's Perplexity M. K. G. 373
A True Sikh (P. S.) M. K. G. 384
A Wrong Fast (P. S.) M. K. G. 519
Bhajan (P. S.) M. K. G. 506
Birthday Greetings (P. S.) M. K. G. 367
Broadcasting Whole Prayer (P. S.) M. K. G. 508
Call to Courage S. N. 181
Christmas Greetings (P. S.) M. K. G. 498
Conquer Evil Forces (P. S.) M. K. G. 433
Consistency in Thought Word and Action (P. S.) M. K. G. 499
Curb Anger (P. S.) M. K. G. 350
Diary of Gandhiji's Calcutta Visit ANON 165
Distorted Facts (P. S.) M. K. G. 413
Duty of Citizens (P. S.) M. K. G. 399
Duty of the Panchayat (P. S.) M. K. G. 499
Duty of Trusting (P. S.) M. K. G. 233
Evil of Ticketless Travelling (P. S.) M. K. G. 399
Exemplary Behaviour (P. S.) M. K. G. 406
Expectations from the Services (P. S.) M. K. G. 383
Finding God (P. S.) M. K. G. 425
Full Co-operation Needful (P. S.) M. K. G. 408
Futility of Arms V. SASTRI 396
Gajendra Moksha (P. S.) M. K. G. 351
Gandhiji's Address to Sikhs on Guru Nanak's Birthday M. K. G. 449
Gandhiji's Bihar Tour Diary ANON 73,84 97, 108,133,144 162 174
Gandhiji's Walking Tour Diary ANON. 51,78
Gems of Wisdom (P. S.) M. K. G. 354
Give and Take M. K. G. 465
Gleanings M. K. G. 184
Gleanings from Buddhism S. N. 222
God is Good M. K. G. 299
God Removes Fear (P. S.) M. K. G. 351
Good Behaviour (P. S.) M. K. G. 383
Good or Great? S. N. 269
Good Work Its Own Blessing (P. S.) M. K. G. 371
Granth Saheb Recalled (P. S.) M. K. G. 362
Half Truth v. Untruth (P. S.) M. K. G. 410
Hindu and Hindusm (P. S.) M. K. G. 446
Hindus Alone can Destroy Hinduism (P. S.) M. K. G. 362
Honest Dealing (P. S.) M. K. G. 399
How did I Begin It? M. K. G. 180
How Gandhiji Feels and Acts A. K. 155
How to Spread Vegetarianism (P. S.) M. K. G. 411
Ideal of Camp Life (P. S.) M. K. G. 509
Implications of Fasting M. K. G. 356
Importance of Promises (P. S.) M. K. G. 407
In Defence M. K. G. 253
Indian Muslims (P. S.) M. K. G. 365
Individual's Capacity (P. S.) M. K. G. 365
In Fulfilment of Promise (P. S.) M. K. G. 276
International Charkha Bazaar J. C. K. 169
Intolerance (W. L.) S. N. 178
Is It Swaraj? (P. S.) M. K. G. 347
Islam and Idol Worship SUNDARLAL 526
Lesson of Affliction S. N. 218
Many Roads, One Goal N. K. BOSE 227
Maulana Azad on Religious Instruction ANON 75
Message of the Sikh Gurus (P. S.) M. K. G. 368
Mind—a Temple (P. S.) M. K. G. 406
Misplaced Anger (P. S.) M. K. G. 428
Moral Force v. Physical (P. S.) M. K. G. 363
Never Dangerous M. K. G. 473
No Comparison Possible M. K. G. 452
No Imposing (P. S.) M. K. G. 346
No Interference with Law (P. S.) M. K. G. 390
Objector Honoured (P. S.) M. K. G. 353
Offspring of Anger (P. S.) M. K. G. 410
Our Help in Difficulty (P. S.) M. K. G. 255
Our Heritage S. N. 209
Potency of Prayer (W. L.) S. N. 215
Prayer Indivisible (P. S.) M. K. G. 350
Protection of Minorities (P. S.) M. K. G. 352
Public Conscience (P. S.) M. K. G. 354
Punishment for Evil Doers (P. S.) M. K. G. 259
Ramadhan (P. S.) M. K. G. 303
Ramanama Excels Everything (P. S.) M. K. G. 424
Rama, the Supreme Physician (P. S.) M. K. G. 362
Realisation of Difficulty M. K. G. 369
Recitation from Sikh Scriptures (P. S.) M. K. G. 415
Religious Instruction, Military Training and the Roman Script M. K. G. 76
Rich and Poor (P. S.) M. K. G. 406
Satyagraha and Duragraha (P. S.) M. K. G. 371
Secret of Ramraj (P. S.) M. K. G. 379
Shekh Abdella (P. S.) M. K. G. 408
Spiritual Food (P. S.) M. K. G. 508
Story Hour V. G. D. 103,135, 173 211,250,462
The Blessings of Discipline MIRABEHN 434
The Brotherhood of Man A. K. 234
The Delhi Interlude ANON. 117,132
The Duty of Objectors (P. S.) M. K. G. 352
The Frail Boat of India (P. S.) M. K. G. 355
The Granth Saheb (P. S.) M. K. G. 361
The Military Power (P. S.) M. K. G. 303
The Prophet's Convention for All Time ANON 23
The Reason for Addition M. K. G. 291

The Right Use of the Kirpan (P S) M K. G 337
The Root and the Fruit N K Bose 340
The Sovereign Remedy (P S) M K G. 383
The Time Factor (P. S) M K. G 408
The Voice of Silence (W L) S N 195
To Members of the R S S S N 349
Towards Realization M K G 212
Treatment of Cattle (P S) M. K. G 411
True Islam M K. G 281
True Peace Resides Within (P S) M K G 509
Truth Alone Is Victorious (P S) M K G 362
Victory of Dharma (P S) M K G 361
Vikram Sarabvat (P S) M K G 489
Walls of Protection M K G 199
'Welcome, My Sister Death A K 200
Who and where Is God? M K G 200
With Gandhiji at Delhi A K 121
Worship of Mother (W L) S. N 219

Removal of Untouchability

Commendable P L. M 230
Harijan as the First President S N 191
Harijan Basti I C. K 120
Harijans and Drink (P S) M K G 530
Harijans in Hostels M K. G 505
Harijans in Ratalam MAHARAJA of RATALAM 398
Persecution of Harijans (P S) M K G 448
Scheduled Castes M K G 261
Temple Entry (P S) M K G 232
Temple Entry and Untouchability (P S) M K G 255
The Harijan's Adaptability (P. S) M K G 411
The Vithoba Temple (P S) M K G. 507
Well Done Ratlam (P S) M K G 392

Students

About Students M K G 312
Parties among Students (P S) M K G 520
Students (P S) M. K G. 514
Students Difficulties M K G 280
Students Strike (P S) M K G 519

Village Industries

A Much Needed Advice J C. K 503
A Noble Lead J C K 140
Equity in Taxation J C K. 187
First Things First I C K. 114
From the A. I V-A Board Meeting J. C. K 483
Gram Sevak Vidyalaya J. C. K 160
Hand-made Sugar J. C K 329
Khadi and Village Exhibition J C K. 78
Large-scale Industries and Human Development J C K. 368
More Progress J C K. 142
Planning with Village Bias II, III, IV SWAMI ANAND 5, 34,55
Science Runs Amuck J. C. K. 125
Swadeshi (P. S.) M. K G. 211
The Village Industries (P. S) M. K. G 480
Wanted Corn not Currency VINOBA 94
What are Village Industries? J. C K 273

Women

A Woman's Dilemma M K G. 12
A Word to Kasturba Workers (P. S.) M. K G. 477
Kasturba Trust Workers at Wah Camp S. N 355
Medical Work under Kasturba Trust S. N. 199
With the Kasturba Trustees N. K. Bose 313

OUR PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

	Price	Postage etc
The Story of My Experiments with Truth	7 0 0	0 13 0
Satyagraha in South Africa	4 8 0	0 11 0
Non-violence in Peace and War — Vol I	7 0 0	0 11 0
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	2 0 0	0 6 0
From Yeravda Mandir	0 8 0	0 2 0
Hind Swaraj	0 8 0	0 2 0
Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence	2 0 0	0 8 0
Women and Social Injustice	3 0 0	0 8 0
Delhi Diary	3 0 0	0 10 0
The Nation's Voice	3 0 0	0 10 0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government (1942-44)	2 8 0	0 8 0
Constructive Programme — Its Meaning & Place	0 6 0	0 2 0

BOOKS BY OTHERS

	Price	Postage etc.
Constructive Programme — Some Suggestions	0 8 0	0 2 0
The Gita According to Gandhi	4 0 0	0 10 0
The Story of Bardoli	2 8 0	0 10 0
Practical Non-violence	0 12 0	0 2 0
Economics of Khaddar	2 0 0	0 6 0
A Discipline for Non-violence	0 10 0	0 2 0
Survey of Motar Taluka	2 0 0	0 10 0
Practice & Precepts of Jesus	1 8 0	0 7 0
Christianity - Its Economy and Way of Life	1 8 0	0 7 0
Clive to Keynes	0 12 0	0 2 0
To Women	0 6 0	0 2 0
Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity	1 8 0	0 7 0
Selections from Gandhi	4 0 0	0 10 0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE, Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

Spin He Must

Reg. No. B3032

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No. 28 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 12 1948 TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

POST-MORTEM CONDITION OF THE SOUL

Q. "We cannot say if the dead commune with the living, but there is not the least doubt about the fact that the living do influence the dead." (Gandhiji's words as reported in the *Harijan* dated 25-7-'48, p. 179) Can you give a reasoned explanation for the last assertion?

A. No. I am unable to assert or deny anything about the post-mortem condition of the individual soul. I have so trained myself that I do not feel anxious or curious about my post-mortem future. Gandhiji has expressed the exact scope of his faith about it in definite terms. Incidentally, a fitting elucidation of that faith will be found in the speech of H. E. Shri Rajagopalachari at Sevagram reported elsewhere in these columns.

Wardha, 28-8-'48

GANDHIJI ON BOMBAY

Q. As late as 25th January last Gandhiji, while speaking on the formation of linguistic provinces had declared in his prayer meeting:

> 'After the formation of different provinces Bombay amongst them should not believe that it has nothing to do with Maharashtra, Maharashtra should not feel that it has now no relation with Karnatak. Karnatak should not think that it has no connection with Andhra.' (Delhi Diary Hindustani edition)

Do you think that this implied that Gandhiji had in his mind the formation of Bombay into a separate province as in the existing constitution of the Congress?

A. I do not think it would be proper to draw any such definite inference from this casual and illustrative remark. I do not know what opinion he would have expressed if a question on the point had been specifically put to him. I have a faint memory that when the Congress framed a new constitution for itself in 1934 Gandhiji suggested that Madras and Calcutta might be constituted into separate provinces like Bombay, but the suggestion was not approved by the leaders of those provinces and it was dropped. But even this I would not take as indicative of any definite mind on his part.

Independently of Gandhiji, my personal feeling is that (1) as far as possible, all areas speaking the same language should be placed under the same administration as a matter of convenience and (2) all cities with a population of ten lakhs or more should be constituted into separate provinces. This latter I regard as necessary not only on account of the greater cosmopolitan nature of the cities, but also in the interest of rural India. The present administration is a handicap to the villages. The cities though affecting only a small section of the people exercise such overpowering influence on government that rural India does not get sufficient facilities to grow. Otherwise I do not regard the existence of multi-linguistic provinces as an evil by itself. Rather there is something which can be urged in their favour. If good sense prevailed no great language or its speakers need suffer under multi-linguistic administration.

Wardha, 3-9-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Shri K. P. Khadilkar

The death of Shri K. P. Khadilkar at the age of 75 at Bombay on 26-8-'48 removes from our midst one of the first rank Marathi journalists. As junior colleagues of Lokamanya Tilak he and the late Shri N. C. Kelkar worked for a long time together in the field of journalism as his assistants. After the death of the Lokamanya there was a division in the ranks of his followers. Some of them like Shri Gangadharrao Deshapande, Shri Khadilkar and the late Shri Abhyankar of Nagpur threw their weight on the side of Gandhiji, while another section remained as a sort of opposition to Gandhiji's influence. Kakasaheb Khadilkar (as he was popularly called) started a new Marathi Daily at Bombay called the *Navakal* in support of the Congress movement under Gandhiji. He was a forceful writer and an eloquent speaker. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit and a master of the Marathi language. Besides his journalistic activity he wrote a scholarly commentary on some of the *Upanishads*. He also wrote several historical plays which became very popular on the Marathi stage. For some years past he lay ill in bed and the responsibility of his paper devolved upon his son, the present editor of the *Navakal*. To Shri Khadilkar personally his death must be regarded as a welcome deliverance. But that does not minimize the sense of loss to his numerous friends and relations. To them my sympathies.

Wardha, 31-8-'48

Wrong Abbreviations

Closely allied to the practice of using Roman initials is the wrong imitation of the English practice

of abbreviating Indian names When names are written as for instance (Dr.) Rajendra Prasad Haridas Lalji Jaiprakash Narain, (Sir) Tenali Vaidyanath Narayanan it is natural for an Englishman to think in conformity with the English practice, that the last part of each name is the family name and the rest a single or compound personal name of those individuals He would therefore refer to them in short as Dr Prasad Mr Lalji, Mr Narain, Sir Tenali, or Sir T V Narayanan and so on He may be excused for not knowing that Prasad is only a part of Rajendrababu's personal name, which could as well have been spelt Rajendraprasad, that Lalji was father of Haridas, and that the reference to Mr Lalji alone would convey to the Indian reader that Mr Haridas Lalji's father was referred to, that Jayaprakash Narain was a single compound name that in Sir Tenali Vaidyanath Narayanan, Tenali was the name of the place from which that gentleman hailed and might be regarded as the family name, Vaidyanath was his father's and Narayanan was his personal name and that according to the English practice might have been written Sir Narayanan Vaidyanath Tenali, so that with the title it would have been Sir Narayanan or Sir N V Tenali

But that is no reason for Indian journalists and broadcasters to imitate the English practice If names have to be abbreviated there are Indian ways of doing so e g- Rajenbabu, Shri Haridas, Shri Jaiprakash Sir Narayanan etc It sounds odd to the Indian ear to hear persons referred to as Dr Prasad Shri Narain (for Jaiprakash Narain), Sir Arcot (for Sir A Ramaswami Mudaliar), Dr Raman (for C Venkata Raman) — also often mispronounced रमण instead of रामन etc

Wardha 19-8-'48 K G M

Mahilashram, Wardha

The Mahila Seva Mandal Wardha which has been doing valuable work for the last 25 years in the sphere of women's education, has decided to widen the scope of its activity by instituting a series of five graded examinations at various centres They have been named Prarambhik, Pravesh Nitaa, Sumitra and Pharangatas

These examinations will ordinarily be held in the months of September and January every year In the current year, however, they will be held in November next on the 13th and 14th Candidates for examinations and persons interested in the opening of the centres at their places may please correspond with the Parikshaa Mantri, Mahilashram Wardha

THE NATION S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]
Edited by
C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*
Price *Rs Three* Postage etc. *As Ten*

RURAL SERVICE CAMPS

[Shri Vinoba was invited to open a village service training camp at Raughan near Indore on the Independence day The camp has been organized by Shri Bajanath Mahodaya a life worker and for some time a Minister of the old Indore State The following is a summary of Shri Vinoba s speech
—D M]

RESPONSIBILITY OF INAUGURATING A NEW ACTIVITY

Shri Vinoba said that he was generally unwilling to take part in the opening of an institution. It was a different thing if he was asked upon to conclude it because in the latter case he could feel that the work was now over and no further harm could occur if the work which had been carried on was not good. The wise men of India had laid down that the first step in wisdom was not to commence a new activity and the second was that of it was commenced to maintain it till its end. Accordingly whenever he was asked to open a new activity, he had to make sure as to how it would be conducted and maintained. One who consented to inaugurate an institution must consider himself as one of those who was responsible for its proper conduct He consented to take part in the opening of that camp because he could reasonably expect that those who had organized that camp would not leave the work incomplete or neglected. He consented also because he realized the importance of such camps

VILLAGE SERVICE — PIONEER WORK

He had some experience of this kind of work, said Shri Vinoba He was of opinion that such institutions could not be successfully carried on by persons who wanted to guide them from a distance without taking any personal part in their activities Village service was not a programme which could be successfully organized by people, however wise and intelligent but being away from the institution and desiring to have the work done through employees and volunteers It was still a work which was in its infancy. It had not a well-prepared code of instructions and technique in readiness It was pioneering and research work Those who had realized its importance and had some intuition for it must themselves in the beginning carry it on and through their own experience and work train others for that kind of service. They could train good workers only that way At any rate that was Shri Vinoba's way of organizing that work Whatever guidance he was capable of giving was due to his having earned on such work personally for several years He had always refused to send instructions or guide people from a distance or through speeches. He invited them to come and stay with him and see how he was doing it and to take such clues from it as they could

PLACE OF STATE AID

They had now come to a stage when possibly they could get some Government help in their activities. While he would not taboo acceptance of such help he would like to caution them It was possible that on account of the availability of State

help, they might extend the scope of their activities in larger areas than they could cope with The result would be that there would be extension without any depth A well which was rather narrow in circumference but deep enough to give a constant supply of water was better than a shallow tank capable of becoming a pool for breeding mosquitoes This caution was particularly necessary where training was concerned.

PLACE OF LECTURES AND SPEECHES

There was a fashion to arrange lectures and speeches in such camps To a certain extent those were necessary But they should remember that the more important thing was to teach through work and activity and the lectures must also have a bearing upon the work to be done Otherwise they might simply hear interesting talks on matters which had little bearing on their actual work.

ESSENTIAL SERVICES

Spinning grinding sweeping, ploughing, raising of vegetables and fruits were the more necessary and important means and methods of instruction in rural service camps than lectures on various topics The central objective was to increase the wealth of the villages and to improve their sanitation and health If they could not make a profitable use of the night-soil and manure, these rural service would fail The present day villages of India were nurseries of all sorts of diseases and exhibited a state of degeneration The sense of untouchability had become a great obstacle in the healthy progress of the villages. A village of about one thousand population lost annually three thousand rupees worth of manure because of the neglect of the night soil They could learn a good deal from China and Japan in this respect

IMPORT OF SWARAJ

He had been garlanded and presented with flowers at several places Only one or two individuals gave him some yarn There were hardly ten or twenty rounds in each It meant that the people had lost the spinning tradition. Some were of the opinion that spinning was no longer necessary as Swaraj had come But that meant that they wanted to lose Swaraj again If people forgot the main import of Swaraj its achievement would only provide a means to foment internal quarrels

HOW MODERN IMPERIALISM WORKS

In the new conditions of life imperialism of the old type had become a thing of the past. The Roman Empire had lasted for twelve centuries The British Empire could not do so for more than a century and a half No country would now be able to establish its imperialistic rule over another for a long time And so the new technique of the imperialists was to establish their influence over other countries not through direct government but through trade relations. That was what other countries would attempt to do over India hereafter

BE ALERT TO BE TRULY FREE

If the people did not remain alert and did not pay sufficient attention to the production of essential wealth in the country they would not be able to raise the poor from their fallen condition. It was absolutely essential that the villages should become self reliant and self sufficient in the matter of food and clothing and also in organizing their sanitation, education, defence and justice India would become free in the true sense of the word only when they could organize such villages

TRUE INDEPENDENCE

Gandhiji had a true idea of independence He had understood the importance of the villages and had therefore given the villages the place of honour in his programme He saw that India was a congregation of small villages and the development of villages was the development of India He also realized that the atmosphere for non-violence could be sustained only in a decentralized economy Violence was inevitable in centralization The political social and economic organizations of Europe had provided ample proof for this They had been unable to end war India could become truly free only if they could avoid such centralization and thereby show to the world an example of true independence They had not yet attained true freedom As a matter of fact none in the world had done so America and Russia also did not provide right examples of freedom In those countries even knowledge and opinions had become regimented and had to run in prescribed channels only Where there was not freedom even to form one's opinion, there could be no true independence

VILLAGE SERVICE—FUNCTION OF THE INTELLIGENT AND THE GIFTED

Returning to the topic of village service Shri Vinoba said that some people thought that intelligent people must be at the head of governments and various departments of the State They might also consider that professors and lecturers in universities should be intelligent people But they considered that ordinary dull people could be employed in primary education and village work That was a great fallacy Most intelligent and gifted people were needed for the training of the child A child was a raw brain which had to be carefully developed It was like creating infinity from zero Brahmaa created the world from nothing So it was with those who had to create good citizens out of babies and children

GANDHIJI'S IDEA OF SWARAJ

Gandhiji not only spoke to us of Swaraj but told us what his idea of Swaraj was He made the idea of Swaraj as requiring authority for serving the poor If people forgot that the authority which they had obtained would prove to be a power not of creation but of self-destruction, it would become a demonic power and a curse to the country It must be like the power of the railway engine which did not simply go itself but carried the whole train with it In the same way those in power should carry the whole country with them on their way to progress

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

17 8 48

HARIJAN

September 12 1948

SPIN HE MUST

(During the Civil Disobedience movement of 1932-33, Shri Mahadev Desai was placed on 10-3-32 with Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabhbhai at the Yeravda Central Prison. The Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad has just published the first volume of Mahadevbhai's Gujarati Diary of the period. It covers the period from 10-3-32 to 4-9-32. I give below a free translation of a few extracts from the Diary relating to Gandhiji's devotion to spinning and love for hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics. Please note that these are not the only items under each date. —K. G. M.)

11-3-32

Bapu described to me, while he spun, the alterations he had made in the *charkha*. He told me that he spins 250 yards every day at present. He complained that he was still feeling fatigued.

7-4-32

(Bapu) received a fine woolen carpet from Syria. It has dark red saffron-colour and ash-blue stripes with fine black designs. The letter accompanying it deserves to be copied in full:

"British Consulate,
Aleppo, Syria,
Sunday, Jan. 17, After Eng. service

"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

"The day has come when being in prison, I feel that you will be free to accept one of our Armenian National Colored *Kilims* spun and woven by the refugees. I am come to live and work amongst them in view of my country's debt towards these war victims who have passed through such horrors of death and also because I find that they are the child-nation "set in the midst of those at strife". The colours are red—sacrifice, sky-blue—hope, gold—the light.

'Yours with deepest gratitude for the message you are bringing to our world.

Moto Edith Roberto

12-4-32

(Bapu) wanted to dictate a letter. I was spinning at the time. Bapu observed, "He cannot be asked to stop spinning." Thereupon Vallabhbhai said, 'You can dictate it to me.' Bapu said, "All right. I'll not have pity on you." and he gave him the dictation.

13-4-32

There is pain in Bapu's left elbow bone, and also on the right thumb. But he seems to have made a vow for the last three days to spin 375 rounds every day. Dr. Mehta has advised complete rest to both the hands. But Bapu says, "The pain does not increase by spinning. It seems he has overworked on the wheel because of the national week. He was fatigued. Generally the spinning is over by 3 p.m. But as it was the last day of the week, he did not feel easy until he had spun 500 yards and so he continued to spin till he finished at 4 p.m. the required number of rounds.

14-4-32

Bapu seems to have determined to spin 500 yards daily henceforth. He was well exhausted today.

16-4-32

Who can defeat or understand Bapu in his insatiable greed—greed for service? There is pain in the hands, doctors disapprove, but he insists upon saying that the pain has nothing to do with spinning and has spun 405 rounds today. He says, "See how I progress!" Added to this is his greed for Urdu. He wants to refresh his knowledge of Urdu and to increase the practice of reading it quickly. Rathanabehn writes to him in Urdu. He sends replies in Urdu and asks her to show him his mistakes. He addresses her as his Teacher and signs himself her 'Pupil'. Not satisfied with this he has sent for all the Urdu books from the Prison Library and commenced reading them at the morning meal time.

17-4-32

I have referred to Bapu's greed yesterday. With the ostensible purpose of accepting the doctor's advice i.e. of giving rest to the left elbow-bone he has hit upon a new service. The *Yeravada Charkha* of Bardoli can be so adapted that the spindle can be suspended on the right side, so as to allow the wheel to be turned by the left hand. He commenced to spin in this manner today. I doubted if this would give him the necessary rest. For the left hand would be engaged in turning the wheel while the right would draw the thread. It would only change the place of fatigue on the two hands. Nevertheless Bapu commenced his experiment. I had tried this at Nasik when I had pain in my right hand, but not having succeeded in drawing any thread I gave up the attempt. But Bapu persisted. He continued his efforts for an hour and a half and span seven slivers. From the last sliver he could draw thread in the same way as with the other hand. He was pleased and said to me, "See! I have spun 95 rounds. I had a balance of 282 rounds in my favour yesterday, so the two together make up my undertaking of 375 rounds per day. I said, 'But Bapu, you get no rest in this!' Bapu replied, 'With practice this will bring me the necessary rest. But even if it did not it is a profitable business. Because in case the right hand refuses to work altogether, it is good to cultivate the left hand practice.'

18-4-32

Bapu made changes in the spindle-holder of the *Yeravda Charkha*. The axle-bearers of yesterday's wheel were not suitable, and so he fitted up his own wheel and continued his experiment on left hand spinning. The result was better than yesterday. He had spun 95 rounds in three and a half hours yesterday. Today he span 85 rounds in two and a half hours. Vallabhbhai remarked, "This is not paying. It is too late to form new habits now. You must carry on the old practice." Bapu said,

None can deny that I have made today good progress over yesterday Vallabhbhai said If the Ashram people come to know of this they will begin to spin with the left hand and a new sect will arise! Bapu said Of course, they will know I shall write to them At this Vallabhbhai became a little serious and said, "Then it would be better to teach every child to spin with both the hands" Bapu replied, "You are right. In Japan they do teach boys to use both the hands'

He wrote to Narandasbhai, telating how his experiment commenced, and the thoughts arising from it He recommended to the Ashram inmates to acquire the practice of doing every type of work with both the hands

An old man of 61 has sent today a piece of self-spun and self-woven khaddar for Bapu There must be so many of such devoted people in all the corners of India

MAHADEV DESAI

(*Translated from Gujarati*)

SHRI RAJAJI AT SEVAGRAM

Workers of about ten institutions of Wardha and Sevagram gathered together on the 27th to meet Shri Rajaji who paid his first visit to Sevagram after the demise of Gandhiji He regarded it more as a pilgrimage for himself than a Governor-General's gracious visit to a public institution He spent four hours visiting various institutions of Sevagram and having talks and chats with the inmates He was overwhelmed with feelings on entering Bapu's empty hut and threw himself down on Bapu's mattress which is always kept arranged in the same way as it used to be in Bapu's time, as if his arrival was always expected For a few minutes he remained motionless with tears Then gently getting up he sat behind the partition leaning against the eastern wall of the hut. The Ashram people had proposed to meet him in another hut but as he took his seat there, they all gathered together in Bapu's room and a short prayer was conducted by Shri Kashiben Gandhi and Shri Prabhakarji After two minutes' silence, Shri Kashiben sang Bapu's favourite hymn *Vaishnava jana to tane kahiye* and Prabhakarji led the *Ramdhun* Thereafter Rajaji visited Ba's hut and then one after the other various institutions, namely the Tahmi Sangh the Kasturba Dispensary and the Khadi Vidyalaya. He addressed a few words to the students and members of the Tahmi Sangh and then to the workers of Wardha and Sevagram at Mahadev Bhavan in the premises of the Khadi Vidyalaya The gathering numbered about three to four hundred

It was usual, Shri Rajaji said, for a visitor to say on such occasions that he was happy to meet them But he could not say as much on that visit He was indeed glad to meet them, but was overwhelmed with sorrow to see the house of Gandhiji

The traditional custom was that they could not celebrate a marriage along with a funeral ceremony But the occasion of his visit appeared something of that type But whatever misfortunes might come they should help one another to overcome them In that gathering for those who were young the Ashram was their field of action They could forget their sorrow by intense application to their work, and forgetting everything else through work. But it was difficult for those, who like himself were no longer young to forget their sorrows

It was a good thing that one of themselves a common man of the people, had been appointed to the highest office of the State The good did not consist in the fact that it was *he* who was made the Governor-General but the fact that it was a man belonging to the ordinary class who was so installed. It was that fact which gave particular gratification to the people in greeting him.

They — the workers — must now carry on their activities under the inspiration of that Original Source, who had created all these activities Bapu had left behind him many loyal and devoted workers who had served him while he was alive and who would now serve them hereafter They were their trustees who would guide and guard them. But they needed no trustees if they had faith in God

Bapu had tried to attain perfection by developing perfect detachment and conquest over desires but he had not attained the fullest detachment His love for his country and his countrymen and his desire to see them happy and progressing towards good had remained till the end This might be considered as his imperfection It was believed that if a man died with his desires unsatisfied his spirit would hover round over the institutions which he had created for working out his various ideas for the happiness of the country that is to say over the *charkhas* and the looms and the dispensaries and the patients there His spirit must always keep hovering round about them, feeling happy at every little activity that they might do in pursuance of his ideals and feeling agitated and dissatisfied when somebody did something which was bad and impure or contrary to his ideals Aberrations of the workers would make his spirit agitated and disturb his peace, and their good endeavours gladden it. If they kept his institutions pure and useful in the same way as they were when he was alive, it would give him peace If they spoiled them through their impure acts and thoughts they would not be able to give him any peace even if they prayed that his soul should attain peace

These institutions which he had raised himself, where he had lived and had worked out his various ideas, were more important memorials of him than where he died and was cremated People not only of India but from all over the world would be anxious to visit these centres and would want to see them actively carrying on the activities which he had started and also go around the places in which he had lived and worked He hoped that every child, young and old person there would do his or her level best to keep the atmosphere of these

institutions always pure and clean and to make them thrive with industriousness and love in accordance with his ideals

After taking his forenoon meals at the Ashram he left for Nagpur at about 1-30 p m.

Wardha, 28-8-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

ROMAN INITIALS

The editor of the Bengali *Harijan Patrika* drawe my attention to the rather queer way in which initials in Roman letters are being used and have often to be compulsorily used in Indian languages Thus, for instance if a person is referred to or signs himself in an English communication as G P K. and the translator does not know what these letters stand for, and has to refer to him in an Indian language communication he is compelled to transliterate these as *Jee Pee Kay* These convey, if at all, absolutely a wrong idea of the name For the name may well be Ghanasbyam Purusbottam Kher the proper initials for which would be *Gha* (घ) *Pu* (पु) *Khe* (खे) in the alphabets of the Sanskrit system

It sounds very queer to the ear when you hear an Indian language radio pronouncing the Governor-General's name as Shri Si (C) Rajagopalachari. Either the whole word Chakravarti ought to be uttered or that initial should be dropped altogether If it is necessary to refer to the initials, the first syllables of all these names should be given instead of the Roman letters say, Cha (च) Raa (रा) and not Si (सी) Aar (आर)

It is difficult to correct a wrong practice when once it has become hardened It can be done only with the help of the authors of such names If I indicate at some place or in the signature my full name or at least the first syllables le g *Ka Gha Ma* instead of K. G M), even in English the difficulty of the Indian translator could be removed But it would appear equally odd in English In South India they have adopted the rather unusual and equally odd course of putting down Roman initials mixed up with Indian script thus T S N ट स न (Rao)

As long as our names come to our ears initially through English this oddity will persist I would suggest that translators into Indian languages when they do not know what the initials stand for, should in such cases render such initials as K G M. into क ग म (*Ka Ga Ma*) and not के जी एम (*Ke Jee Em*) being neater to the correct name, if not absolutely so Of course if the name is familiar, it should be rendered correctly, as कि घ म. (*Ki Gha. Ma*) in my case

Wardha, 19-8-48 K G M

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs Four* Postage etc *As Ten*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ASSAM

In Assam the main production centres round rice but the province imports articles such as *dal*, oil, sugar textile goods, leather goods and kerosene oil The implications of this economy is that unless Assam is in a position to produce the requisite surplus of rice to meet all its imports, it will always be rapidly drifting towards poverty because all the imported articles have to be paid for out of local products As conditions are it does not appear as though Assam can afford to import great many articles as the surplus production is small. The way Assam can solve its own problem of poverty is by a twofold programme One is to increase its own products and the other is to restrict its imports

Its own production may be increased by trying to produce all the articles it needs For instance, it may produce mustard oil seed in larger quantity and crush that seed by bullock *ghanis* ready for the consumers Similarly its hides instead of being exported can be tanned locally and the leather utilized It may also import raw cotton, spin it into yarn and have it woven for its use. Assam has a great tradition of weaving amongst its womenfolk. While this tradition is being preserved, we must also build up hand-spinning as an industry to feed the local looms In this way, if we can produce cloth so much of the paddy that is now being exported to obtain cloth from Bombay or Ahmedabad would be saved in favour of the people on the land to enrich the diet of the people and improve their economic condition by taking up all the slack moments and utilizing them for gainful occupations

Introduction of large-scale industries such as Rice Mills, Oil Mills, Sugar Mills, Textile Mills and Paper Mills for other than newsprint will ultimately lead to unemployment and consequent poverty It is a short-sighted policy and the Assam Government would be well advised to reconsider their programme and lay out a fairly wise and long-range plan which will supply the needs of the people rather than let the glamour of it catch the eyes of greedy industrialists

One of the peculiar problems of Assam is the question of settling tribal people This requires a considerable amount of study of their habits and their requirements At the present time their system of cultivation is very primitive They have to be sympathetically brought into settling down in low areas and educated into adopting better methods of living. This is one of the main responsibilities of every Assamese and if it is taken up as such, I have no doubt that the primitive tribes will soon contribute their share to the Assamese culture

Another question that needs consideration is the relationship of the foreign tea-planters in the province as citizens We have to review their position to see if they are contributing their equitable share to the wellbeing of the province and that the labourers of the tea estates do not become merely

drawers of water and hewers of wood. With the departure of the British the growing of tea as a commercial product may also have to be reviewed in our country which is short of food and other prime necessities, production should be centred round commodities for use rather than for exchange

One is struck by the existence side by side of the luxuriant growth of grass and foliage along with the skinny bony condition of the cattle This phenomenon would seem to be the result of a lack of a balanced diet for the cattle They do not get any concentrates like oil cakes The proximity of the tea gardens attracts what little oil cakes are available for manural purposes One is also surprised at the comparatively good condition of the cattle at the tea plantations themselves The poor condition of the animals calls for the immediate attention of the Government to have a thorough study of their feed etc made and to take adequate measures to improve both the breed and the availability of proper fodder

Assam has been blessed by nature in many ways including natural scenery and beauty Consequently the people are artistic and inclined towards handicrafts and small industries If proper leadership is forthcoming and if the Government is well-advised, the people's activity can be channelled into such ways as to contribute not only to production to meet their economic needs but to their cultural growth I trust therefore, that the newly attained freedom will be utilized for the good of the common man rather than in attempts to exploit him

J C KUMARAPPA

THE CHRISTIANS OF JASHPUR

In the *Harijan* dated 23-5-48 Shri Thakkarbapa in the course of an article entitled *Unexplored States of Chhattisgarh in C P* had referred to the missionary activities of the Christians in the Jashpur State of Chhattisgarh The following sentence occurred in that article

> 'Converted Orsons of Jashpur State are no better than rice Christians of China. They are converted merely for the sake of their belly and nothing else

This unfortunate sentence has deeply hurt the Christian leaders of that State and I have received several letters emphatically protesting against this slander of theirs before the world I regret I missed its import while editing, for Shri Thakkarbapa had generously allowed me permission to make necessary changes The condemnation of a whole community in a generalized manner is always painful to the feelings of the readers concerned In this poverty-stricken and caste-ridden land of ours it should not be taken as surprising if there are some who are induced to change their religion out of materialistic considerations In societies more educated and polished and also better socially placed, we come across people who sell their daughters and even wives honour for economic considerations If, therefore, some famine-stricken people and people in continuous poverty were induced to save themselves by accepting conversion to a particular religion or sect I do not think that much blame attaches to them

And because there are people who may have been induced to be converted on materialistic considerations could all converts be condemned on this ground? If we examine the matter deeply the fault lies not in the conversion to Christianity or Islam or any other religion, but in the application of different laws of marriage inheritance, and rules of social conduct food dress etc, accompanying the conversion to these two religions If the faith were to change without change in society conversion to Christianity or Islam would not have any more political or social importance than that to, say, the Arya Samaj This needs to be remedied by enacting common laws for all citizens irrespective of their creeds But this matter apart, what we must look at is whether, on the whole, the standard of life intelligence and morals of the converts have not improved in comparison with those of their unconverted kinsmen And from this point of view, if, for one have believed that the missionary activities have had a beneficial effect upon the backward classes of our country may not only on the backward classes even upon the more advanced classes It was not without discovering something of intrinsic worth in Christianity—something which was not easily to be had from Hinduism or Islam as they exist in India (on side of Gandhiji's influence), that men like Manishankar Ratnaji Bhatt, N V Tilak, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar and so many others in all parts of India were induced to accept that faith. I received part of my school and college education in missionary institutions, and I owe much to my Christian teachers,—even their Bible classes sermons, songs and prayers —in spite of at times, their uninformed and bigoted criticism of Hinduism, for whatever broad outlook I possess Nothing is an unmixed good or an unmixed evil and Christianity like British rule itself, has had its dark side also But, on the whole I believe that the introduction of Christianity in India has not been disadvantageous to our people Both Hinduism and Islam needed to come into contact with it

Coming specifically to the Christians of Jashpur, the correspondents have questioned the correctness of Shri Thakkarbapa's statement of facts Without desiring to allow this controversy to go on, I think that in fairness to the correspondents I should allow one of their representatives to represent his view of the facts

> 'You are not aware that we poor aborigines, have made and are making heavy sacrifices for the education of our children.
>
> 'Thanks to the Jesuit Fathers we have long ago understood the need of education We have made some progress and, had it not been for the wooden policy of the State administration we would have made much more

We were [illegible] to a de[illegible] for our pigs but not [illegible] a hut for the ed[illegible] of our children It has taken us 30 years to secure permission to erect any village schools Yet we started classes long ago in many villages Our children gathered under trees or in abandoned house in a stable in a verandah and there for many years together our schools have been going on And in these miserable schools we paid fees for we are not beggars

Then some of our children went to the various Mission Middle Schools The 300 boys and 150 girls in Ghatsasha and the 400 boys and 160 girls in Gholong pay the tuition fees prescribed by the Code and some extra fee besides The 500 who are hostels in those schools are not fed by the Mission It is we their parents who feed them It is we who carry on our shoulders from our homes the whole amount of rice and *dal* that will be needed for the whole school year and, as to vegetables it is our children who by working daily in the garden help in growing them For we are not beggars nor rice Christians as dear Thakkarbapa thinks

It was only in 1946 that we were at least allowed to erect 37 village school buildings We, poor aborigines built those 37 schools at our own expense and with our own labour We still require many more schools and we shall work towards that end.

We have helped substantially with our own money and with our labour towards the erection of the 5 Central Middle Schools for boys and the 2 Central Middle Schools for girls—the only institutions of that standard outside Jashpuranagar

'True, the Mission also had to run into debt in order to complete the work and maintain such large establishments for under the wooden administration of the Political Department, not a pice of building grant or of grant in aid was ever given And moreover the Mission does wholly maintain some orphans and cripples and runs dispensaries and other works of charity

We pay rents and the school cess as every one else and on top of it we build our own schools in which we pay fees for the education of our children without any return from the State This has been going on for years.

'We have been groaning under this unjust treatment We have often found the burden crushingly heavy but we have not given up our schools

Yes we are poor much poorer than many Harijans who enjoy scholarships and free student ships and what not We poor aborigines have been neglected all along

'We had hoped that with the merger of 1 1-'48 an era of equity and justice was being ushered in Will our hopes be frustrated because we are Chr[illegible] [illegible] not prepared to give up Christianity If veteran and venerable servants of the country and friends of the poor like Thakkarbapa who wield undisputed influence in Government circles publicly set their face against the converted Oraons of Jashpur our hopes of relief are gone for ever

I have no authority to give any assurance on behalf of any government But I am sure that Shri Ravishankar Shukla the Premier of C P no less than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, believes in the absolutely secular basis of the Indian State and under his government no citizen need apprehend that he will be unjustly treated because of his caste or creed

Wardha 29-8-48 K G MASHRUWALA

Literature By and About Gandhiji

During Gandhiji's lifetime and now much more after his demise we have been receiving inquiries regarding literature by and about him As it happens we have been mainly responsible in bringing out his writings in book form To be helpful, therefore in regard to such enquiries we have now brought out a complete up-to-date catalogue of our publications in English and three Indian languages, viz Gujarati Hindustani and Marathi

This catalogue however does not and of course cannot give an adequate idea of the vast mass of literature by and about Gandhiji We have therefore undertaken to bring out a complete catalogue of Gandhian literature which is already in press and will be out by the end of October A thorough attempt to include all books bearing on the subject in as many Indian Languages as possible as well as in English has been made and we have no doubt all lovers of Gandhian literature will find this publication a very reliable and useful guide This catalogue will at least indicate the name of the book, the publisher and the price in each case

Our own catalogues are available at our office here and at all our branches

The larger one will also be available at these places as soon as it is ready for sale

Ahmedabad, 8-9-1948 JIVANJI DESAI

CONTENTS

		PAGE
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	237
RURAL SERVICE CAMPS	VINOBA	238
SPIN HE MUST	MAHADEV DESAI	240
SHRI RAJAJI AT SEVAGRAM	K G MASHRUWALA	241
ROMAN INITIALS	K G M.	242
FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ASSAM	J C KUMARAPPA	242
THE CHRISTIANS OF JASHPUR	K.G MASHRUWALA	243
NOTES		
SHRI K F KHADILKAR	K G M	237
WRONG ABBREVIATIONS	K G M	237
MAHILASHRAM WARDHA		238
LITERATURE BY AND ABOUT GANDHIJI	JIVANJI DESAI	244

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad
Subscription Rates — INDIAN One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Currency Problem

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 29 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 1948 TWO ANNAS

HIS PERSEVERENCE

[Last week I gave a few extracts from M D's Diary showing Gandhiji's insistence for spinning. This week, I give a few showing his perseverence in it. —K G M.]

10-5-'32

Bapu was full of enthusiasm as he had been able to spin upon the *Magan Charkha* with the right hand yesterday Sómehow the *charkha* would not work today He had told Vallabhbhai in the morning " It will work if your curse does not fall upon it! " He practised from 9 to 10 a m , with the only result that some slivers were wasted Vallabhbhai (sarcastically) remarked, " Ah! Is that your second bobbin after finishing the first ?" It was no better in the afternoon He tightened the cord on the drive-wheel, oiled the joints and set right various points I also tried my intelligence a little, but it would not work Vallabhbhai after he awoke from his afternoon nap said ' You have spun too much today, now you must stop it Bapu replied " Yes, yes I *have* spun. My caravan is not going to stop After all, have I not taken seat with Samuel Hoare ? ' Vallabhbhai observed, ' Yes, I see plenty of what you have spun, — on the ground below ! In the evening even Vallabhbhai had not the heart to cut jokes Bapu began to spin with his left hand He must have worked at it for nearly five hours He was quite exhausted in the evening and began to feel sleepy before 8 p m as his legs were being massaged. He got up and took to bed As he was going to the bedstead, he remarked to Vallabhbhai " You will see that the *charkha* will work tomorrow Faith is Might Vallabhbhai said, " Here too, faith ! " Bapu said, "Of course, of course, faith, there must be '

11-5-'32

Bapu succeeded better on the *charkha* today He span 131 rounds in three hours. He told Vallabhbhai, " See the result today ?" Vallabhbhai said, "Oh yes there is plenty of it, on the floor!" Bapu replied, ' Even their *sutar-feni** will stop Will you then admit that I have done well ?"

12-5-32

This morning Bapu observed while spinning, This is a great lesson I said ' There is no need to say it We are witnessing it Bapu replied, No, I do not say it in that sense The fact that I take so much trouble at the age of 63 may seem to you a lesson. But what is an extremely fine lesson to me" is that I feel so very much *interested* in this work at this age. The satisfaction of labour is something unique The mother knows the satisfaction of labour at the time of delivery

He had become quite fatigued after three hours of spinning So at night while his legs were being massaged he said, ' I shall now lie down " But after the massage was over he was fresh again and dictated a long letter And it was not an ordinary one but full of philosophical discussions

(*Translated from Gujarati*) M D

* There is a pun on the word *sutar feni* Literally it means loosely wound thread but it is the name of a well-known sweet so called because it looks so

NOTES

The Qaid e-Azam

The constant conflicting reports of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's healthiness and illness did not allow one to get a correct idea of his real condition, and the news that he expired last night came too unexpectedly to me this morning to enable me to write about him in the current issue of the *Harijan* Pakistan has lost her great founder and leader and his removal from her midst is a great calamity to the Government and people of that dominion I hope they will bear it with becoming dignity and fortitude. As one who will always believe that India and Pakistan together form a single natural *mulk* (country) and a single nation no matter how many administrative divisions it might from time to time form and break, when I say that I extend my sympathies to my countrymen of Pakistan let me not be misunderstood to mean Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan but to my Muslim countrymen of Pakistan also My sympathies also to Begum Fatima Jinnah, the Qaid-e-Azam's sister,

Wardha 12-9- 48

Janab Shoebullah Khan

The tragic murder and other atrocities which are taking place every day in the Hyderabad State and in the bordering areas of Indian Provinces include among the victims several good workers also It is extremely distressing to read the descriptions of the cruel manner in which many of them have been put to death Janab Shoebullah Khan the young editor of the *Imroz* an Urdu daily published from Hyderabad is one of these victims His crime consisted in his condemnation of the miscule prevailing in the State, its communalism and fanaticism,

and the barbarity of the Razakars He was an advocate of non-communalist democracy

His brother-in-law, who assisted him in his work has also been seriously wounded and lies in a hospital. The Khansaheb was less than thirty at the time of his death He leaves behind him his widow and two children, the youngest being born only four days after his death. In an outburst of fanatic politics, the death of a person at the hands of his own communalists for his courage of condemning madness and fury is a hopeful sign When friendly relations are ultimately restored, as they must some day after the mists have rolled away, it is these victims who will be remembered with gratitude as the foundation-stones of a united nation With heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved relations of the late Khansaheb I cannot but also congratulate them for having had the privilege of being related to a national hero. His bereavement is a great loss to them as well as to the nation, his martyrdom is not

Wardha, 10-9-48

Floods and Famine

The news of heavy floods in the Punjab and U P is distressing As if the destruction and havoc which men caused through the blindness born of their own wickedness, folly and ignorance had not been enough equally blind and undiscerning Nature has visited them with further calamities by incessant rains and overflow of rivers and further threatens Western India with famine

I hope people from all over India will render all such assistance as they can for relieving distress of the unhappy victims It would be a dangerous Swaraj indeed if the people rested under a false sense of security or complacency that, now that there is a national government, people are relieved of rendering any humanitarian service or charity of their own initiative and sentiment and through unofficial social service organizations Swaraj is to be taken advantage of for rendering these services more effectively than before

Wardha, 10-9-48 K. G M

Correction

The editor of the Bengali edition of the *Harijan* (*Harijanpatrika*) writes to correct that Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar never became a Christian. Readers are therefore requested to omit the word Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar from line sixty in the article *The Christians of Jashpur*

In *Harijan* of September 5, 1948, on p 230, column 2, in line 5 of para 3 for *expecting* read *expect* and in line 3 from the bottom for *further* read *farther*.

A BHANGI BY CHOICE

Dr Deshraj Bhangi, B Sc, Homeopath, E. Punjab, is regarded by society as a *khatri* by birth. He also considered himself to be so But under the influence of Gandhiji's writings and the teachings of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, he gave up that notion But though he had mentally relinquished his *khatri*-ism he continued to put down 'Bat' as his family name, which by itself was indicative of his *khatri* caste Once he read Gandhiji having said to someone to the effect that if a man considered himself as Gandhiji's follower he ought to proclaim himself a *bhangi* On that very day he changed his surname from 'Bat to 'Bhangi'

But thereafter he began to feel that it would be hypocrisy on his part merely to call himself a *bhangi*, without becoming a scavenger in reality So he began to work every morning for one hour with the *bhangis* of Lahore for a period of two years This gave him some insight into the life of the *bhangis*, their wants and frustrations, helplessness and sorrows Also, he got first-hand knowledge of scavenging work

On account of his association with *bhangi* work betrothal to a girl of his own caste was cancelled from her side During this very period Dr Deshraj read a statement by Gandhiji that he would thereafter bless only such couples of whom one of the parties was a Harijan This made the doctor to decide that he should marry only a Harijan girl, if one, who could fit in with his ideals in every respect, could be found He understood that Gandhiji's expectation from such a marriage was that the couple would thereafter dedicate itself to the service of Harijans Gandhiji's blessing was indeed a thing to be got at a very high cost. Ultimately, he was able to find a Harijan lady who proved to be better than he had expected. Dr Bhangi was not very hopeful of this result For he thought that it was hardly possible that a cultured Harijan lady would consent to marry a Hindu belonging to a caste, which had under a false claim of superiority, always ill-treated and boycotted the Harijans and thereby proved its own moral degeneration and meanness of mind So when he found that this young lady consented to marry him, he felt glad that he had been able to take his first step in the direction of Gandhiji's expectations Dr Bhangi says that his wife is a B A. B T, a good writer and an eloquent Hindi speaker Besides, she knows painting and is very particular about cleanliness and purity of life She wears pure khadi, believes in the equality of all and communal unity and takes great interest in Harijan service

The two have now engaged themselves in village service They render free medical service to *bhangis* and also carry on educational activities among their children Who can doubt that if Bapu had been alive, he would have conferred his love and blessings on this couple?

Wardha, 9-9-48 K G MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—VII

Economic Problems and Remedies

Addressing the weekly prayer meeting at Rajghat last Friday (3-9-1948) Shri Vinoba referred to the topic of the day viz the problem of high prices He said that the Government had appointed a Committee which had made its suggestions He had also offered a few suggestions and he wanted to speak about them that evening

Revenue in Kind

One of Shri Vinoba's suggestions was that land revenue should be collected in kind He was glad that only one member had opposed it on the ground that the proposal took the country back to mediaeval economy It was not a cogent objection if it helped the solution. He was sure it did so. Moreover, there was a difference between his suggestion and the mediaeval system He advocated a fixed quantity of the produce in place of a definite amount in money The old system was to take a definite share of the actual produce which would vary from year to year His suggestion strengthened the Government and relieved the people It was unbearable that the *kisan* should be required to sell his produce in order to pay his taxes That what the *kisan* produced should be dishonoured and what he did not possess be demanded of him was an insult to him and had no justification whatsoever

Protection to Khaddar

Shri Vinoba's second suggestion was in respect of khaddar It was very necessary that the Government should announce their policy of assistance in this connection The producer of cotton should be offered all facilities for manufacturing the cloth. It would eliminate the shortage of cloth The *kisan* did not understand why his leaders, who had always advocated khaddar, did not approach him now and he awaited the fulfilment of their promise

The charkha must also be introduced in the school curriculum The atmosphere of craft and industry which it would produce had its own place Such an atmosphere was the need of the hour Children who would master the art in the schools would carry the message to their parents, and a wave of craft and industry would spread over the whole country Government should also purchase the extra yarn from the *kisans* and charge the textile mills the extra cost for thus was the responsibility He was convinced that mill yarn had not the capacity to offer the necessary relief to the class of hand-loom weavers in the country, numbering not less than twenty lakhs

No more Wounding the Rice

Referring to the food deficiency he condemned the wounding (polishing) of rice and pointed out that as much as 12% of the nutritive value was lost in the process It was a moral crime thus to destroy the nutritive value when the country was regularly importing food and floods and heavy rains damaged the crops Apart from this the process caused a loss of 15 % in weight also He was told that at present the rice was only partly pounded But the figures showed that even the partial wounding caused a loss of at least 10 % in weight

Shri Vinoba gave the instance of C. P and Berar where according to the figures he had obtained from Shri R K Patil the Food Minister of the Province, rice amounting to three lakhs of tons was procured and thirty thousand tons were lost in the process of this semi pounding This waste ought to be immediately checked. Besides growing more food it was also necessary that what was produced should be properly utilized

Waste No Land

Shri Vinoba also asked why large areas of cultivable land were put under tobacco cultivation, when the country was so short of food and the slogan of 'Grow More Food' was being run He knew that some of the best land was under tobacco cultivation in Karnatak, Andhra and other places The merchants were glad that the tobacco trade flourished and that the Englishman would purchase Indian tobacco in place of the American. But all this should be stopped and every inch of the land should be utilized for producing food

No more Imports of Food

Gandhiji had gone to the length of suggesting that vegetables should be grown instead of flowers in pot-gardening Gandhiji's suggestion was not to be laughed away There was a stimulus in it for strengthening the will power of the masses

Importation of food-stuffs had no justification whatsoever and a day might be fixed by which this would be put a stop to once for all at any cost. If this was done and collective action taken accordingly, the strength of the nation would increase and the food problem would be solved.

One-eyed People

The Committee of experts had recommended postponement of the prohibition programme. He was not astonished that experts should make such a suggestion, but he would maintain that the good of the country lay in refusing to accept that recommendation Experts were like one-eyed people who could look at a problem from only one side. They did not consider problems in their totality They would not remain experts if they did so In examining their advice, it was necessary to look at things from all the sides

Refuse Their Advice

The question of prohibition was an important part of the Congress programme. It could not be put in cold storage without considerable loss not only to the prestige of the organization but also to the morality of the nation. The freedom to carry on anti-drink agitation had been expressly safeguarded even in the Gandhi-Irwin pact Women had shed their blood in the cause The shastras spoke of five great sins Drink was one of them, and the fifth sin consisted in giving co operation to the remaining four The nation must save itself from that sin. But, apart from sentiment everyone knew how injurious the evil of drink was Considering all that, Shri Vinoba hoped that action would not be taken on that one sided suggestion

(Translated from Hindustani) D M.

HARIJAN

September 19 1948

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM

Inflation and high prices have been engaging the serious attention of the Government of India and the public The Government of India invited conferences of industrialists economists and experts to suggest a way out of the difficulties They are no doubt intelligent learned and capable men They are also well posted with statistics and understand international trade and politics But the facts are that hardly any one of those who have been called to advise is much the worse personally by reason of the evils he is asked to remedy Several of them, indeed, have, so far, profited by what appears to the general public as calamities Not only the great World War but even the partitions the great migrations, the Kashmir War, the threatened hostilities with the Nizam the scarcity of food, sugar milk ghee cloth kerosene, wood, charcoal houses, fodder, oil-cakes and a dozen other things (except perhaps petrol for motor-cars) have hardly reduced their comforts or lowered their standard of life Rationing has not seriously affected their pre-war mode of life An order not to feed more than a handful of guests at the same party has not created a serious problem — social or economical — for them Most of them have been in a position to circumvent all control restrictions with the aid of the plenty of currency they possess and are able to attract towards themselves They can feed a few hundred guests without any rationed article whatever Their approach to the problems is merely objective.

Subjectively several of them are interested in things going on as they are Howsoever honestly and sympathetically they might attempt to think their instinct of self-preservation will not persuade them to regard any remedy as "a practical proposition", if it will subject their class to a considerable reduction of their gains and comforts

The second fact is that it is the political, industrial and economic theories and policies of these political and industrial magnates themselves that have created the present mess They still pin their faith in the same theories and policies, which have thrown the world into the present troubles By its very nature they cannot be expected to suggest the true remedies A speculator who has brought his firm to the verge of bankruptcy and yet pins his faith in hedging contracts and speculative trading cannot rescue the firm out of the difficulty. For he follows the policy of the Gujarati proverb "a losing gambler plays with double zeal If he gets out of the muddle it would be sheer accident and play of forces outside his ken and control

The third fact is that whatever the university professors might say in their text-books on Economics, the ruling economic theory all over the world is still the mercantile theory Currency whether backed by gold or silver or some intangible credit is not merely the standard of measurement of wealth but continues to be regarded as wealth itself Though by itself incapable of providing or producing any real need of life, it is invested with the power of producing interest, by a mere change in the place of depositing it. It is forgotten that payment of interest is reduction of either production of wealth or of necessaries Mercantilism cannot think so deep

The suggestions made by industrialists and economists as far as can be judged from the reports appearing in the Press suffer from the drawbacks mentioned above For instance some of the suggestions are as follows

1 Government must increase its revenue and reduce its expenditure For this purpose, prohibition should be suspended or slowed down expenditure on social educational and welfare activities should be limited expenditure for rehabilitation of refugees and Kashmir operations should not be met out of revenue expenditure, but from borrowings (i e., should be thrown on the future generations)

2 Production should increase and for this Capital must be induced to give up her shyness by abolition of Capital Gains Tax allowing the rate of dividends to go up to 6% re-enunciating an assuring industrial policy, recalling savings made by farmers and factory workers not entertaining any intention to reduce the value of the present currency liberally importing main necessaries of life such as food-grains kerosene, matches also capital goods, steel scarce minerals and essential raw materials of industry

3 No doubt, mention is made of encouraging agriculture But in the background of the above, it would be surprising if it did not mean increase of industrial and commercial agriculture — i e money-crops like tobacco, cotton, tea coffee sugar-cane etc

4 It has been suggested that a standing advisory committee or committees of representatives of economists businessmen and labour should be created to help the Government in implementing their policy There is no mention of representatives of village or cottage or small industries rural labourers and workers farmers cattle-breeders and consumers with limited and fixed incomes The person whom the shoe of high price and inflation pinches is conspicuous by his omission

5. There is a superstitious faith in the power of controls, penal laws, fixing of legal prices rationing etc — methods which have been tried and untried, with the uniform result that they have failed to bring relief to the real sufferer or perceptibly affect the profiteer or the black-marketeer

With great deference to the learned economists, influential experienced and talented men, and political leaders I humbly submit that the various suggestions made by these bodies, even if honestly

and fully implemented, will not bring the desired relief to the nation, or lead it on to the path of prosperity The way which they follow and show is the well-known road which ultimately leads to insolvency It awaits the bankruptcy of one big country and a few big industrialists to bring about the ruin of several smaller ones Their seeming prosperity is nothing but borrowing rupees five lakhs to pay off rupees one lakh in the hope that the new loan would bring more profits It, of course allows him to run his establishment for a time on a pleasant scale Long association with particular channels of thinking and habits of doing things has incapacitated them from looking at the root of the evil and from taking the courage to do what is right, even when they realize its ultimate necessity It reminds me of a businessman who was very honest but brought up under the present business system His affairs were getting complicated Shri Jamnalal Bajaj and I clearly saw that the only thing that could save him was to pay up all the creditors (as he had sufficient assets) wind up the business, and make a new start in life on a smaller scale But he could not muster up that courage and tried to manage by involving himself into further entanglements Fortunately for him Providence took mercy on him and a brief illness put an end to his worries His children who were free from the traditional complex accepted Shri Jamnalal's advice and withdrew from the business, paying up all the creditors and collecting what outstandings they could without recourse to litigation and starting life in an humbler way.

What was true for him is true for the whole nation — nay the world We have destroyed an immense amount of world's wealth in devastating wars Not a pie of the huge amounts spent every day for twelve years or more in different parts of the world produced anything but evil All that money did nothing except destroy cities, men, women children cattle property and also itself The war-mongering mentality still persists both among the victors *inter se* as well as the vanquished And this is sought to be maintained through sham money and extravagant uneconomic industrialism

They have been all talking of increasing production But may I venture to ask, what is that they want to produce, for whom, and in what way? To take only a few instances, there is no dearth of sugar stocks in India But an insufficient and inefficient system of transport will not make it available to the people It is said that cloth is not sufficient; and yet large quantities are exported or smuggled outside the borders It is said that the production of food must be encouraged, but what is visible is the encouragement to grow tea or tobacco for the British smoker and the like

True, that currency should not be lightly played with, so as to destroy people's confidence in it. But surely you can find suitable alternatives for currency, so that there might be less necessity for printing new money, and the present paper currency might be encouraged to return to the treasury The present currency has become bad money Its return must be encouraged It can be done by permitting more valuable alternative legal tenders You can also recall the present currency by a new currency of a different type and issued on a new principle For instance you might exchange all one hundred and ten rupee notes at par by a fresh issue bearing a new date of issue and by legislating that these notes shall automatically be reduced by say one anna per rupee at the end of the year, in the hands of the bearer, but shall be exchanged at par if deposited in a bank during the last month of the year and such reduction would be repeated at the end of each year Thus a ten rupee note issued in 1949 would lose 10 annas in 1950 if still in circulation, but would fetch the full value and be paid with a new note if deposited in a bank before the end of the year It would be further reduced by Re 1-4-0 in 1951 and so on

To sum up the nation must wind up its present industrialism which thrives ultimately on wars foreign trade at the expense of the needs of the nation speculation, increase of luxuries and destructive weapons, and lavish way of living It must not rest on augmentation of debts whether called national or private "The capacity to borrow is the measure of credit" in its extreme application is the outlook of the ignorant peasant or the rash speculator and bankrupt trader and never of a steady and honest businessman Various countries have followed the same maxim, and gone on increasing the national debts, and not one of them has brought happiness and peace to even their own people, not to say the world To the world it has brought only imperialism and wars Money the most unproductive material in the world is superstitiously believed to be the mother of all wealth A yard is a measure of length and 5000 yards of cloth mean so much *cloth* and not so many *yard-sticks* And a cloth merchant does not stock 5000 yard-sticks if he wants to deal in 5000 yards of cloth But the possession of a field or house worth 5000 rupees is by a strange superstition for currency, regarded as of less advantage than that of 5000 pieces of paper or coins called rupees

Let the measure remain but it should remain as such and not as the essence of wealth It is by itself a barren thing and its barrenness must not be artificially concealed Payment of interest or dividend on money is the artificial concealment of its barrenness It is neither economical nor moral

Wardha 8-9-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE STORY
OF
MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)
By Gandhiji
Fifth Impression
With 11 Illustrations and Index
26 000 copies sold upto now
Pages 640 Price Rs 7, Postage etc. As 12
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

RE-JOINDER

[Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh of Purulia desires me to publish the following letter so that the readers of the *Harijan* might know the other side of the Manbhum controversy through its own spokesman I shall make my comments upon it in the next issue — K. G M]

I have read your *Amends* in the *Harijan* of the 8th August 1948 In this article you have omitted to consider our side It is not a matter of a particular circular only The entire situation must be taken into consideration.

We did not give you any impression that the circular was issued by the Bihar Government You somehow hurriedly mistook it Sjt. Bibhutibabu sent you also a copy of the resolution and he is of the impression that, if not at the top of the copy of the resolution, in the letter addressed to you by him he apprised you of the real position of the resolution But even if that impression is wrong, before any other person contradicting I hastened to point out to you the errors that occurred in your article You have not even mentioned it in your present article *Amends* Though unwittingly, this omission has caused us to be looked upon as guilty of supplying you deliberately some motivated wrong impressions to be exposed only by contradiction from other quarters We have also noted these two errors in our *Mukti* of 26th July last.

As to the 'plan and programme' in question I assert again that it was conceived and planned and is being worked out by the local officials in collaboration with many anti-Congress and anti-social elements of the district, and the authenticity of which would unmistakably be substantiated by us The 'plan and programme' is only a part of the whole picture More harmful and objectionable activities than what have been undertaken in the 'plan and programme' have been and are being perpetrated in Manbhum to supplant Bengali by Hindi in order to prevent the linguistic principle being applicable to Manbhum And the regrettable aspect of the picture is that all these activities including the purport of the plan and programme are being carried on with the help, direction and management from the Government which we have realized and experienced in many ways and from many authentic facts All these have been stated in my letter to you dated 13-7-'48 I am sorry that I should have to say in this way about those whom I cherish as my near colleagues and my own But the situation in Manbhum has become so poisonous so disorderly and the Congress work in the district has so obnoxiously been tried to be ruined and the civil liberties and the fundamental rights of the people are being jeopardized that I feel it imperative to relate all these things to you. This is not a matter of setting the case for the first time We have been inviting attention to all these untoward activities for the last four or five months of many responsible persons including Dr Rajendraprasad and Shri Shankarrao Deo and the Bihar Ministers We requested the All India Congress Committee to investigate into not only the allegations we made, but also into our stand and activities to ascertain whether they are vitiated by corruption and motivated by prejudicial feeling, or are based on just principles

You do justice to your friend who has supplied you with a copy of the plan and programme when you say that he is incapable of practising fraud upon you But I am afraid you at the same time withdraw this confidence of yours in him when you decide yourself that you have been deceived by his being injudiciously misguided by others without giving him a chance to prove his allegations Without ascertaining from him his reaction to the contradictions you proceed to make amends to express regret and to cast reflections on him. We did not want that you should believe us on the face of what we said You could have ventilated our allegations without any commital on your part for an investigation by proper authorities Now you conclude your decision in the reverse on the face of one-sided contradiction, which I did not expect from you Even after the publication of your article *Unclean Means* I wrote to you a letter apprising you of all the happenings in the district and endorsing all what the Secretary wrote in his letter enclosing copy of the 'plan and programme You did not take into consideration what we wrote to you in your re-discussing the matter I wish you would have given my assertions even the benefit of doubt. In your reply dated 16 7-48 to my letter pointing out that the resolution was not passed you wrote "This mistake may have to be rectified But it does not modify the fundamental position" But in your present article you do not even make any mention of that view of yours You have mentioned in your article of your being supplied with reports of violent and inflammatory agitation on the part of pro-Bengal propagandists in Manbhum and you say that you have no reasons to disbelieve them. I being on the spot have no such information Rather I have had ample proofs that there have been conspiracies to make out such false cases I do not know what are your reasons to believe those allegations I would surely expect that anybody's belief should be based on proofs convincing to him and not on mere receipt of complaints But I would like to invite anybody to come and test for himself what I have said My humble opinion is that no charges or counter-charges should be taken to be true unless they are substantiated by facts and findings of an impartial investigation.

You have reproduced the letter of the Education Minister of Bihar in this issue of the *Harijan* He has adumbrated in this letter the Bihar Government's policy and activities regarding education All that I am constrained to say of them is that all his defence on their part and accusations made against us would be proved just the reverse on enquiry and they can be substantiated by us with documentary and factual proofs. Specially in the field of education in Manbhum a havoc has been created to jeopardize the people's mother-tongue and the responsibility of which wholly goes to the Ministry He has defended his officers also in this letter as to their being innocent of having adopted any unclean means of any kind. For the last several

months we have been raising cries about the misdeeds of the officers of the district Nobody of the Ministry cared to come to the district to investigate into these allegations though repeatedly requested to do so Anybody who defends an accused without having gone through any investigation betrays only his partiality and prejudice Now after so many months, on the 9th July last the Prime Minister and the Revenue Minister intimated to us that they were willing to discuss all our allegations including those against the local officers, and that if they be found to be true they would remedy them While negotiations for the discussion were going on, would any Minister of that Ministry be considered to have done his part rightly if he unreservedly advocated for those officers? Even the Press Communique of the Bihar Government issued on 28-7-48 did not deny the implication of the local officers with the 'plan and programme After a long interval from the date of publication of the 'plan and programme in the *Mukti* the Revenue Minister has intimated to you that no such body as' Joint Committee exists as a matter of fact, *according to the information of the Government* This reply is evasive and, I think a shield for their officers The Government have utilized the governmental information But there is our information The Government would have been justified to say anything in this matter, if they did it after an investigation into the allegations made But they could not even now proceed to enquire into this matter, or contradict in the Press the allegations against the local officers, or, to quote your words "to justify themselves by asking the officers to stop the activities,' as you wrote in your letter of 16-7-48 to me You have appreciated the educational policy and principle of the Bihar Ministry as explained by the Educational Minister But I think even the expressed policy of theirs is not in accordance with the All India decisions as stated by Moulana Azad However I do not want to go into details about it, I would like to discuss it if called upon to do The Minister has tried to show that the majority of the people of the district speak Hindi, or one or other of the tribal languages, mostly Santali, and he assumed that probably you are aware of it I do not know what your information about it is Your silence on this point, however may be taken by the public as your endorsement of the statement of the writer But the actual facts the census figures, traditional documents and every other proof speak otherwise than what the writer says As regards his observation that Bengali had been imposed upon the people of Manbhum of a different tongue it is as fantastical as anything The majority of the people have been carrying the tradition of Bengali generation after generation, which the very people would bear testimony to Even the Bihar Government's expressed policy regarding education in Manbhum stands unjustified when the baselessness of the Education Minister's contention is understood If his contention be found baseless, will not even their declared policy and activities stand as an imposition on the people of Manbhum not to speak of all undesirable means to strangulate Bengali? Would they in that eventuality, not be guilty of the same charge they level at others? I do not want to establish truth by words Facts will prove for themselves I do not say all these things to plead for Bengali or Bengali's claims As the development and the future of a people depend largely upon their language I think it to be my duty to save the mother-tongue of the people of the district and their rights regarding it

The way in which you have commented on and reproduced the article of the Education Minister of Bihar without any comment even on the known controversial matters that are in his article may be taken as your endorsement of the article *in toto*. As for example, his observation that Hindi is likely to be accepted as the State language by the Central Government has not attracted your attention The unjust imposition of Hindi is finding an excuse in the name of Rashtrabhasha which is amply evident in Manbhum The propaganda that Hindi is going to be the Rashtrabhasha is going on in Manbhum as in other parts of the country by the people antagonistic to Hindustani

There is an indication in the Minister's article that our unearthing of all these circulars etc are connected with the move to amalgamate Manbhum with West Bengal But wholly opposite is the case The undesirable move to keep Manbhum anyhow in Bihar has found disparagement from all our unearthing of those circulars etc Our stand all along has been that we should not be participant to any move for demand for any particular province, that the question should rest with the High Command to judge the principle and to do the needful We have clearly stated our stand in our resolution to question, and also in a letter to Dr Rajendraprasad which I have written to him in connection with his reply to Mr Bagchi, Advocate Calcutta. In these we have clearly stated our reasons for our stand I hope these would come to the public in time I would ask anyone to prove our complicity with any move for amalgamation. I definitely say that nobody can disprove our version about this stand or to show any discrepency between our declarations and our actions Moreover, I would say that there is no movement altogether in Manbhum for amalgamation But if pious paper resolutions and statements may be considered as movements, then one or two resolutions were taken by the Purulia Bengali Association, the Bar Association and the public and even these took place about a year ago A memorandum was also submitted by the Purulia Bengali Association to Shri Shankarrao Deo when he came here in the June last

We have been wrongly accused by the Minister of not being in favour of the Adivasis and Hindi-speaking people getting education through their mother-tongue We sincerely want that all the rights and facilities which are beneficial to the respective people must be given to them The people's wish the people's right has never been denied by us What we object to is the violation

of the declared policy the denial of education in the mother-tongue, the motivated arrangement to foist Hindi on the Adivasis by supplanting their own agelong cultural language — Bengali —, which is their only medium of instruction in the name of giving instruction in their mother-tongue, and the thwarting of the wish of the people regarding the primary education of their boys That the allegations about all these objectionable methods and activities are not faked and fabricated but are real would be proved even by the paper instructions of the Education Department of the Government of Bihar

In order to do justice to us and that our position may be clearly understood by the public I would request you to publish my letter, though a bit lengthy in your *Harijan* and oblige.

Shilpashram, Purulia 13-8-48

ATUL CHANDRA GHOSH

WHY TRACTORS THEN?

Attempts are being made to bring our country into line with the wealthiest countries of the world At present it is one of the poorest To achieve this end people feel that they should use the same methods which the wealthier ones have adopted For quick production speedy machines are sought to be used This increase in the rapidity of production, with the cry of 'Produce or Perish' seems to have shut the eyes of some of us from the basic facts obtaining in our country Here we hope to deal only with one item — the introduction of tractors in rural India which may well typify the problem

All automatic machines require some fuel — wood, charcoal, coal, electricity, or petroleum Tractors need petroleum products and the more tractors we introduce the more of petroleum shall we require A glance at the figures given below will show that India does not produce even 1/100th of its requirements of petroleum products today The latest figures of mineral oil annual output of Indian oil fields is 820 000 000 gallons of which only 7% can be used as internal combustion fuel. The following are the latest available figures of import (during the nine months of 1946 April to December)

Kerosene oil	117 936 989 000	gallons
Diesel oil	231 060 900	"
Petrol	102,475,013	"
Total Import	118,270 524 813	"

It is clear that we depend for our petroleum products practically on imports only These imports cannot be increased unless we too have a share in the control of the world oil fields This very year India's quota of petrol has suffered by a 10% cut. Even our own oil wells are with British licensees Petroleum is and has always been the bone of contention between the industrialized countries whom we aspire to follow The Indonesian tangle is due to U.K.-Holland partnership in all the oil fields of the world The Iraq Arab subordination the bloody fight in the Middle West in the vicinity of Arab and Persian oil fields are all influenced by petroleum politics All these big bosses must conserve this all important source of motive power for the next conflagration Apart from this fact the annual consumption of these countries is steadily increasing U S A's consumption of oil has almost doubled (75% higher) from its pre-war level In U K. too it has gone one and half times up

These oil wells are not like water wells which never exhaust Water wells have a cycle The water is baled out It evaporates and rains come down and the surface water trickles back to the bowels of the earth No such cycle exists in the case of petroleum Crude petroleum is a product which had taken Nature billions of years to prepare Once it is burnt up it goes into the air and never returns The sources are being rapidly exhausted. The most optimistic estimate puts it that they will not last more than two decades Even if we forget the share in the violence and the folly of short-range view-point, we face the problem of getting our present day needs of petrol fulfilled

When we introduce tractors in our fields we rely on petroleum products for our food — setting aside all the arguments about village economy, cattle wealth, labour utilization and the like When it is clear that even the present day necessities of this article seem hard to be secured will it not be wise to think twice before buying another mineral oil consuming machine?

If we make our agricultural economy depend purely on imported fuel should a war break out, we shall face starvation as extensive fields dependent on imported power will have to lie fallow This will be like building a fort where there is no supply of water Our economy will collapse the moment war drums begin beating even if we are not ourselves a party to the war

Much is made about our power alcohol potentialities but it cannot mitigate the problem to any extent. It can effect an economy of only 25% in consumption of petrol by making admixture obligatory As regards synthetic petrol it is too early to say anything — the cost of production and availability of raw materials are yet to be investigated Even its effectiveness as a substitute cannot be vouchsafed

D K GUPTA

CONTENTS PAGE

HIS PERSEVERENCE	M D	245
A BHANGI BY CHOICE	K. G MASHRUWALA	246
SHRI VINOBA AT KAJGHAT-VII	D M	247
THE CURRENCY PROBLEM	K. G MASHRUWALA	248
RE-JOINDER	ATUL CHANDRA GHOSH	250
WHY TRACTORS THEN?	D K GUPTA	252
NOTES		
THE QAID-E-AZAM	K. G M.	245
JANAB SHOEBULLAH KHAN	K. G M.	245
FLOODS AND FAMINE	K. G M.	246
CORRECTION		246

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INDIAN One year Rs 5 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $. 3

Government Assistance to Charkha

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 30 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26 1948 TWO ANNAS

THE SLOWNESS OF THE CHARKHA

8-6-32

There is a letter from Polak He says that London papers report

"You have taken up the sewing machine having been disillusioned with the slowness of the charkha I don't believe it for a moment But it needs a prompt denial

Bapu wrote a fine letter to him

Then referring to charkha he wrote

It will take me many incarnations to become disillusioned with the slowness of the charkha The slowness of the charkha is perhaps its most appealing part for me But it has so many attractions for me that I can never get tired of it It has a perennial interest for me Its implications are growing on me and I make discoveries of its beauties almost from day to day I am not using a sewing machine in its place or at all I know how the mistake crept into the papers My right elbow having been used for turning the wheel, almost without a break for over ten years began to give pain and the doctors here came to the conclusion that the pain was of the same type that tennis players often have after continuous use of the racquet They therefore advised complete rest for the elbow That might have meant cessation of spinning for some time, but for Prabhudas's invention You know Prabhudas — Chhaganlal's son His invention consists in turning the wheel with a pedal and thus freeing the right hand also for drawing the thread and practically doubling the output of yarn I forestalled the doctors by having this wheel brought to me and before the peremptory order to stop all work with the right elbow came I was master of the pedal charkha called Magan Charkha after the late Maganlal A stupid reporter who knew nothing about the invention when he heard that I was moving the wheel with the pedal came to the conclusion that I was working at the sewing machine and since there are pressmen good enough to imagine many things of me and impute all sorts of things to me they improved upon the false report by deducing disillusionment about the charkha from it Now you have the whole story

M D

(*Translated from Gujarati from* Mahadevbhaini Diary *pp* 207-08)

GANDHIJI'S KHADI SCHEME FOR GOVERNMENTS*

The All-India Spinners Association as a result of its own experience feels confident that the charkha and the hand-loom possess the capacity of bringing about a condition in which there need be no such deficit of cloth as prevails at present in India and other parts of the world such as Malaya etc. India is the only country in which *khadi* has continued to be manufactured from ancient times by hand-spinning and hand weaving and, even in the modern age of textile mills, she produces pure khaddar through the A. I S A During its career of about a quarter of a century the A I S A has distributed nearly seven crores of rupees as wages among the poor spinners and weavers of India

Now that there is responsible government in every province, it is the duty of every provincial government that in order to universalize the manufacture of *khadi* as quickly as possible it should allow mill-cloth to go only to towns and to places outside India and prevent its entry in villages. Mill-cloth should reach villages at the most for one year Simultaneously with this, a scheme should be made and put into operation for the production of *khadi* in every village The Provincial Governments should distribute all spinning and weaving implements among the people under a system of hire and purchase through easy instalments The A I S A and its branches are prepared to give every help within their power for the success of this programme

Training in spinning and weaving should be imparted in every school — urban as well as rural — for at least one hour per day and as far as possible boys and girls should be taught to weave the yarn produced by them

The Trustees of the A I S A request the Working Committee of the Congress to take a decision that every Congress member should actively exert his utmost to create a favourable atmosphere for the production of *khadi* Mill-owners are also requested to give their help in this very important work In consultation with the A I S A. governments and mills should so arrange that mill cloth does not reach areas where there is scope for hand-spinning and weaving In addition to this no new mills should be established and no new machinery should be introduced in the old mills

* Gandhiji's Draft Resolution referred to in the leading article

The mills should be opened in accordance with the advice of the Government and the A I S A The Provincial Governments should pass such legislation as may be necessary for this purpose and implement it

(*Translated from the Original in Hindustani*)

ACTION AGAINST HYDERABAD

The not unexpected armed action against Hyderabad has been at last commenced and almost completed. No nationalist or Congress paper or even ordinary citizen appears to be sorry for it. Even Shri Bhansali was worried that it had not started earlier Indeed it appears that there is a greater sense of regret in the Government of India for having to take this step than in the public It shows in the reported words of Mr Bevin, Britain's foreign minister

> that in this new Dominion a warlike spirit has developed Believe me it is not limited to them. When the match is put to such positions anywhere in the world you do not know when it is going to end

If you do not rule out armed action absolutely it is not difficult to understand the Indian Government's helplessness Militarily it was a shorter programme and attended with less loss of life and property on both sides than the unrestrained arson and killing that was going on for a long time without showing any signs of abatement

But whether it is a regular or irregular military engagement, and whether it is a prolonged or short-term affair it does not alter its essentially fratricidal and violent character Whether the initial fault lies with Hyderabad or Pakistan or India or with Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs the fact remains that neither the rulers nor the leaders nor the public opinion and collective genius of India Pakistan Kashmir, and Hyderabad could find a peaceful and honourable solution of the various self-created problems The military operations howsoever unavoidable, are not at all a thing to be proud of The receipt of the news of the so-called 'surrender' of the Nizam by the people with the joy of a victory is hardly creditable

It is difficult for unsophisticated and undiplomatic minds to understand why the Nizam should have preferred the crooked course of making a show of resistance preceded with an extremely depraved type of brutality and then surrendering before superior militarism to coming to terms with India in a peaceful and honest manner What will be the effects of these violent exhibitions on the future relations of the communities? So far as the immediate consequences are concerned there is evident demoralization of both the communities wherever they have been weak either in numbers or in political power Surrender out of a sense of weakness leaves an inheritance which develops into mutual bitterness and enmity in the future generations Whether the Hindus suppress the Muslims or vice versa they sow seeds of hatred

The fratricidal trend in the people of India is a centuries old disease It can be traced to the time of the *Mahabharata* The hypnotism of the British rule has suppressed it for a while And the suppression indeed was so very successful that for a time we even began to feel that we were a non-violent people *par excellence* Immediately on the removal of the hypnotic influence we have awakened with redoubled vigour for killing one another We have not shown ourselves better than the most brutal people in the world

It is only when we give up our illusion of being superior to others, whether as Hindus Muslims or Sikhs, shall we find an urge to examine ourselves impartially, for our own improvement, and to be able to unite together

Bombay 13-9-48 K G MASHRUWALA

IN FAIRNESS

It was not altogether surprising that I should receive considerable correspondence by reason of my articles on the Manbhum controversy The correspondents represent both the sides In the *Amends* article I stated simply that my attention had been drawn to two errors of fact made in *Unclean Means* I gave no names of the persons who had done so The reference to Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay immediately thereafter might lead one to infer that I had him only in mind In fairness to the original correspondent (whose name I may now disclose, namely Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh), I ought to mention that he himself was one of the earliest, may be, even the first, of them

But I did not mention him particularly because enough he took no time in drawing my attention to these errors of fact he maintained as he still maintains that the plan and programme' complained of "is being worked out by the local officials in collaboration with many anti-Congress and anti-social elements of the district And the regrettable aspect of the picture is that all these activities are carried on with the help, direction and management from the Government "

The case of the Bihar Government, on the other hand is, to quote from a letter of the Bihar Premier to me dated 28th July 1948 the Government of Bihar have not planned any such programme as has been referred to by you nor were they aware of any such programme until it received publicity in some of the Calcutta dailies There is no such programme sponsored by government or by any official body"

Thus it is a question of allegations and denials It was beyond my province to enter into a local investigation of the matter All that I could urge was that the Government should declare its educational policy in respect of language This was done by Shri Badrinath Varma in his letter, published by me

The Premier's letter, which I have referred to above, further on says "I may tell you as I have told my people on so many occasions that the language, culture and interests of the Bengalis living in Bihar are as much dear to me as those of

any other community in the province and I for one cannot countenance any attempt either at the stifling of their language or at the suppression of their culture

This must be taken as a solemn pledge I have already indicated that if anything more is to be done for further improvement of the policy enunciated by Shri Badribabu it should be done through better ways than the kind of propaganda which is being carried on

I do not attach much importance to the passage or non-passage of Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh s resolution by the Manbhum District Congress Committee. As a matter of fact my assumption that the resolution was in protest against that circular was itself incorrect The resolution was several weeks previous to the circular in question, as I now realize It was against the general policy which the movers alleged, was being pursued by the Bihar Government Assuming that that policy was in actual operation as alleged by him then the mere defeat of the resolution (even if it had been by a greater majority than it actually was) is not very material Where fundamentals are concerned, counting of votes is not the final decisive factor In a non-violent democratic organization if a party in majority does not satisfy the reasonable grievances of a great minority and seeks to carry on its policy on the strength of votes, it ultimately stands to lose It simply invites strong agitation leading possibly to breach of the peace. It will be remembered how Gandhiji once gave up his position and surrendered himself to the minority when he found that his resolution had been passed only by a narrow majority and that a great many of his valuable colleagues, though in a minority, were in strong disagreement with him If the grievances of the Bengalis in Manbhum are reasonable and genuine, then it is immaterial whether Shri Ghosh's resolution passed or failed in the District Congress Committee The Bihar Government must look into the merits of the matter and bring satisfaction to that section Since the Premier has pledged his concern for the Bengali language as quoted above I think it would be more advisable for the Bengalis to iron out their differences with him through personal contacts Only in case he pleads his inability to implement his promise that a non-violent agitation may have to be carried on.

In fairness to Shri Atulbabu I must also say that he is not one of those who agitate for the amalgamation of Manbhum with West Bengal He says

> Our stand all along has been that we should not be participants to any move for demand for any particular province, that the question should rest with the High Command to judge the principle and to do the needful We have clearly stated our stand in our resolution in question and also in a letter to Dr Rajendraprasad

One more point in connection with the linguistic controversy is with regard to the language which some of the Adivasi sections of Manbhum should adopt in their post-primary education The case of the Biharis and the Bihar Government is that in the past the Bengali language was forcibly and unnaturally imposed upon them by Bengalis who administered these areas I think this was an act natural for them to do They could not have done anything else Moreover, let not the Bengalis be blamed for it but the British Government under whose orders these officers must have acted Nor do I think that the British Government acted unreasonably in the matter under the circumstances before it. The dialects which the Adivasis spoke had not developed into literary languages They had to administer through Bengalis which was perhaps the only clerical class then available to them and it was a district just adjoining Bengal If Bengali had not been given to them perhaps they might have been compelled to fall upon English at an early age

But even if I am wrong in all these reasonings, what is necessary is to look into the present position and necessities of the Adivasis Hindi either as the provincial language of Bihar or as the common language of India (whether in its Sanskritized or Hindustani forms) has to be studied by all including the Bengalis of Bihar If they want to play their full part in the life of that province, they must attain as good mastery over it as any Bihari Even if Manbhum goes over to Bengal, they cannot escape the necessity of acquiring mastery over the common language as zealously as they have hitherto done over the English language So the Adivasis would be well advised to pursue wherever possible, their further studies, through Hindi or Hindustani, rather than Bengali At the same time this does not mean that any Adivasi should be forbidden to join any Bengali school or institution if it appeals to him more or is more convenient than a Hindi or Hindustani institution As I have already said in one of my previous articles that in every district bordering on two different linguistic areas I envisage institutions of both the languages side by side

In the course of his letter Shri Badrinath Varma has made the statement that Hindi was unlikely to be accepted as the State Language by the Central Government also

This statement has been objected to as being against the Congress resolution for Hindustani. With all my advocacy for Hindustani it is difficult to deny that there does exist a great likelihood of the decision going in favour of Hindi But even if the Central Government did the right thing, and decided for Hindustani while Bihar preferred Hindi as its provincial language it must be remembered that the change from Hindi to Hindustani or reverse would not present those difficulties as that from Bengali to Hindi or Hindustani or vice versa

There is one more point which Shri Atulbabu has urged He denies that there is any agitation on the part of pro-Bengali propagandists of a violent or inflammatory type I regret that he is not supported by other correspondents in this respect I have seen reports and articles in some of the Bengali papers in which there is a clear incitement

to violence if the Government did not amalgamate Manbhum with West Bengal I have read somewhere even Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's name mentioned in this connection On the other hand I must also express my sense of keen disappointment at the attitude of the Biharis towards their Bengali-speaking fellow subjects A large section of Biharis do not regard even those Bengalis who have permanently settled down in Bihar as their fellow citizens That the two sections have lived apart from each other and not identified themselves with the Biharis is not the fault of the Bengalis alone It is our age-long caste mentality re-inforced with linguistic difference which has caused all this mischief Let us put a stop to it with all sincerity and earnestness

Wardha 6-9-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

HARIJAN

September 26 1948

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO CHARKHA

I understand that the Government of India has desired to know from the A I S A whether it has 'considered the possibility of alleviating the existing scarcity of cloth by expansion of hand-spinning and hand-weaving' and if so 'whether any scheme has been prepared for the purpose and an estimate made of the extent, if any to which the Government assistance would be required The enquiry is welcome and I doubt not that the A. I. S A. will place its considered views on the matter before the Government

I have no authority to speak on behalf of the A I S A and my views cannot commit it in any way Therefore, in the expression of my opinion in this article, I place only my personal views I understand that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the A. I S A. held at Poona Gandhiji had discussed this aspect of the question with the Trustees, and placed before the Trustees a draft resolution for consideration Though owing to some difficulties the resolution appears to have been dropped at that meeting, the Secretary of the Sangh has kindly supplied me a copy of it As it is very pertinent to the question in hand, a translation of it is reproduced in another column

In my humble opinion, the fundamental truth that we all — from the Governor-General and the Prime Minister of India to the youngest intelligent citizen of whatever political party or religious persuation — must perceive and make out own is that the spread of the charkha does not need so much financial assistance as it needs the moral and spiritual assistance of the Government and all the intelligent sections of the public The charkha is the lever — and the simplest and the cheapest one — with which the Indian nation can be raised to a high level of moral economic, and social life

England is a highly industrialized country She is the a [illegible] little nation Napoleon contemptuously [illegible] 'a nation of shop-keepers' Of course she was so and very successful at that. But it is not for her industrial and commercial talents that she has herself taken pride She loves to call herself a nation of sailors Every male member of the Royal Family undergoes training on the sea Every family loves to send a son to the sea No job on the ship is considered below the dignity of even the heir-apparent In spite of all the progress in every branch of industry and science the sailor tradition is maintained

And when there is war, and there is need for stockings and sweaters and other woolen material for the fighting forces every woman from the Queen downwards feels that she herself must knit to produce the supply Technical science has been able to produce mechanized knitting machines for all kinds of woven articles But they do not make obsolete the pair of simple wooden, steel or bone sticks Like the *takli* among lovers of spinning, the knitting needles can be seen working in trains cars buses and meetings The Queen considers it her duty to encourage it Surely, she knows knitting as well as a poor woman who makes something out of it for making the two ends meet

Neither sailor-work nor needle-work is looked at for the rate of wages it will pay The English Prince and worker both feel something deficient in them as Englishmen if they are not good sailors the Queen and the housewife both feel that they are not perfect unless they know knitting There is an intangible urge in it — call it spiritual, moral, sentimental traditional, patriotic — whatever you like it is not merely monetary and material though in its results it also enhances the nation s material prosperity

In the same way I submit that we are a nation of agriculturists and *khadi* weavers It is the nature-ordained pre-eminent occupation of our country All other occupations, howsoever dazzling can fill only a tiny corner of our life A diamond ring adorns the finger satisfies the wearer's vanity and also goes to add considerably to the totals of his account books Nevertheless it gives no protection to even the finger on which it is put if there is intense cold or intense heat and cannot cover his nakedness if cloth is not available, or satiate his thirst in the desert of Marwar or his hunger on the Kailas mountain so too all the other industries put together

If the governments and indeed all the patriots of the country industrialists or others, even those with intense faith in industrialization and modernization to the extent of splitting the atom realize and identify themselves with the idea that the pride of India will always be to be known as the nation of the charkha, it is not difficult to devise the initial steps necessary for encouraging *khadi* production.

When the last war broke out Gandhiji saw the then Viceroy and unconditionally offered India s

moral support to the Allies The Viceroy was unable to appreciate the value of *moral* support He wanted assistance in terms of money materials and of targets for German guns He could not realize that the material support coming voluntarily in the wake of the moral support would have been far more powerful than the former without the latter, coming as it must out of compulsion Let not our Government adopt the ex-government's mentality in granting assistance to the charkha. The encouragement and push which the people of India need is largely moral not material The material regeneration will follow the moral regeneration, as the tide follows the moon. Until the people are helped to be awakened morally, no economic plans, whether of the industrial type or the village-industries type no controls, no penalties no repressive measures no compulsions, no advertisements of "Grow More Food or 'Increase Production", will succeed in raising the country from the mire in which it is getting bogged

If this is agreed to the following suggestions will be regarded as acceptable

All the great and important ones in the State and in well-to-do society must themselves regularly spin whether in private or in congregation Even as no modern governor or minister, or secretary, however hard-worked he may be fails to find time for his daily shave, and the arrangement of his hair and dress also for giving or attending a tea or dinner party now and then or to stand to attention for taking salute or inspecting the guard or to hoist the flag and wait for singing of the national anthem and regards all such functions as part of his duty to his office so too he must regard regular spinning as his duty towards the nation. He must also find time to take part in congregational spinning — not for delivering a speech there, but for taking personal part in it In his visits, a short function of congregational spinning must be arranged as a part of the programme Let it be understood that this should not be done for a mere showy demonstration. It must be like salt in one's food

The economic potentiality of the charkha is not insignificant Also, fortunately it does not require colossal capital investment or recurrent expenditure Even if further improvements in the charkha send the present wheels to the scrap-heap, the loss is trivial But its far greater worth and potentiality consists in the habits which it is capable of inculcating, and the new moral tone which it is capable of giving to our nation at this stage of our development It will send a new thrill and moral fervour in the entire nation as nothing else can Let those who govern the nation appreciate its value

Wardha, 6-9-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

NOTES

The Khadi Week

The Khadi Week will commence from the [illegible] on which this issue will fall into the hands of the readers and will be observed till 2nd October, the date of Gandhiji's birth according to the English calendar The *Charkha Dwadashi* i e Gandhiji's date of birth according to the Hindu calendar, falls on Thursday, the 30th September Under the Indian system of reckoning the date on which an event happens is reckoned as first and accordingly it will be reckoned as the 80th birthday of Gandhiji The European system is to reckon the end of the first year as first As Gandhiji would have finished 79 years on the next birthday, according to that system it will be reckoned as 79th birthday Both the Congress President and the President of the A I S A have issued instructions for the due observance of the Week. I hope that the public will whole-heartedly respond to the appeals It is only by carrying out the programme of Gandhiji and by adopting in our lives his teachings that we can properly preserve his message and memory Those who have personal reminiscences of him will all follow him sooner or later That part of his memory will gradually fade and may even get distorted So also might his pictorial representations in spite of photography It is the adoption of his message in one's own life that is his proper *Jayanti*

Wardha 13-9-48

H. M. I. S. "Delhi"

Bombay has celebrated during this week the purchase of H M I S Delhi Every State in the world wants to abolish war, and every State wants to be armed to the teeth for defence and for aggression since aggression proves itself to be the best defence But every country is not sufficiently advanced to manufacture her own destructive weapons So it purchases them from some manufacturer or Government of another country

When a person manufactures an article, he must be deemed to have done so with the intention that the article will some day be used for its intended purpose No bomb, no gun, no armed vehicle is intended to be eternally kept in the store If it were so, the trade in ammunitions would have to be closed after a time And so with every destructive weapon goes the mantra 'thou shalt kill' The mantra has to fulfil itself. War can never be ended by creation of weapons

But apart from this if there is a real desire to establish peace, no country should sell to or purchase from another country any weapon of destruction If there is nervousness that absolute armlessness might be dangerous, let each country build its war-factories herself without the aid of men or materials from abroad For in the long run a country must belong to the State which is in a position to supply the arms

Bombay 16-9-48

The Mines Circular

In my article *Unrestrained Provincialism* (*Harijan* 27-6-1948) I had criticized a circular of the Bihar

Government which disapproves employment of non-Biharis in mining concerns It led to some correspondence between the Bihar Government and myself It has resulted in the elucidation of the following points

(1) The term Biharis includes all those who have provincialised in Bihar irrespective of what language they speak thus Bengali and Gujarati speaking residents of Bihar are also Biharis under its definition if they have become provincialised in Bihar

(2) there is no suggestion to dismiss discharge or supersede present non Bihari employees What is sought is that the employers should make future appointments to non manual jobs on the recommendations of the Board to be appointed by the Provincial Government

I regret to feel that the charge of narrowness does not abate by these elucidations Apart from the fact that the use of a term (Bihari) which has a narrow connotation in popular language is liable to be interpreted narrowly in practice, the very principle of a Government exercising authority on the selection of a private firm's employees is objectionable It amounts to saying that an Indian of one province is a foreigner to an Indian of another province and the same rules may be applied to him as to a foreigner like say an Englishman or an American At one time in popular languages the word *pardeshi* (foreigner) included a person of another province but gradually we have learnt to distinguish between country and province Insufficient knowledge of geography was responsible for the old notion But it seems that there is now a desire on the part of geography-knowing politicians also to revive and legalize the old narrow meaning

I regret to be informed that the Bihar Government has no desire to withdraw that circular It is for the Working Committee and the A I C C to examine the subject more closely

Wardha 14-9-48 K G M

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M K Gandhi)

III

BRAHMACHARYA OR CHASTITY

(Concluded)

I now come to a point of vital importance which I have reserved for treatment towards the end of the discussion We are told in the Bhagavadgita (II-59) that 'when a man starves his senses the objects of those senses disappear from him, but not the yearning for them the yearning too departs when he beholds the Supreme,' that is to say, the Truth or *Brahma* (God) The whole truth of the matter has here been set forth by the experienced Krishna Fasting and all other forms of discipline are ineffective without the grace of God What is the vision of the Truth or God? It does not mean seeing something with the physical eye or witnessing a miracle Seeing God means realization of the fact that God abides in one's heart The yearning must persist until one has attained this realization and will vanish upon realization It is with this end in view that we keep observances and engage ourselves in prayer and endeavour at the Ashram Realization is the final fruit of constant effort. The human lover sacrifices his all for his beloved, but his sacrifice is fruitless mashmuch as it is offered for the sake of momentary pleasure But the quest of Truth calls for even greater concentration than that of the human beloved There is joy ineffable in store for the aspirant at the end of the quest Still very few of us are as earnest as even the human lover Such being the facts of the case what is the use of complaining that the quest of truth is an uphill task? The human beloved may be at a distance of several thousand miles God is there in the tabernacle of the human heart nearer to us than the finger nails are to the fingers But what is to be done with a man who wanders all over the wide world in search of treasure which as a matter of fact is buried under his very feet?

The *brahmacharya* observed by a self-restraining person is not something to be despised. It certainly serves to weaken the force of the yearning for the 'flesh pots of Egypt One may keep fasts or adopt various other methods of mortifying the flesh but the objects of sense must be compelled to disappear The yearning will get itself in readiness to go as this process is on Then the seeker will have the beatific vision and that will be the signal for the yearning to make its final exit. The treasure supposed to be lost will be recovered. He who has not put all his strength into his effort has no right to complain that he has not seen *Brahma* Observing *brahmacharya* is one of the means to the end which is *Brahma* Without *brahmacharya* no one may expect to see *Brahma* and without seeing *Brahma* one cannot observe *brahmacharya* to perfection The verse therefore does not rule out self-discipline but only indicates its limitations

All members of the Ashram, young as well as old married as well as unmarried, try to observe *brahmachara* but only a few will observe it for life When the young people come to years of discretion they are told that they are not bound to observe *brahmacharya* any longer against their will, and that whoever feels that he is unable to put forth the requisite effort has a right to marry And when he makes the request the Ashram helps him in finding out a suitable partner in life This position is very well understood, and the results have been uniformly good The young men have persisted in larger numbers The girls too have done pretty well None of them married before she was 15, and many married only after they were about 19

Those who wish to marry with Ashram assistance must rest satisfied with the simplest of religious ceremonies There are no dinners no guests invited from outside, no beating of drums Both bride and bridegroom are dressed in handspun and handwoven *khadi* There are no ornaments in gold or silver There is no marriage settlement and no dowry except a few clothes and a spinning-wheel The function hardly costs even ten rupees, and takes

not more than one hour The bride and bridegroom recite in their own language the *mantras* of the Saptapadi the purport of which has already been explained to them On the day fixed for the marriage, the bride and bridegroom keep a fast water trees clean the cowshed and the Ashram well and read the Gita before the ceremony Those who give away the bride also fast until they have made the gift We now insist that the Ashram will not help to arrange a marriage between members of the same subcaste, and every one is encouraged to seek his mate outside his own subcaste *

(Translated from Gujarati by V G D)

(*To be continued*)

HANDICRAFTS IN AMERICA

While touring in the mining districts of North Carolina we came across the Penland School of Handicrafts which is the foremost institution of its kind in the United States of America By the courtesy of Miss Lucy Morgan, Directress of the School, we were able to get an idea of the position handicrafts occupy in some of the southern States of U S A in spite of the enormous amount of mechanization and mass-production methods established all over that continent There in Penland it was a most impressive feature to see that side by side with the large mining and mineral industry concerns a highly reputed and influential community had also established a school where weaving, pottery pewter-work and other handicrafts were taught Many persons in that region have taken to these crafts as a subsidiary occupation, while the school itself has made substantial progress since it was founded It was reported that 18 years ago the school had 5 looms and only 7 students Last year (1947) it had 354 students ranging in age from 12 to 90 years We saw how earnestly the boys and girls—both young and old—were devoted to learning their chosen crafts The instructors and pupils impressed us with their simplicity and high spirit of dedication We could not help noticing the tremendous difference which this wholesome aspect made in that swiftness and rustle of the more or less 'standardized' American life The recent popularity of the Penland School may be judged from the fact that for want of accommodation and facilities for instruction, about 400 applications had to be rejected last year by the authorities. From one of the reports we received just a few days back one learns that large funds were donated and more looms are now being installed to meet the ever increasing demand for admission

The U S Department of Agriculture and the various University organizations co-operate with the several handicraft institutions established in different parts of the country especially in the southern mountain regions From the statistics published by the Department of Agriculture in co-operation with the Russel Sage Foundation it was learnt that over 15 00 000 persons are engaged in the various handicrafts or occupations of rural art. The value of the articles produced annually is estimated to be about $ 60,00 000 per year Cotton, wool, leather, wood metal and clay are the major materials from which the articles are made Spinning and weaving quilting and patch work dyeing with natural vegetable dyes furniture and other wood work whittling and carving in wood making baskets dolls, toys, musical instruments, pottery work, needle-work, leather-work, metal-work candle-making stone and gem-cutting are the main types of crafts practised in the country

Makers own use is by far the most important purpose for which the articles are made, and the value of products sold is about $ 20 00 000 per year or less than 30% of the total production The data also indicates that most of the articles are sold locally or in what may be considered the vicinity in which they are made

Apart from the fact that the handicrafts are practised as an occupational therapy in several cases some of the benefits which have been reported are that the work provides constructive use of leisure time, supplementing income provides conveniences for the homes making them more attractive and comfortable, develops art appreciation and creative expression and also makes it possible for some families to have articles they could not afford to buy with money

' The time will come when every kind of work will be judged by two measurements one by the product itself, as is now done the other by the effect of the work on the producer When that time comes the handicrafts will be given a much more important place in our plan of living than they now have for unquestionably they possess values which are not generally recognized "

In our itineration in Canada we visited another school of Arts (Ecole des Beaux Arts) in Quebec city Mr Soucy, Director, and Miss Irene Beaudin in charge of the weaving section, showed the various looms they have and some of the handicraft articles they are producing This institution is also highly popular

There is no doubt that the handicrafts, through the stimulation of both mind and body develop skill and provide a creative outlet They increase sensitiveness to surroundings and give dignity to common things They could bring unsuspected abilities into expression and they surely explain and help rationalize the machine

We found there was a great appreciation for the hand-made articles from almost everyone we came to contact with in that country and Gandhiji's name was invariably coupled with that appreciation ' Gandhi has spiritualized handicrafts too some of our American friends told us

M B RAMCHANDRA RAO

* This was written in 1932 In 1948 Gandhiji said a marriage could be celebrated in his presence only if one of the parties was a Harijan and the other a caste Hindu.

V G D

THE WORLD IS ONE

Constantly we are being told that the quick methods of communication have shrunk the world and making it a single unit rather than a chain consisting of many units Unity there can be without physical merger When we say two persons are in complete unity we do not signify thereby that their bodies are one but that their higher self their way of thinking and their spiritual growth coalesce to form one integrated being though their bodies may be separate World unity need not and cannot come about by making all peoples of different climes come under one authority and banish their individuality If we aim at world unity it will be in certain spheres which will not conduce towards disparity in conditions which will in themselves create discord If two persons bodies are tied together there will be great discomfort as in the case of the Siamese Twins There should be complete freedom of bodily movement for hygienic and social reasons, but at the same time there can be unity of thought, purpose and action which latter are far more important than the physical oneness

From the economic approach it is being constantly said that the world is to become one and therefore our economic organizations must merge into one without making any unit self-sufficient This is a fallacy similar to the claim for physical unity of the Siamese Twins type The causes for discord in the world are largely due to economic maladjustments and ideological differences arising out of this Therefore if we aim at world unity, it will be necessary for us to deal with these maladjustments and attempt to bring about a co-ordination of effort

A great deal can be achieved if we can make each nation self-sufficient in primary needs just as every individual in a united organization has to have his individual and physical freedom guaranteed in food, clothing and shelter we must remain as far as practicable independent Otherwise there is likely to be envy jealousy and hatred generated which will land us ultimately in a world conflagration

India has been and we hope will always remain an agricultural country which produces all its primary requirements without having to extend the beggar s bowl for its needs At the present moment there are signs that this organization is collapsing under false economic theories India is producing raw materials which cannot have a high priority from the rational approach At the present time we are importing a considerable quantity of food grains from distant lands This would naturally reduce the nutritive value of such grains For instance paddy if it has to be transported in bulk to great distances involves great expense because of the space required and the weight of its natural covering To avoid this difficulty paddy is subjected to mill processing which leaves the rice grains in a highly polished condition Polished rice in a country where there is mal-nutrition is a veritable menace It is pure starch It lacks the nutritive elements of bran pericarp, germ and other fats and minerals which have been taken out in the mill processing, and therefore as far as practicable all food materials should be of local production Other considerations would lead us to the conclusion that materials for clothing and shelter should also be of local production. International trade can only be on luxury articles and cultural materials along with such surpluses in prime necessities which the producing countries can spare

At a press conference recently held in London Sir Alexander Maxwell Tobacco Adviser to the Board of Trade stated As it is increasingly obvious that we cannot afford to spend more dollars on tobacco we are looking to other sources of supply as far as possible They do not want to ration cigarettes This habit of smoking has reached such a high pitch in Great Britain that they give it priority even over certain food articles As a consequence of this, Great Britain is cutting to India and attempts are being made by the Government supplying seeds to growers to cultivate Virginia tobacco on lands which can grow food This will mean that we shall be importing rice and exporting tobacco This is an unstable equilibrium that no self-respecting nation can tolerate As long as there is a food shortage in our country the highest priority for the use of land must be allotted to the growing of foodstuff We hope that the Provincial Governments will take these into consideration when they are approached to place more lands at the disposal of the Imperial Tobacco Company

Unless a broad outlook which will bring the interests of the nations together for the betterment of the common man is taken and an economic organization is developed to safeguard the supply of the people s primary needs, there can be no world unity purely by organizational methods such as the U N O. or the former League of Nations. Such cannot by themselves bring about unity

J C KUMARAPPA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE SLOWNESS OF THE CHARKHA	M D	253
GANDHIJI S KHADI SCHEME FOR GOVERNMENTS		253
ACTION AGAINST HYDERABAD	K G MASHRUWALA	254
IN FAIRNESS	K. G MASHRUWALA	254
GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO CHARKHA	K. G MASHRUWALA	256
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION—III	M. K. GANDHI	258
HANDICRAFTS IN AMERICA	M S RAMCHANDRA RAO	259
THE WORLD IS ONE	J C KUMARAPPA	260
NOTES		
THE KHADI WEEK	K. G M	257
H M I S.—DELHI	K. G M	257
THE MINES CIRCULAR	K G M	257

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $. 3

The Lesson of Jinnah's Life

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

EDITED BY K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 31 AHMEDABAD SUNDAY OCTOBER 3 1948 TWO ANNAS

PARTY CONSOLIDATION BY PARTY IN POWER

A correspondent from Gujarat drew my attention to certain special facilities proposed to be granted by the Bombay Government to students who had taken some part in the various Congress movements against the British Government in obtaining admissions into educational institutions with limited accommodation I understand that the U P Government has also given similar advantages even to a greater extent than Bombay There in addition to special treatment to students pensions and gratuities are announced for 'old and infirm workers and widows of workers In fact the workers are to be treated as returned soldiers

Another correspondent from Madras draws my attention to a scheme published by the Government of that province for rewarding political sufferers with assignment of lands He sends me a cutting which shows the extent of favour shown to the participants in the movement It reads as follows

> Not only those who really took part in the disobedience movements and suffered imprisonment, but also those who were remanded to custody for short terms without actually being sentenced should be treated as political sufferers for the purpose of assignment of lands say the Government of Madras in the course of instructions to the district authorities clarifying certain doubts on the subject
>
> The Government have also made it clear that every political sufferer is eligible for lands under the scheme irrespective of his or her possession of movable or immovable properties
>
> No private land should be allotted or required under the scheme (*The Indian Express* 28 7 49)

If the report is true, it seems to be a doubtful method of consolidating one's party through the power which a governing party necessarily possesses in the State It sets a bad example for other parties to follow when any of them comes into power In a democratic form of Government this might happen at any time Whether avoidably or otherwise, the present Government has been taking executive or criminal action against followers of other political parties It is not impossible that in course of time the very fear of coercion might enable some of these parties to grow strong enough to overthrow the Congress party It will follow the example of the Congress party by rewarding all those who might have suffered under the Congress regime and in this way the country will always have a kind of government which thrives on nepotism in the wide sense of that term By rewarding those who suffered out of patriotic sentiment they are transferred from the list of patriots to that of mercenaries or far-sighted business-men

I hope that the matter as reported is not correct, in which case the Government should publish the true position But even if this report proves to be exaggerated this is a matter which requires serious consideration of the High Command itself The head of one of the provincial governments frankly writes to me

> Apart from many other considerations, you will I am sure realize my difficulty in resisting demands with these (other Governments) measures constantly before the people This is not a Provincial problem but as all India one and I should think Congress itself must give the lead by educating people and workers not to demand or expect such concessions The Provincial Government cannot stand alone and I would request you to take up this question with the Congress and other Provincial Governments also

I feel that the Working Committee should have a machinery to guide and guard the Congress Governments for maintaining a high standard of public life

Bombay 24-9-48 K G MASHRUWALA

For "Gandhi-ites"

'Gandhi-ites have always written and spoken strongly against nepotism profiteering, black marketeering corruption and other evils. I do not defend these evils But at the same time, let me tell you that the amount of pressure brought on me from close associates or followers of Gandhiji for doing something for some friend out of the ordinary course is often as great as if not greater than from others

The above is the purport, in my own language of references made in informal personal talks or letters to me during a long period At times specific instances have been pointed out The complaint is not confined to a single province I have received it from ministers of at least three Congress Governments

Let Gandhi-ites examine themselves

Bombay 20-9-48 K. G M

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—VIII

KRISHNA—THE IDEAL SEVAKA

Friday 27-8 1948 having coincided with the anniversary day of Krishna's birth it became the topic of Shri Vinoba's sermon after the weekly prayer at Rajghat

The birth of Lord Krishna Shri Vinoba said was being celebrated that day in every village of India God did not take birth But by associating Godhood with the life of a great man Hindusim had discovered a way of gratifying and nourishing their devotional urge side by side with keeping before their eyes a noble ideal of life This had led to the observance of the birthdays of Rama and Krishna for several centuries past in India These two Masters ruled Hindu hearts more than any other Rama was India's ideal Ruler and Lord Innumerable kings had ruled over India But the people had never given up the cry of *Ja Jay Raja Ramachandra!* They knew only one King viz Ramachandra Rama was the ideal Lord who accepted service from everyone—both men and animals His excellence as a Lord consisted in the fact that he gave his servants more honour than himself. तुलसी कहुँ न राम सो साहब सीलनिधान (Tulsi says there is no nobler Lord than Rama)

Shri Krishna on the other hand was an ideal Servant He served every one and took service from none He served both men and animals He lived among labourers in his childhood He grazed cattle and acquired the name of Gopal Krishna (Krishna the cowkeeper) Even on acquiring authority in Dwarka he used to tend cows now and then He was a great warrior But he never exercised his powers for achieving his own interests He got Dharmaraja (Yudhishthira) to be anointed as Emperor, and in the coronation sacrifice (*Rajasuya Yajna*) asked for himself the privilege of rendering menial service to the guests Not only was it asked by him but it was also given to him unhesitatingly It was the height of humility that a great man should ask for an humble work and the assignee should give it to him

The *Mahabharata* has related that on the battlefield after the day's fighting was over while Arjuna busied himself in performing *sandhya* worship Krishna tended the horses!

Krishna performed physical labour in his life and left to India a wonderful philosophy about it

Commentators on the *Gita* had discussed endlessly whether the teaching of the *Gita* had emphasis on *jnana* (knowledge) *karma* (action) or *bhakti* (devotion) without having reached an unanimous conclusion It was not surprising that they could not do it since the *Gita* had abolished the distinction between the three It had had placed before the world a matchless chemical compound of *jnana*, *karma* and *bhakti*

Even in the manner of receiving death, Krishna showed his condition of bliss and detachment *(anasakti)* He had been wounded by the arrow of a hunter The latter on realizing his mistake approached him with fear But Krishna consoled him by saying that he was eager to leave the body and the hunter had simply acted as an obliging agent He thus placed [illegible] in not [illegible] of languages that [illegible] comparable to the [illegible] excellence of thought [illegible] through this book was [illegible] against the whole world, and [illegible] one that where God and the devas [illegible] there would be prosperity and victory [illegible] ethics and polity He exhorted the audience to [illegible] the *Gita* and always meditate over its teachings and put into practice the little that they might [illegible] it It was sure to do them good.

D M

NOTES

Flood Control

Many of our great rivers like the Brahmaputra bring down huge quantities of silt during their course of hundreds of miles and as the river widens later on its course, the silt is deposited making the river-bed shallow This is one of the main reasons for the repeated floods in Assam and other places In tackling the floods, therefore, we have to face the problem of deepening the channels and disposing off the silt If it is possible to take out the silt and deposit it on the banks of the river not only shall we be creating new land which would be highly fertile but we shall also be deepening the channel, thus a two-fold programme of tackling floods could be initiated

During the war the United States of America brought out "Kellifer Ditchers" to plough long trenches for laying cables By such devices along with dredgers, if they can be brought into use for the purpose of keeping the river-beds clear of silt, we may be able to help the farmers to grow more food by bringing larger areas of land under cultivation and also avoid the devastation caused by floods

This question requires a careful study by expert engineers In Australia some experiment is being carried on on these lines in the irrigated area near Robin Vale (Victoria) We trust our engineers would also take up this question and thus help to solve one of our grave problems

"Eye for an Eye"

Early in the year the House of Commons voted for the abolition of death penalty, but the conservative Lords while they had no use for vengeance, wish to maintain law and order This Bill was referred back to the House of Commons. Bowing to the opinion of their Lordships the House of Commons decided to retain the death penalty for certain types of murder. But the nobility was not satisfied with this partial acceptance of their view It wanted to retain the death penalty as it was. And the House of Commons has again bowed to the will of the superiors

A criminal is more often than not a pathological case and modern methods of treating such persons call for sympathy and understanding Society should not wreak vengeance on the unfortunate person

who in a fit of emotion decided to take the life of his fellow-man

In addition to retaining the death penalty the House of Lords want to keep the barbarous punishment of whipping the criminals With the advance of civilization the rudiments of feudal days need to be abandoned

J C K.

[Note My brother has castigated the British Parliament for retaining its uncivilized state I hope that the Indian Parliament will prove better by implementing the Congress resolution to abolish capital punishment at an early date

Wardha 31 8-48 —K G M]

Paying through the Nose

The Government of India sent a delegation to Melbourne last June to negotiate with the Australian Wheat Board for additional wheat for this year The price that our delegation has negotiated is 18 sh 6 d per bushel while Great Britain pays 17 sh a bushel This excess of 1 sh 6d per bushel alone on the 28 million bushels that India is importing will work out to nearly 27½ crores India being a poor country does it mean that the price charged to it should be higher than to a rich country like Great Britain ?

Goodwill with Whisky

When new industries are started various devices are planned out to bring it into general favour Tobacco Companies have distributed free drugged cigarettes to enable persons to acquire the habit of smoking and to cultivate a taste for the particular brand We are familiar with the methods of Tea Cess Company in India handing round free cups of tea to popularize their product There are legitimate limits to which such programme may be carried it must be strictly limited by considerations of the welfare of the public and the worthiness of the cause

Recently the Air India extended its service to Great Britain as the Air India-International This is a new venture which has to compete with giant services such as the T W A. and the Pan American. The Air India International is financed as to 51% of its capital by the Government of India and the balance from the public, and the management is a Tata organization Usually the fares charged include an amount for food on the way, but most companies make a separate charge for strong drinks, if any supplied. But on Air India-International whisky and soda are distributed free to the passengers. It seems to us that a concern sponsored by a Government which stands for advocating prohibition should reflect this policy Some of the provincial governments in India are throwing their weight and influence on a scheme of prohibition Are we to conclude that the Government of India is against this policy? Or is the Air India-International Limited building up their goodwill at any cost without considering the means ?

J C K

Noble Manners

[The following extract from the *Principle in Art* by Coventry Patmore (1823-1896) has been sent by a reader because, in his words, it "describes so appositely well the ideals and the life of our Mahatma that I thought that the readers of your esteemed paper might be interested to read its reproduction —K G M]

There is nothing comparable for moral force to the charm of truly noble manners The mind is in comparison, only slightly and transiently impressed by heroic actions, for these are felt to be but uncertain signs of a heroic soul; nothing less than a series of them more sustained and varied than circumstances are ever found to demand could assure us, with the infallible certainty required for the highest power of example, that they were the faithful reflex of the ordinary spirit of the actor The spectacle of patient suffering, though not so striking, is morally more impressive for we know that

> Action is transitory—a step a blow
> The motion of a muscle this way or that—
> 'Tis done and in the after vacancy
> We wonder at ourselves like men betrayed
> Suffering is permanent obscure and dark
> And has the nature of infinity

The mind however has a very natural repugnance to the sustained contemplation of this species of example and is much more willingly persuaded by a goodness actually upon the earth triumphant and bearing in its ordinary demeanour, under whatever circumstances the lovely stamp of obedience to that highest and most rarely-fulfilled commandment Rejoice evermore Unlike action or suffering such obedience is not so much the way to heaven, as a picture, say rather a part, of heaven itself, and truly beautiful manners will be found upon inspection to involve a continual and visible compliance with that apostolical injunction. A right obedience of this kind must be the crown and completion of all lower kinds of obedience. It is not compatible with the bitter humiliations of the habit of any actual sin it excludes selfishness since the condition of joy is distinguished from pleasure is generosity and a soul in the practice of going forth from itself, it is no sensual partiality for the bright side of things no unholy repugnance to the consideration of sorrow, but a habit of lifting life to a height at which all sides of it become bright and all moral difficulties intelligible to action it is a salubrity about which doctors will not disagree in the countenance it is a loveliness which connoisseurs will not dispute in the demeanour it is a lofty gentleness, which, without pride patronizes all the world—and which without omitting the minutest temporal obligations or amenities does everything with an air of immortality (pp 815-16, *The Oxford Book of English Prose*)

M S

HARIJAN

October 3 1948

THE LESSON OF JINNAH'S LIFE

The life and career of Mr Mahomed Ali Jinnah has a lesson for the Hindus, particularly the so-called caste Hindus to ponder over

He was born in the Khoja community of Kathawad It is one of the several religio-social groups in India, which are an interesting mixture of Hinduism and Islam A great deal of their religious practice and social customs including laws of inheritance etc is the same as that of the Hindus Most of them bear Hindu names like Jhina (now spelt Jinnah), Walji, Bhagwanji Dharamshi, Purushottam Lalji Motilal, Harji etc Much of their mode of home-life thinking and outlook is similar to that of the caste Hindus In fact they might be regarded as one of the Hindu castes which became separate from others socially, as they usually do among Hindus, whenever they give up old beliefs or apodt new ones, not acceptable to all In course of time this must have become an uncomfortable position. There was a partial return to Hinduism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries But that did not help the reconverts socially Hindu castes rarely reaccept excommunicees and none accepted even the Vaishnava Khojas back into their social circle Necessarily there arose an opposite movement of becoming as full Muslims as possible, and renouncing all Hindu practices customs and fashions It was not quite easy to do that because in their mental make-up the Khojas retained their Hindu caste-mindedness and the joint Hindu family system But as usual the Hindus did not care to claim them as their people The result was that the movement to break away from the Hindu society gained strength with the passage of time

Janah Mahomed Ali Jinnah s life and career may be looked upon as a long record of this movement The fact that he was given a Muslim name shows that the new movement had already been born That he worked genuinely and sincerely as a nationalist and a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity for more than half of his lifetime shows that he inherited the general outlook of the Khojas for communal concord

But after spending more than fo tyfive years in the cause of unity and nationalism Mr Jinnah became not only a convert to but the leader of, the movement for Pakistan i e of complete break-away from everything that smelt Hindu Why should such a change have come about in him? His worst enemies have given him the credit of being unpurchasable and incorruptible Then it must have been the result of a sense of disillusionment in some matters connected with nationalism and communal unity Indeed whenever reminded of his past nationalist views he is reported to have given answers like these Scratch a Congressman (Hindu) and you ll find that he is a caste Hindu" True he once belonged to the National Congress, but he had also once belonged to the primary school!

I have often tried to find out what could have been the disappointment of disillusionment which brought about a radical change in Mr Jinnah. Was he to blame for the reaction or whether the Congress and communalist Hindus had also a responsibility in the matter? What does the Pakistan idea signify in the context of the caste system and the Hindu Sangathan movement? Is not the Pakistan idea and its success the perfect logical consequence of the inherent caste-mindedness and the joint family system and the idea of social structure common both to the Hindus and the community in which Mr Jinnah was born?

In that sense, it can be said indeed that Pakistan is the greatest success achieved by the caste system related as it is in India with dharma or customs observed with religious respect The Muslim Community of India under the influence of its leader changed from a caste-denouncing body into a caste-minded one. It adopted the main principle of the joint Hindu family in which any coparcener might enforce complete partition of the family in respect of food worship and estate It adopted also the principle of keeping itself entirely aloof from all those who in their opinion were our their superiors and who were not prepared to deal with them on terms of equality, and treating with arrogance and contempt all those whom they regarded as their inferiors

The Hindu village and town structure assigns different streets wards or even villages to people of different castes Segregation, partition disinclination to mix too much with another caste in matters of food and drink are the features of its civil life. Mr Jinnah came to the pessimistic conclusion that with all the declarations of the Congress about nationalism non-communalism and ideals of a democratic secular State, the Hindus would always remain a caste-minded society also, to the extent caste is based on ideas of high and low and the spirit of exclusiveness it would also remain in practice a non-democratic caste-governed State The nationalist and democratic ideals were never going to become a practical proposition in India. He expressed this disbelief time and again

He also saw through the Hindu Sangathan movement, and its hollowness and its ultimate ideal its hollowness consisted in the fact that it never set its face seriously against caste or untouchability It was therefore incapable of really uniting together even all the Hindus from within. And its ultimate ideal was to propagate an anti-Muslim and Hindu Raj campaign

His sharp intellect saw his opportunity in this inherent weakness of the Hindus and the illusions (according to him) of some of its dreaming leaders and the crookedness and hypocrisy of others Being by tradition more a Hindu than a Muslim

realised that very Hindu mentality for uniting together the Muslims of India. He flattered the Muslim mind in spite of Islam. He could do so because a very great part of the Muslims was of course Hindu in every respect except faith. Thus he asked for separate communal representation, complete partition of India and complete separation of the Hindu and Muslim populations. Every one of these items betrays the Hindu caste mind. Indeed, this was proved when both Congress and non-Congress Hindus and Sikhs demanded the partitions of the Punjab and Bengal after the formula of a, b, c groups was decided upon. Mr. Jinnah also put in a religious colour in the Pakistan idea and appealed to the Muslim masses in the same manner as did the Hindu leaders to their masses. As the Muslims were never quite as socially divided as the Hindus, he naturally achieved greater success in gathering them together than did the Hindus.

There was one more common factor between him and the leading Hindus. They have all been subtle lawyers. They have developed their subtlety to the point of appearing crooked. They would adopt a formula and then quarrel on its interpretations and try to get out of its unfavourable consequences. Then a series of charges and counter-charges and legal arguments would follow, with the result that the formula would have to be dropped. Mr. Jinnah himself an astute lawyer and master of the art, beat the Hindu leaders with the same stick. If he could not always put the Hindus in the wrong box, he could at least raise doubts among third parties against the fairness of the Hindus.

Thus, I have felt that Jinnah and Pakistan are the fruit and fulfilment of the Hindu society. Whether or not we want Pakistan to return to India as a friend and brother, we have to shed all those defects of our life which brought about the birth of Pakistan. For the evil has not stopped and will not stop with one partition. In course of time it may bring about the partition as Jinnahsaheb said, of every house, street, ward, town or taluq, not partition between Hindus and Muslims only but partitions among all different social or regional groups of India. We must if we wish to develop as a united nation destroy our own narrow social outlook.

Bombay, 19-9-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs* 7-0-0 Postage 0 10-0

THE STORY
OF
MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)
By Gandhiji
Fifth Impression
With 11 Illustrations and Index
26 000 copies sold upto now
Pages 640 Price *Rs* 7 Postage etc *As* 12
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

GANDHIJI AND HIS TECHNIQUES

Gandhiji had techniques or methods, which were characteristically his own. As long as he lived, it was not easy to say whether some new technique or some new aspect of his old techniques will not be developed by him. But now that he is gone it is possible to sum up the main features of the way he lived and worked and the results he achieved.

1. REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES

He had a revolutionary set of principles. Otherwise a man of compromises, he never compromised on his basic principles; he yielded only in details. He believed in truth and the purity of means was as much his concern as the loftiness of his ends. Honesty was with him, not only correct in principle, but also the most opportune policy, even in the most notoriously dirty game, the game of politics.

He regarded man as a spirit, as a force that could make itself effective in spite of social, economic or physical obstacles against it. He believed in the essential goodness of all men; he never started with distrusting people and never despaired of persuading them. To him man is superior to the institutions or machines which he uses for his economic and political wellbeing. They are for him and not he for them. Spirit is one, classes and distinctions among men are conventional; a grievous error is caused by regarding them as rigid or real.

2. HARMONIZATION OF OPPOSITES

He harmonized apparent opposites—religion (or yoga) and politics, compassion and conflict, pairs so apparently antithetical were harmonized by him. Each unit of such a pair, moves away from the other, because of its losing its foothold in the essential spiritual background of man. His harmony purified both. His non-violence purged from the technique of conflict the bitter memories that it tends to leave behind, and it changed compassion from a passive self-immolation into a dynamic force for the benefit of society. He purified politics and brought religion to the foreground of society by linking it with politics.

His religion or his yoga was not *Jnana Yoga* which tends to deteriorate into pure intellectualism, nor was it *Bhakti Yoga* which similarly becomes in the case of most people a mere bundle of sentiments and superstitions; nor again was it *Hatha Yoga* which emphasizes purely physiological action at the expense of the spirit. While using elements of all the above three, his yoga was mainly the *Karma Yoga* or the yoga of the *Bhagavadgita*, the yoga which links religion with active life. It considered *Jnana Bhakti* and *Hatha-yogic* exercises as means to a full, pure and efficient life and not as ends in themselves. He was a practical idealist; he experimented and lived to learn. Though firm on certain fundamental principles of his, he was neither fanatic nor dogmatic. Those principles embodied his views as to the future course of evolution, and that is why he pursued them, but otherwise he so often admitted his blunders in action and promptly corrected them.

Satya and *ahimsa* are the first two parts of *yama* and *yama* is the first aspect of yoga as described

by the [illegible] Patanjali *Ramakhun* is a part of the technique of *kutana* practised by the *bhaktas* The recognition of man as essentially the spirit (or the *Brahman*) is the corner-stone of *Jnana* In Gandhiji they were all harmoniously knitted together

3 UNIQUE PROGRAMME

He had a unique programme which consisted in decentralized industry self-sufficient economics a non-violent and pure politics a return to the villages and an education correlated to hand-work and social life He laid much more stress in making solid men in his *ashrams*, than on making solid laws or constitutions or on constructing administrative steel frames

4 SOCIAL YOGA AND NON-COMMUNAL POLITICS

His yoga was social his politics non-communal Yoga and religion have had a tendency all over the world to become personal Social service is allowed with impunity by most religions, but politics is almost universally tabooed by them The religious man tolerates moral dwarfs to rule the society he lives in Gandhiji's yoga aimed at lifting man in society and not taking man away from it Nay more, it lifted man by making him serve society But the times helped Gandhi to pitch his ideal one step higher still His politics though linked with morality and religion was non communal He would not whip up communal hatred or fanatic intolerance in order to achieve freedom his means were to be as unquestionable as his ends His religion of humanity which discards the superfluous or incorrect tendencies of all organized religions, appreciates their merits

5 SHOCK TACTICS

He employed shock tactics, when it suited him Essentially a constructive genius and a wonderful organizer content to work over long periods in building up traditions and institutions he resorted at times to feats of strength and challenging measures A revolutionary that he was he got discontented at times with the slow pace of events or impatient with reactionary trends he found on occasions his fundamental principles being watered down or attacked He took up the challenge on such occasions and set his spirit face to face against the most powerful forces of society Do or Die One man against millions The Naked Fakir pitched against the most powerful empire on earth His political movements his fasts his anti-untouchability or communal harmony drives were all shock measures of this nature On these occasions he staked his all to attain his object

6 MASS CONTACT

He did not believe so much in reading as in intimate contact with the spirit of the masses The latter gives first hand and direct knowledge Scientific socialism discusses human history and it attempts to predict the future course of events The new subject of geo politics regards nations and races almost as inert matter, with inherent peculiarities and predictable reactions Gandhiji regarded human spirit as very much alive and evolving Man himself according to him and not his economics or politics is the governing factor So Gandhiji's study was mainly the study of human society around him His contact with men was personal and intimate A great political leader like him, with versatile engagements could hardly he dreamt of having such an affectionate contact with so many men in India and abroad The most vital decisions of his life were not based on results of study, but on his inner voice the result of this intimate contact with humanity

7 HIS IDEAL OF PERFECTION

He had a technique about his personal habits also, it was the technique of the *sthita-prajna* of the *Gita*—conceotrated and yet detached, intensely vigorous and yet dispassionate, once more a harmony of apparent opposites How he could arrive at quick and yet correct decisions how he could take complete rest in short intervals how he could attend to manifold engagements with fullness and satisfaction these were marvels of his conduct, which those who came to intimate contact with him observed every day His punctuality and regularity were equally marvellous All these are characteristic of the *sthita-prajna* personality as depicted in the *Bhagawadgita*

8 TEMPORARY RETIREMENTS

He dug deep and buried himself for a time in order to sprout forth higher He was imprisoned and the British imperialists thought they had vanquished him and crushed his political movements He himself abstained from politics for a time. He took to Harijan work, to communal harmony work to the organization of his constructive activities or to the training of workers to his *ashrams* He even resigned the membership of the Congress But every such recession into the background made him ultimately more powerful. Like a seed, which buries itself underground he sprouted every time much stronger than ever before Who knows his death may not turn out to be a similar recession of an extreme type the last but not the least Communal forces, which vehemently fought against his non-communal politics appear at first sight to have proved that he jumped too fast, that India is not yet prepared for anything more than the politics of Shivaji or Guru Govind and that Gandhiji in attempting a step ahead met with his doom But then history does not give a verdict immediately it sometimes takes centuries Communalism in India has already had its Waterloo in the assassination of Mahatmaji and who knows if his death will not accomplish what in his lifetime he failed to complete?

CONCLUSION

The Mahatma himself was a practical idealist and not a dogmatic puritan So let us leave it at that and let history decide how far his methods succeed in the long run, or in other words, how far his revolutionary principles are in consonance with the governing trends of human evolution. He tested his techniques and proved many times to the hilt, their essential superiority to the usual methods of humdrum politics. British imperialism may have had to liquidate itself in India even otherwise, but it may have left the reins of the

country into feudal capitalistic communal or corrupt hands Gandhi s inner voice enabled him to choose the correct moments for launching political movements and the correct procedure for conducting the Congress organization so as to leave the leadership of the country into more trustworthy hands He has accomplished all this in such a short time and by means purer more peaceful and more non-violent than any could have been dreamt of He has almost purged Hindu society of the blot of untouchability In the labour movement of Ahmedabad, he has shown a way to harmonize labour and capital Within the brief span of twelve months, his follower Sardar Patel, has neither liquidated nor destroyed but peacefully absorbed all the feudal princes within the framework of a United India These by themselves would constitute a miracle. However as I said, let nobody attempt to prejudge history quickly or dogmatically The forces that constitute society are so deep and varied that no man can claim the prerogative of correct prediction Mahatma ji s revolutionary principles and his equally unconventional techniques have given a new light to a wayward world groping in the dark. Let us see where they lead and whether the world chooses to follow them In India at any rate, we have had the special privilege of closely observing and even participating in these new techniques, and India has a traditional belief in the moral principles of the Mahatma It is for us to follow up his experiments with truth and to demonstrate to the world how far his methods will carry us

U A ASRANI

LEST WE FORGET

X

A PROGRAMME FOR PROHIBITION

(a)

India has the capacity and the opportunity to lead the world in the matter of prohibition Can she forego the revenue derived from this degrading traffic? She must if she is to live (*Harijan* X-32 September 15 1946, p 313)

(b)

If the Governments, Central and Provincial, were true to the Congress requirements there would be no spirituous liquors or intoxicating drugs such as opium *ganja* and the like to be had . (*Delhi Diary* November 7 1947, p 150)

(c)

The following steps will have to be taken simultaneously in order to make a success of the reform

1. Passing of the requisite law
2 Educating public opinion
3 Opening at the same place as grog-shops refreshment rooms selling harmless drinks and providing innocent entertainment in the form of books newspapers games etcetera
4 The income from the sale of intoxicants should be spent on cultivating public opinion in favour of prohibition (*Harijan* XI-34 September 21, 1947, p 333)

SOCIALISM IN INDIA

' We must realize that the ph[illegible] has gradually p[illegible] society the world over and alm[illegible] in dispute are the pace and m[illegible] to its full realization [illegible] way too if she [illegible] inequality though she may [illegible] and may adapt the [illegible] race [illegible]

Many and [illegible] in the world today [illegible] them Socialism [illegible] and economic system [illegible] justice for the common [illegible] Socialism based on her tra[illegible] philosophy of which history [illegible] There has been estab[illegible] a new political party call[illegible] India which [illegible] independent Socialist [illegible] be transferred [illegible] inspired by the old S[illegible] up a Bolshe[illegible] used as a thing [illegible] methods for [illegible] which must [illegible] in the sense of b[illegible] and murder but in that of [illegible] the existing industrial [illegible] They voice forth that they [illegible] in the backwater of pure [illegible] desire to quickly introduce the rul[illegible] format

For over half a cen[illegible] Socialism have been defined de[illegible] Socialism as has been best defined by G D H C[illegible] is a way of living in relation to other[illegible] There are many varieties of Socialism as [illegible] countries — let us say ranging from Bri[illegible] Russia to that peculiar species of State [illegible] the British rulers practised in India [illegible] mental idea conveyed by all socialist [illegible] the desirability of every individual b[illegible] opportunity to live his life in freedom without [illegible] others and without allowing him[illegible] by others Commenting on the subject [illegible]

' The so-called Socialism was not the true Socialism Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists Socialism even Communism is explicit in the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* What is true is that when some reformers lost faith in the method of conversion the technique of what is known as scientific Socialism was born. I am engaged in solving the same problem that faces scientific Socialism It is true however that my approach is always and only through unadulterated non violence

From this it is quite clear that he too was a staunch Socialist but of a thoroughly different nature

A MERE MATERIALIST CONCEPT

The world today views it from its purely economic and political aspects The simple moral

basis of Socialism has been lost sight of in our economic and political problems Like so many good and noble movements the Socialist movement has also suffered from a bias in favour of the mechanistic and materialistic philosophy of life A sane vision has become a distorted ugly dream It is taken for granted that the Socialist movement is a product of industrialization in our present machine-ruled age. That Socialist ideas and ideals are as old as human thought is hardly recognized

THE REAL SOCIALISM

The true Socialism must be based on universal brotherhood—not a mere utopian theory propounded by a few individuals, but an established fact in nature It stands for the removal of poverty not only of money but also of mind and morals It supplies the need not only of the economically poor and the dweller in the slums but also of the mentally and morally poor and of those who dwell in the slums of the spirit and soul From everyone according to his capacity and to everyone according to his needs is applied not only to those who work by hands but also to those who work by heads and hearts The true Socialism does not deal only with the labour market but also with intelligent aspiring human souls who cannot live by bread alone True Socialism observes the fundamental law of love against hate, that works not according to the rights of man but on the basis of the duties of man It affords an equality of opportunity for all human beings who wish to make progress though they differ in their moral and intellectual capacity in faculty of expression and efficiency of labour

THE INDIAN CONCEPT

Finally to conclude what shall be the edifice for India to erect a really true Socialistic State? Surely and certainly it shall be based on the ideas described above India true to her ancient humanism and modern democratic ideal cannot force Socialism upon the people by the downright expropriation of the capitalists Her techniques of adoption of Socialism will be moral non-violent We cannot introduce if we are true to the teachings of non-violence of Gandhiji, a classless society by burning one class at the stake of another or burying it underground as had been done in Eastern Europe Socialism here will be a humanized Indian variety May it not be that with our heritage of a non-violent, compassionate culture we shall be able as the decades pass, to develop and present for world acceptance an Indian brand Socialism not merely scientific and technological but also human and humanitarian? Let us wait and hope that the Socialists of our country will imbibe this spirit of true Socialism S Ramakrishna

(Note—For some of the thoughts expressed in the above article I am indebted besides those mentioned, to the writings of Sri Radha Kamal Mukharji Madame Sophia Wadia and Madam H P Blavatsky —S R)

QUESTION BOX

REVENUE IN KIND

Q 1 Under your scheme how would the zamindar who still exists pay to the Government in kind since he receives his rent in cash?

A The tenant would have to pay in kind to the zamindar in the same way as in the ryotwari system an occupant would pay to the Government

Q 2 The collection of grains, its transport to granaries and its storage will involve huge wastage Please recall the tragic days when millions died in Bengal, while its Government had to dispose off hundreds of maunds of food stuff because it had become unfit for consumption in the granaries The loss to the Government will be gigantic when we view it for the whole of India. How can the Government, so over-burdened with new problems bear this additional burden?

A Under the procurement system, the Government has already to do all these things After all granaries are not a new thing in India, and no Government is free from the burden of this type For its military jails refugees etc Government has to arrange for proper storage of food Its defects have to be removed Government has better means of removing the defects of storage than peasants and traders

Moreover the system will necessarily involve decentralization of administration and the burden could be lightened by suitable arrangements with village panchayats grain merchants associations and co-operative societies

The suggestion is made to help both the Government and the people, and not to embarrass either

Bombay 21-9-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

Hindustani Prachar Sabha

The next *Qabil* Examination under the auspices of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be held on Saturday the 11th and Sunday the 12th December 1948

Applications by intending candidates should reach the Sabha's office at Wardha along with the necessary fee on or before the 10th November, 1948 Candidates from Gujarat and Bombay will please submit their applications through their respective provincial offices

18-9-48 AMRITLAL NANAVATI
Examination Secretary
Hindustani Prachar Sabha Wardha

CONTENTS

		PAGE
PARTY CONSOLIDATION BY PARTY IN POWER	— K G MASHRUWALA	261
SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — VIII	D M	262
THE LESSON OF JINNAH'S LIFE	K G MASHRUWALA	264
GANDHIJI AND HIS TECHNIQUES	U A ASRANI	265
LEST WE FORGET — X	— M K GANDHI	267
SOCIALISM IN INDIA	— S RAMAKRISHNA	267
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	268
NOTES		
FOR GANDHI-ITES	K G M	261
FLOOD CONTROL	— J C K	262
EYE FOR AN EYE	— J C K	262
PAYING THROUGH THE NOSE	J C K	263
GOODWILL WITH WHISKY	J C K	263
NOBLE MANNERS	M S	263
HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA	AMRITLAL NANAVATI	268

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INDIA One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Mother-Tongue Theory

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 32 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY OCTOBER 10 1948 TWO ANNAS

THINGS TO REMEMBER AND FORGET

26 32

An article by Laski in the *Yale Review* was read to Bapu today After reading it Bapu remarked Laski seems to have understood Sankey's pretensions I am glad that I was able to open the eyes of him and others because I never concealed my opinion about Sankey"

Bapu we must get Sankey's reply by now said I

What reply? Bapu asked

To the letter which you wrote to him about his article

When did I write to him a letter?

Vallabhbhai Oh! Bapu how will it do if you forget things this way? We have still to get Swaraj!

I then reminded him of the letter by giving him some of its details. Thereupon Bapu said I can faintly recall something about it now

This is the first instance to my knowledge of Bapu having forgotten an important thing like this I have known Bapu forgetting several things absolutely but I considered this as rather an important lapse So when he retired to bed at night I said Bapu at times I am astonished at your ability to remember even small matters and so I am surprised how you could forget this great incident of a letter which was written after so much discussion and deliberation. Just this very morning you told me that the letter to Dawood was enclosed in the letter of so and so You were able to remember such a detail! How surprising it is then that you should have forgotten this thing!"

Bapu It has often happened so in my case The reason is that the value of these two small letters was different with me I would not forget a thing in which somebody's good was involved

I Yes memory has been defined as the power to remember what is necessary and to forget the rest

Bapu Yes I never gave much importance to my letter to Sankey when I wrote it and so it did not stick in my memory But the letter to Dawood stuck in my memory because there was something which was of great benefit to him I dictated my letter to Sankey and then forgot all about it The real fact is that things which appear to be less great and great to others are not always so to me and those which appear trivial to others often loom large in my mind My activities which have appeared very great to others have never appeared to me to be so great. From the time of Champaran till now I never went in search of activities They as it were came into my lap of themselves It has always been so in my life The credit is to God Who makes my things go well.

M D

(Translated from *Mahadevbhai's Diary* in Gujarati)

SARVODAYA EXHIBITION

For several years past it has been usual to hold an exhibition along with the Congress session The Reception Committee of the 55th Indian National Congress to be held in Jaipur in December next, has invited the A I S A, the A I V I A, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Goseva Sangh to organize an exhibition in the same way as before These organizations have accepted the invitation and have appointed an Exhibition Committee for the purpose The Committee will include two representatives of the Reception Committee also

The Exhibition Committee at its first meeting has decided upon a few principles which it would keep before itself in setting about its task

During the early years of the Exhibition period (1920 1934) as the name "Khadi Exhibition (by which it was then known) suggests the scope of the Exhibition was confined to the encouragement and popularization of *khadi* and of showing to the public the progress of work done during the year in that field The creation of the A I V I A in 1935 led to the inclusion of the Village Industries Department to the Exhibition and adoption of the name Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition Then in 1940 the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was founded by the Congress and thenceforth the demonstration of Basic Education also found a place in the show And thus, one after another all the various items of Gandhiji's constructive programme began to be included in the field of this Exhibition The name however continued to be the same as before namely Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition After Gandhiji's death the Constructive Workers Conference held at Sevagram put forth the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj—a word which is meant to connote Gandhian ideals and programme The scope of the Exhibition even during Gandhiji's

[illegible] a visible demonstration of the constructive programme in accordance with [illegible] Now that Gandhiji is no longer with us it is all the more important that the Exhibition should be thoroughly on those lines The Exhibition Committee has resolved that the Exhibition should henceforth be organized on the ideals of *Sarvodaya* (wellbeing of every one) and for that purpose he also named the 'Sarvodaya Exhibition

It has been decided to include the following departments in the Exhibition

1 Khadi	8 Village-sports, dances, songs plays and art
2 Village Industries	9 *Sarvodaya* literature
3 Cow Keeping & Dairy	10 Village planning
4 Agriculture	11 Village sanitation
5 Nai Talim	12 The art and culture of Rajasthan
6 Natur Cure	
7 Hindustani	

More items can be added to these if consistent with the *Sarvodaya* ideal

Some of these items are cultural while others are related to productive economics Hitherto it was usual to have within the Exhibition area sale depots of *khadi* and village-made articles along with their educative and practical demonstrations But it has now been decided by the Committee that there shall not be any sale depot along with the Exhibition itself so that it will be purely educative in the fullest *Sarvodaya* sense From the *Sarvodaya* point of view, the Committee feels that it should emphasize the production for self-consumption rather than for sale in the market It is usual nowadays to emphasize production but since it is not with the aim of self-consumption it raises the great problem of distribution The Governments have therefore to formulate great schemes for regulating the distribution and transport of articles and controlling their prices and to pass laws against black marketing and profiteering When the distribution of such articles as the people can themselves produce, or obtain locally becomes a subject of management by Governments, it makes the people dependent upon factors outside their control This instead of developing the capacities of the people, diminishes them The Government-controlled distribution of primary needs of life creates black-market and ultimately defeats the purpose of distribution. Both the Government and the people have had sufficient experience of this during recent years Gandhiji showed the way of getting relief from this evil by his exhortation to 'produce and use'

People too have been so far used to look at *khadi* and village industries not from the point of view of self-consumption, but from that of sale and wages Of course sale of *khadi* and village industries products cannot be ruled out altogether But the *Sarvodaya* ideal lays greater emphasis on keeping *khadi* and *gramodyoga* as much as possible outside the field of distribution through sale and transport The potential strength of *Sarvodaya* lies in this principle The Exhibition should endeavour to make clear to the people that they can be free from the dependence of [illegible] for sale or purchase by being self-dependent The object of the Exhibition should be to teach the people how to produce one's own necessaries of life with home-made contrivances and simple implements or in small co operative units This cannot be done if the Exhibition allowed to open sale depots thereby subordinating the educational side Hence, the Committee has decided not to allow stalls of even village-made articles within the Exhibition Like the other departments of the Exhibition the productive department also will be limited to give visual demonstration of production along with instructive samples and pictures

Nevertheless within the limits of the *Sarvodaya* principles, it is possible to have sale depots of such village industries products which deserve to be protected and encouraged Accordingly under the control of the Exhibition Committee it is proposed to organize a village industries Bazaar in the neighbourhood of the Exhibition

It is also proposed to construct a model village in the neighbourhood of the Exhibition for the purpose of giving a true picture of what a village should be like It is not feasible to raise a full village of this type for purposes of Exhibition What the people will be shown is how, on the one hand, they can produce for themselves the main necessaries of life in the village itself and how such industries should be organized And on the other hand an attempt will also be made to show how the village could save itself from a number of evils The Indian village at present suffers from the double evil of low production and huge waste of wealth People will be shown the right way of disposing off unclean water night soil urine dung and manure-producing refuse so that the village should be clean and healthy and the dirt itself should be a source of wealth An idea will also be given of the types of buildings for residential houses, school, co operative societies etc A show of herbs roots etc useful as edibles or drugs will also form a part of the model village

Besides this village it is proposed to have an independent Sanitarium corner where through models of various types of latrines to suit different kinds of soil and weather conditions the public will be shown how besides ensuring cleanliness and comfort human urine and night-soil could be utilized as valuable manure

Since the Congress session will be held in Rajasthan a separate wing will exhibit the peculiarities of the modern and ancient art and culture of Rajasthan

As far as possible the Exhibition will make use of village made materials It will be obligatory on every officer, worker and artisan of the Exhibition to wear *khadi*

KRISHNADAS GANDHI

(Translated from Hindustani)

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M K Gandhi)

IV

NON-STEALING AND NON POSSESSION OF POVERTY

These two along with the three that have gone before constitute the five *mahavratas* (primary observances) of old and have been included in the Ashram observances as they are necessary for one who seeks self-realization But they do not call for any lengthy discussion

(A) NON-STEALING

To take something from another without his permission is theft of course But it is also theft to use a thing for a purpose different from the one intended by the lender or to use it for a period longer than that which has been fixed with him The profound truth upon which this observance is based is that God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment Therefore whoever appropriates more than the minimum that is really necessary for him is guilty of theft

(B) NON-POSSESSION OF POVERTY

This is covered by Non-stealing We may neither take nor keep a superfluous thing It is therefore a breach of this observance to possess food or furniture which we do not really need He who can do without chairs will not keep them in his house The seeker will deliberately and voluntarily reduce his wants and cultivate progressively simple habits

Non-stealing and Non-possession are mental states only No human being can keep these observances to perfection The body too is a possession, and so long as it is there it calls for other possessions in its train But the seeker will cultivate the spirit of detachment and give up one possession after another Every one cannot be judged by the same standard An ant may fall from grace if it stores two grains instead of one An elephant on the other hand will have a lot of grass heaped before itself and yet it cannot be charged with having great possessions

These difficulties appear to have given rise to the current conception of *sannyasa* (renunciation of the world), which is not accepted by the Ashram Such *sannyasa* may be necessary for some rare spirit who has the power of conferring benefits upon the world by only thinking good thoughts in a cave But the world would be ruined if every one became a cave-dweller Ordinary men and women can only cultivate mental detachment Whoever lives in the world and lives in it only for serving it is a *sannyasi*

We of the Ashram hope to become *sannyasis* in this sense We may keep necessary things but should be ready to give up everything including our bodies The loss of nothing whatever should worry us at all So long as we are alive, we should render such service as we are capable of It is a good thing if we get food to eat and clothes to wear, it is also a good thing if we don t We should so train our minds that no Ashramite will fail to give a good account of himself when testing time comes

(Translated from Gujarati by V G D)

(To be continued)

INDUSTRIALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Industrialism developes mobocracy not democracy For its basis as well as by-product as also its bulwark is promotion of crowd-psychology And crowd-psychology is inimical to the unfoldment of individual uniqueness with all its wealth of variety of gifts and graces talents and truths Industrialism thus reduces a person s name to a number as if he were a prisoner or a package!

A package being inanimate, is insensitive to its environment and consequently, it can be handled in any manner required by its owner Therefore the inmates of an industrialized area become so many robots or rubber-stamps This being so they easily become playthings of politically minded plutocrats or pawns on the chessboard of their cupidity Hence, industrialism engenders anti-social activities which are the seed-plots of war And when war breaks out the spirit of hellicosity spreads like an infectious disease The result is that under the blighting effect of war s home is turned into a menial hospital

There is, in other words a definite lowering of the level of the individual s consciousness and intelligence and morality when industrialization envelopes like miasma, a whole people And this gives rise to certain characteristics in the latter, which can be summed up in the epigram of Rabindranath Tagore Man is kind but men are cruel ' Such indeed, is the logic and lunacy of the aggregate in life and in livelihood As C G Jung says in his *Essays on Contemporary Events*

> 'Man in the crowd is unconsciously lowered to an inferior moral and intellectual level to that level which is always there, below the threshold of consciousness, ready to break forth as soon as it is stimulated through the formation of a crowd
>
> The morality of a society as a whole is in inverse ratio to its size for the more individuals congregate together the more individual factors become blotted out By automatically stressing the collective qualities in its individual representatives society will necessarily set a premium on everything that is average and that tends to vegetate in an easy irresponsible way

Industrialization is, to conclude — a sin against the Holy Ghost ' inasmuch as it helps deface and deform the individual made in the image of God and degrade ' him to the level of the bully and the brute G M

THE NATION'S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt Mahadev Desai s account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]
Edited by
C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*
Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

HARIJAN

October 10 1948

THE MOTHER-TONGUE THEORY

The mother-tongue theory about the medium of education is not so simple as is often assumed It requires to be examined a little closely

It is that God has not gifted man with any natural language The young of a cuckoo is popularly supposed to be brought up in a crow s nest But the young cuckoo learns to *cuckoo* and not to *caw* as soon as it is able to yell out It is so because the two birds have two different sounds ordained for them by Nature They are their respective languages or mother-tongues Indeed they are so universally their particular tongues that all over the world all the cuckoos *cuckoo* and all the crows *caw* in the same way They do not need to make such distinctions as mother tongue provincial language and so on It is not so in man A child of Gujarati parents if brought up in a Marathi home will begin to speak in Marathi and if in an English home in English If it is brought up in an environment where two or more languages are spoken as a matter of course it will pick up all those languages fully and may unconsciously create for itself a mixed language Indeed it may not speak any human language but *caw* and *cuckoo* if brought up with birds Except for the shrill sound which a human child makes at the time of its birth all the world over in the same manner a human being has no natural language of its own It acquires later the language or languages which it hears round about itself It may be the mother s tongue or the father s tongue or neither It must be a local language nevertheless

Shri Devadas Gandhi s language is Gujarati his wife Shriman Lakshmi Gandhi s is Tamil They have settled down in New Delhi Their children have been brought up to speak Hindustani It has become the children s own tongue Shri Aryanayakam is a Ceylonese Tamil Shriman Ajhadevi is a Bengali their daughter has been brought up in Sevagram among Marathi speaking people and has been trained in a Marathi Basic School She speaks Marathi as well as any Sevagram inhabitant though she also speaks Bengali perfectly well—having come down to Sevagram after she had already learnt to speak. A few hundred Gujarati families have settled down in Khandesh (Maharashtra) and Berar for more than two hundred years now They speak a sort of Gujarati at home There is a considerable mixture of Marathi in it Apart from admixture of words that vocal peculiarity which marks out a man s original inhabitat has undergone such a complete change in them that even if one of these Gujaratis spoke grammatically correct Gujarati he would be found out to be a Gujarati of Maharashtra So also would the Gujaratis who have settled down in C P Hindi and U P be detected as belonging to a Hindi province The same thing [illegible] Maharashtrian Marwadis and others who have settled down in another province The [illegible] are not incapable of giving up [illegible] and adopting an entirely different [illegible]

The [illegible] word mother-tongue is not a [illegible] it is a misnomer A child s own tongue [illegible] language which is spoken round about [illegible] the local language It may be the mother s the father s or the neighbour s

It is educationally important and sound that the child should receive its training through *its own language* The word mother-tongue must therefore be understood to mean the child s tongue

But even so the term must not be understood in a narrow sense Tongue must be interpreted to mean its literary form and not the actual dialect or local form of the language which a child learns to speak in its natural environments Otherwise the tongue of a Gujarati child in the Surat district could be regarded to be different from that in Ahmedabad or Kathiawad But I believe no reasonable man would urge that the children of Surat should be taught the Surat-form of Gujarati while those of Kathiawad the Kathiawad-form It would be agreed that the Gujarati language to be taught should be the established literary form of the language of Gujarat That the literary form itself might undergo gradual changes in course of time is a different matter

It is true that it is difficult to give up one s home or ancestral language People migrating to other provinces cling to their ancestral tongue may be in a disturbed form for centuries after all their relations with the original home have become severed But that it is difficult to give it up does not mean that it cannot be so done even if one wishes Not only the children of Indians who have settled down in England have fully adopted the English language but even some Indians living here have deliberately given their children that language from the very commencement But most people are unwilling to do so even when it has become obviously necessary

As a matter of fact none is able to preserve one s ancestral language intact even in one s own province In another province the regional language has to be accepted sooner or later It seems to me a natural and proper consequence of migration I do not think that it is necessary to cling to one s own language after one has decided to take up his permanent abode in another linguistic region At any rate the second generation should be brought up in the language of the region. The doctrine of education through mother-tongue should be modified to mean "education through the literary form of the child s environmental language If in spite of change of province the linguistic environment has remained practically unchanged it would mean the language of the child s ancestral province or, so to say the mother-

tongue Otherwise it would generally be the literary language of the region

There is no and there ought to be no politics involved in this It is based on sound principles of education and convenience Under sound patriotic sentiment all Indian languages are ours, even as all Indians are our countrymen, and the whole country is our father-land. Every year hundreds of families all over the country migrate from one province to another Almost every province has a few inhabitants of every other province Some of these migrations are temporary some are permanent. The insistence on the part of these to cling to their respective original languages is die-hardness And a demand on the part of the people of their former provinces that the children of such emigrants should be trained through the language of their ex-province is unreasonable A philological study of the dialects of Bhils or other Adivasis resulting in interesting information about the amount of mixture of one or other of the major languages in their dialects may be a good literary engagement But it is unwise and unpatriotic to make use of the results of the investigations for starting an agitation for getting a taluka or a district transferred from one province to another Against the background of the country and the nation it matters very little that a few lakhs of Gujaratis become speakers of Marathi or vice versa A change in the length of arms does not alter the measurement of the angle contained by them And if that angle is the right Indian angle, whether the Gujarati arm is longer or the Marathi one, does not matter

Indeed, a young correspondent — a Gujarati merchant — asks Will it be a great loss if in course of time all the provincial languages of India become as obsolete as Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit and only a common Indian language subsists?' I own I have no answer to this except that it is difficult to persuade provincial politicians, linguists and educationists to adopt such an attitude I would personally not feel sorry for such result But since this is a matter not merely of reason but also of deep sentiment even a right step cannot be imposed from above The people have to be reconciled to it through appeal to reason and persuasion It is also the way of non-violence and democracy Until then it may be necessary for every province to arrange for giving education through more languages than one inspite of administrative and other difficulties

Bombay, 26-9-48 K G MASHRUWALA

THE STORY
OF
MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)
By Gandhiji
Fifth Impression
With 21 Illustrations and Index
26 000 copies sold upto now
Pages 630 Price *Rs* 7, Postage etc *As* 12
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

PRESS TELEGRAMS IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Very recently, that is on 10-8-1948 a weighty deputation on behalf of Indian language papers (other than English) waited on the Minister for Communications They requested the Minister to allow and arrange for the telegraphic transmission of news in different languages Of course just at present the Roman script will have to be used by those who wish to transmit in this way

In fact, even today as the law and the rules stand there is no bar to sending any message in any language provided it is transliterated in the Roman script It can be held up by the telegraphic authorities only on the plea that it is not understandable by the transmitting station concerned and not on the ground that it is in a language other than English

The Minister has promised to consider the matter sympathetically

I quite appreciate the move because it would facilitate the work of the special correspondents of the language papers in India and save the respective offices from the bother of translation of about one eighth of their total messages But I only wish that the deputation had gone one step further and urged the Minister to bring into vogue the transmission of news through the medium of the national language I know that this would involve the news-agencies It is really the news-agencies that handle the bulk of the news even of all language newspapers Roughly speaking seven-eighths of their news comes from the A P I, Reuters, U P I A P A., and so on When that is the case, if the language papers appreciate the advantage of service in the national language they can easily persuade the news agencies to make arrangements Not would it then be difficult for the Minister to accede to the demand of transmission of press messages in the national language

Now let me examine the implications of my proposal I am writing on the assumption that news continues to be trasmitted to English papers in English

Let me start by saying that this would involve far less complications than transmission in the twelve provincial languages that are current in India in the field of journalism I do not thereby imply that I am against the use of provincial languages in news-transmission. I am only taking a comparative view For instance let me take a place like Delhi Most of the important language papers have special correspondents in Delhi If they think of sending special despatches to their respective papers it would be comparatively difficult to handle the traffic From the point of view of staff telegraphic lines and the employment of people knowing more languages than one it is far less difficult if the authorities have to handle only two laoguages rather than several

It is the news-agencies that will have to put up new establishments They will have to continue to employ the staff that does work in English

There will have to be some competent additional staff who know both the languages There need not be any change in the type-writers or the teleprinters that click the news today round the whole of India

I do not for a moment suggest here the adoption of the Roman script for either the national language or the other Indian languages That is a different question and has to be decided on its own merits I am glad to know from papers (*National Herald* 20-8-48) that an inventor has perfected a system of notation ('The Rule-of-three') by which all languages can be put on the wires I am also in the know about the attempt at the reformation of the Nagari script and its adaptation to the needs of the type writer, the teleprinter and the short-hand My proposal is to hold good only in the interim period the period which may be any where between now and two years But if these two years give us some distinct advantages by straightway beginning to transmit news in the national language in the Roman script, why lose those advantages?

In addition to being practical almost immediately, this proposal has very great advantages from the national point of view

The first advantage is that it would be far easier for language papers to translate from the national language than from English It may require about half the time as the national language is not foreign to us Its structure syntax and vocabulary are far more familiar than those of English Since it is the product of India its idiom its proverbs its humour are all Indian and far more easily renderable than from English

The second distinct advantage is that if we take sufficient care at the source, that is at the offices of the news-agencies and employ first-class men there, it would be possible to standardize the vocabulary of current thought throughout India in all provincial languages Thus provincial languages also would come nearer to each other and people from different provinces would not feel that they are far from each other I may give an instance. Today a single word 'democracy' is rendered into the provincial languages in half a dozen ways *lokasatta lokatantra prajaprabhutva prajatantra lokshahi prajasatta* and so on Similarly 'constitution is rendered into *ghatana vidhana rajyangarachana* and so on But if the above proposal is accepted there will be a standardization, and after all what is language but a sound-symbol for a certain idea?

In my humble opinion this would be one of the biggest steps in what may be termed as constructive nationalism No province or provincial language will lose anything but the nation will distinctly gain

I know there is opposition to the use of the Roman script for the national language The opposition is mostly sentimental and not rational But sentiment does play a great part in human life. If one looks at it from a cold logical point of view any script is as good as the other if it does work Neither the Tamil language nor the Tamilians have suffered in intellectual advancement simply because they have carried on with fifteen notations less than Nagari Nor have those who use the Nagari script shown any exceptional intellectual or other ability because it is phonetically more perfect than any other language Possibly if we examine the whole thing psychologically and from the point of view of civilization trends man's attempt has been to turn out more work from few materials That is the very meaning of 'rationalization in industry

But I am not arguing here for any particular script My eye is on the national advantages that may be secured by straightway beginning news-service in the national language in the Roman script till such time that the Nagari is adapted to modern conditions We shall be the losers if we allow only sentiment unguided by reason to play its part

R R. DIWAKAR

[Note —I endorse with one condition The rules for exact transliteration of Indian sounds into the Roman script must be standardized for the whole of India before this practice is extended The inexact transliteration has been the cause of serious but wholly unnecessary mutilation of pronunciations Of course for telegraphic purposes the transliteration must be without the use of diacritical marks and yet exact. I claim that this is possible

Wardha 13 9-'48 — K. G M.]

HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?

I feel grateful for the courtesy extended to me in publishing my note *Limitations of Hindustani?* in the *Harijan* of August 1st. It is not in a spirit of needless controversy that I trouble you again with this letter but in the hope that we might come closer in our views I had the good luck to spend about a couple of hours at Delhi with our revered Vinobaji Bhave discussing this matter and it was a matter of very great pleasure to me that we were very close in our views on this question That has indeed heartened me to write again to you But before I proceed I would like to correct some misunderstanding about my views that I think you have, when you write that I have 'not hesitated to introduce' the Indian word *fugga* in my English article, but that I would perhaps object to the use of the word *rubber*' The reason for writing *fugga* was my ignorance of its English equivalent and I would not object to the use of the word rubber' in any of our languages But let me state my views on the point briefly

(1) I am not against keeping in our language (even in technical books) a common word already in current use provided

(a) *It is not a hindrance to progress and expansion* As when the word does not stand singly but has a family of derivatives and compounds, e.g I shall not have (in technical books) कानून for *law* *Law* has something like four scores of derivatives

and compounds which I shall draw from विधि I would not have कानून for *law* or वैध for *lawful* and कानून-विहीन for *Lawless*

(b) *It is not likely to stand in the way of our inter provincial homogeneity and contact with regard to technical words* To explain my point In the Draft Constitution of India there are many important subjects in the Concurrent List The Centre as well as the Provinces (to be called States) would legislate on them Our words having any technical significance must be such as are likely to be universally acceptable to the whole of the Dominion of India Otherwise there would be chaos leading to ultimate disintegration If for instance what I found in Bengalee भूकरण and दुर्भूकरण for *arrest* and *rearrest* be more likely to be acceptable to all our languages I would have those and not गिरफ्तारी and गिरफ्तारियाँ दुबारे.

(c) *If it fits in the style and flow of the language in the particular position and occasion*

To give a rather crude example I shall call अकबर बादशाह but not राम बादशाह. My राम will be रामराम Let us take another example. Where the words social, economic and political occur together I would translate the phrase as सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनैतिक and not as समाजी, आर्थिक और सियासी to make it Hindustani

(2) The basis for our technical words should be Sanskrit In this I have the concurrence of no less a person than our Vinobaji Bhave.

2 I readily grant what you say in your para 1 doubting my para 2 (in that article) There have been translations of Bills Acts, Orders etc But they were popular having no claim to accuracy of technical words Indeed there was no need for them to be so accurate The English text and not its translations was always resorted to in interpreting Statutes and things of that kind As regards Indian States, I know not of Baroda But I do accept as I know that in Hyderabad State and the Osmaniya University, Urdu is the medium with claims to accuracy I had occasions to see some of their books and they fully prove my deduction contained in para 5 (3) (ii) (of my previous article) that the vocabulary has to be "Urdu with words derived mostly from Arabic and Persian', if you reject Hindi, with words derived from Sanskrit I would not like to burden this note by quoting from their books But I would earnestly request you to see any of their books say the L P C to find out that it no where comes near our ideas of Hindustani

3 As to our source for coining *new* words It sounds very well to say the more the merrier, the more the number of sources the greater the ease and the larger our vocabulary, and to cite English as an example. I am not a philologist and do not know the intricacies of coining new words But a little and just a little of actually doing the work has made me doubt the soundness of the proposition. But let us just compare the situation in which our language (say Hindi) stands in this respect as compared to English There can be no comparison between the two English (in modern times) was not incapacitated by any political conditions of England It had full scope and full play in all the fields It grew as a vast jungle grows unfettered and unplanned Words first came in use and were absorbed just as we have absorbed many words of common use With all that my surmise is that comparatively speaking English has lesser percentage of words which could be called foreign to it than say Hindi But there is one very important point which is often forgotten Fortunately or unfortunately we are in a situation in which we have to coin quite a number of words before they actually come into use, and become a part and parcel of our languages In other words we are in a position to plan It would be unwise not to plan a beautiful garden well laid well thought out and having a definite scheme of our own but to cater for an incongruous, wasteful and difficult wild jungle An intelligent society today plans even its forests We have our alphabets planned into वर्णमाला Should we reject it because the mighty English language (along with some others) follows some other unplanned alphabets (as distinct from script)?

4 Now as to our desiring to have more than one source for coining our *new words* Apart from the knowledge of root words we must have recourse to so many other grammers For example knowledge alone of words like जिल्ल and ताकिद won't do Like विकार्थी it won't be जिल्ल ताकिद but will have to be तालिब जिल्ल जिद्दा स्थान will not be मकाम मंजिल but will have to be मंजिल मकाम. The greater the number of source the heavier the burden on our future students both as to root words and as to grammer But even this will not save us from trouble when accuracy will be really in demand The burden of knowing both kinds of root words and their grammers will not help Let me give an example, c f para 1 (1) (c) above Let us take the word समाजी as a newly coined word Unless Hindustani has a grammer of its own (which I do not know) as distinct from Hindi and Urdu grammers we have taken recourse to both these grammers At a crucial moment the question arises whether the word समाजी' like शक्ती, शक्ती करी is following the Sanskrit grammer or is it like सियासी following the Urdu-Arabic grammer? If one the meaning would be one, if another, the meaning would be quite different If we had no go we must do all that But let us tap our Sanskrit (whether we call it our mother or our rich aunt) and if it fails us I am sure it will not, then we may turn to other sources for coining new words

I regret that without wishing to add any needless word this note has become somewhat long But I would assure that this would be the last note on the subject in the *Harijan*

12-8-'48 G S GUPTA

[NOTE I am unwilling to carry on this discussion indefinitely There is a point after which discussion does not help particularly when in the ways of approaching a problem there is a curious mixture of agreements and disagreements Time experience and concretely worked out examples must be

[illegible] All that I should [illegible] in my opinion the type of [illegible] public at present is not [illegible] of the masses [illegible] Hindi provinces

Bombay 21-9-48 K G M

SHRI VINOBA IN A BLIND MEN'S INSTITUTION

12-9-48

Addressing a post prayer meeting at Taghelakhalsa [illegible] miles from Delhi on 11-9-48 Shri Vinoba, [illegible] to the work of the Blind Relief Association [illegible] the village said that the training which was [illegible] there to the blind presented a very [illegible] of special service He was glad to accept [illegible] because a place of service was the [illegible] and the idea of holding the evening [illegible] inside the other more attractive The work [illegible] not only satisfaction but also filled [illegible] sense of sanctity If the service of the [illegible] result in removing their feeling of help [illegible] and humiliation it would not be called a [illegible] idea He was glad that at that place [illegible] with the aim of making the blind self [illegible] in weaving crafts music as also [illegible] Rs would make them self supporting [illegible] able to do some work outside.

[illegible] according to Shri Vinoba [illegible] often their Maker Those who had [illegible] without a supporter and a friend he [illegible] God only knew who is this world [illegible] and who were not Let those who [illegible] fortunate prove by serving the poor [illegible] so Human life did not mean an [illegible] life Life was given to man so that he may [illegible] himself through good deeds service and [illegible] realisation The means to self realisation [illegible] of the poor without differentiation

Shri Vinoba referred to one of the inmates of his [illegible] whom they all used to call Blind Uncle. He [illegible] not sit idle even for a moment He used to fetch [illegible] from the well twist ropes and keep himself [illegible] the whole day with one useful work or another In course of time the Blind Uncle died [illegible] must be aware that it was customary among [illegible] to observe *sutak* (days of impurity) after the [illegible] of a relative, for a period of three to ten days [illegible] however not done on that occasion. Shri [illegible] therefore acquired of his mother the reason [illegible] mission His mother thereupon informed him [illegible] the deceased was not really a blood relative of [illegible] family, but a stranger who had been adopted in [illegible] family for a long time and was addressed by the [illegible] sisters as uncle out of respect only But until his [illegible] Shri Vinoba was unaware of this fact so fully [illegible] had become a part of the family. The point Shri [illegible] wanted to make out was that there ought not [illegible] any difference between the server and the served. [illegible] such service to the poor could lead one to the realisation of God

[illegible] village [illegible] for the village [illegible] they could [illegible] till their [illegible] the cost [illegible] any service [illegible]

Referring to [illegible] Institution Shri Vinoba [illegible] was the purpose of life. The [illegible] was no surprise to him [illegible] only demonstrated the powers of the people [illegible] he could [illegible] their decided to live for mutual service [illegible] they all belonged to one [illegible] Truth. [illegible] then would become an impossibility [illegible] steal in one's own house? D M

(Translated from the original in Hindi)

NOTES

Diwali Fire-works

A correspondent suggests that having regard to the difficult times through which the nation has passed and is still passing and also because the nation is mourning the loss of Gandhiji it is desirable that leaders should issue a timely appeal to the people to refrain from fire-work entertainments at the next *Diwali* It is a useless waste of lakhs of rupees He suggests that such appeal should be issued as early as possible so that merchants might not go in for purchasing these materials

It is a wise suggestion

Bombay 29-9-48

Not "Vidyasagar"

In the article *The Christians of Jashpur* I inadvertently mentioned the name of Shri Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as a Christian I had in my mind Shri Goodive Chakravarti I regret the mistake

Bombay 29-9-48

Special Concessions

I am glad to be informed by the Bombay Government that it has decided to cancel orders relating to special concessions to students on the ground that they took part or suffered during the various movements for Independence

Bombay 1-10-48 K G M

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THINGS TO REMEMBER AND FORGET	M D	269
SARVODAYA EXHIBITION	KRISHNADAS GANDHI	269
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION—IV	M K GANDHI	271
INDUSTRIALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL	G M	271
THE MOTHER-TONGUE THEORY	K G MASHRUWALA	272
PRESS TELEGRAMS IN THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE	R R DIWAKAR	273
HINDI OR HINDUSTANI?	G S GUPTA	274
SHRI VINOBA IN A BLIND MEN'S INSTITUTION	D M	276
NOTES		
DIWALI FIRE WORKS	K G M	276
NOT VIDYASAGAR	K G M	276
SPECIAL CONCESSIONS	K G M	276

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 5 or 14 sh or $ 3

Sarvodaya in Village Economy 3072 Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Edited by K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 33 AHMEDABAD - SUNDAY OCTOBER 17 1948 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

K. F. Nariman

Every one who knew Shri K F Nariman must have experienced feelings of regret on hearing of his sudden death of heart-failure at New Delhi on the evening of the 4th October The famous Harvey Case of Bombay had made him a hero of the youth and a leader of the Congress He retained his popularity for a long period Suddenly he had a political fall from which it took him nearly twelve years to recover Although practically excommunicated from the official Congress, so far as I know he never joined any anti-Congress group or party He was both a peace-maker and a fighter And as a fighter he was not afraid of remaining a single combatant against heavy odds Personally he was always a man of peace and loving temperament

I do not know the circumstances which recently restored him to his former place in the Congress bodies But I was glad when I learnt that Shri Nariman was again to lead the Congress party in the Bombay Municipal Corporation

But, it would seem as if he wanted just to see his reputation re-established, and on the fulfilment of that desire his life-stream found itself exhausted It is good that he died after he had obtained the mental peace of having resolved the differences with his former colleagues

His mission was evidently accomplished but we feel sorry for the members of his family, who have been early and suddenly deprived of their loving head while he was again about to rise higher than before

Bombay 6 10-48

Prof. Einstein and Agriculture

The *Harijan*, dated 11th July 1948 referred to a newspaper report purporting to give Prof Einstein's opinion that the use of tractors, chemical fertilizers etc was detrimental to agriculture. A friend has sent me a cutting from the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika*, dated 27th August 1948, which publishes the following correction of the report The correction has been addressed to Shri A. Kumar Datta a correspondent of that paper

> I was very much perturbed when I read the newspaper clipping you sent me with your letter of June 29th It shows a gross exaggeration of the modest remarks I made as a poor layman in your field In my conversation with Dr Jha I mentioned the interesting book by Fairfield Osborne *Our Plundered Planet* as my source of information In this book it is convincingly shown that indiscriminate exploitation of the soil by technical means can become dangerous and can only lead to speedy deterioration It was never my intention to speak against the use of labour saving technical devices in general and my remarks were, of course, not intended for publication I never pretended to be able to give advice in such a complicated field of practical work
>
> Bombay, 2-10-'48 K. G M

The Progress of the Charkha

I am not surprised that the *charkha* does not spread rapidly The *charkha* is not a new kind of cigarette or tea to attract the people It is a new and revolutionary idea which goes counter to the prevailing currents of thought He alone may spin who has the courage to go against modern world currents I do not, therefore lose hope by the slow progress of the *charkha* rather I feel all the more earnest in its cause If it spreads steadily and firmly, even though slowly it will lead us towards progress

Sacrificial Spinning

Ginning carding and sliver-making also form part of spinning It is a mistake to think that sacrificial spinning means drawing the thread only The time and labour spent on ancillary processes is also sacrificial spinning and one may spend all his time in congregational spinning in any of the ancillary processes as I have done today

In short any labour which does not conflict with the legitimate interests of another and which is in the interest of all is a sacrificial act, and the *charkha* symbolically represents all forms of such labour

(From *Shri Vinoba's speech at Rajghat on Charkha Jayanti day 30th September, 1948, in Hindustani*)

D M

Weaving and Occupational Therapy

It would interest the readers to know what an eminent American author Mr Ralph Borsodi who is a critical student of modern movements has to say about weaving

> "Weaving is one of the favoured methods of Occupational Therapy in the ever increasing number of institutions for nervous and mental disorders which we are erecting all over the country The strain of repetitive work in factories and offices and the absence of creative and productive work in our homes, particularly for women children and the aged, is turning us into

[illegible] industries. Weaving [illegible] revived after [illegible] thousands [illegible] restore these industries [illegible] health. What [illegible] commentary upon what we have called progress! Having taken the looms out of homes during the past century and transferred them to factories we now find that the absence of the creative work they used to furnish is producing an ever increasing number of neurotic men and women and an endless number of problem children. So our physicians are putting the loom into their institutions in order to make the victims of this deprivation well again. They turn them, after caring them, back into their loomless homes to break down again."

Shall we learn wisdom from such experiences or choose to learn it only when we face a wall?

R. S.

THE NEW BOMBAY TENANCY BILL

A new Tenancy Act embodying far-reaching changes is about to be enacted by the Government of Bombay. Some of its provisions have caused great dissatisfaction to the landlords. The Act of 1939 too was not well received by them, with the result that there has been abundant litigation between landlords and tenants in implementing its provisions. The object of the new measure is to give fuller protection to the actual tillers of the soil.

Shri Khushalbhai Morarji Patel is a leading landlord of Bardoli. He has worked for several years under Sardar Patel as a soldier. He has also helped him in raising the various Ashrams of the Bardoli Taluka. He does not desire to preserve any of the unjust rights or privileges that may have been enjoyed hitherto by the landowners. But his complaint is that the new Tenancy Act deprives people like him of even their just rights.

The following is a summary of his main complaints:

It is but proper that the Government should take steps to protect the interests of tenants, but in taking such steps due care should be taken that landlords who were unable to farm their lands for a period under peculiar circumstances are not dispossessed.

The new Act will wipe out indiscriminately even those landowners, who are themselves descendants of farmers who have personally cultivated land for generations, and who are eager to return to the land as soon as convenient but happen to be landlords wholly or in part at the present time under unavoidable circumstances. They are agriculturists and wish to remain so but will be prevented from doing so by the new Act. This should be prevented.

Some of these enterprising farmers went abroad to cities or foreign countries under trying conditions and invested the money earned there in lands at home and made them more paying. This must not be regarded as an offence on their part, deserving to be penalized. At least they should be given a chance if [illegible] find as actual agriculturists.

Moreover [illegible] their money and [illegible] in Indian States and [illegible] fertile fields. Some [illegible] by them to [illegible]. They now will be deprived [illegible] their hard labour and enterprise [illegible] is immediately applied to these areas [illegible] that they have now merged into the [illegible]. This would be not only a great tragedy [illegible] will also kill all enterprise from their genius.

The Act [illegible] to take away the right of resorting to civil [illegible] and to give finality to decisions of Special Tribunals working under the Executive.

The main demands submitted by the class of cultivators represented by Shri Khushalbhai Patel are:

1. Until [illegible] is made in enacting the law and [illegible] opportunity should be given to landlords [illegible] by it.
2. The [illegible] should be defined as one who is [illegible] and has cultivated land [illegible] with the help of [illegible] in the happens to be a landlord [illegible] an opportunity to become [illegible] over his land to [illegible].
3. The limit of [illegible] holding should be increased from [illegible].
4. The share [illegible] under Hindu Law be recognized and not [illegible] as suggested in clause 3a.
5. The [illegible] share in the crop should not [illegible] into money payment.
6. The right [illegible] should be recognized under peculiar circumstances [illegible].
7. The right of appeal to the High Court be not abrogated.

There are a few other demands of minor importance.

Some of the above demands seem to be just. Some need further examination and a few appear to be controversial. I have not sufficient knowledge or acquaintance with the problems to take up their detailed examination. But I hope that the legislators will duly and dispassionately consider these grievances.

What I propose to do is to enunciate in a separate article the broad principles that should guide us in viewing this problem from the point of village economy as a whole. I believe that reforms made consistently with these principles would have to be regarded as just, even if they cause some loss to particular individuals or class. The loss would be unavoidable in the present but would enhance *sarvodaya* (the well-being of all) including ultimately the immediate losers.

Bombay, 3-10-48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—IX

THE WEAPON OF FASTING

[illegible] speaking at the post-prayer meeting [illegible] 1948 said that he wanted that day [illegible] fasts until death. It was unfortunate [illegible] was growing and much abused. These [illegible] teachings which Gandhiji gave [illegible] Satyagraha drowned them all. The word [illegible] meaning Satyagraha [illegible] pursuit. [illegible] the [illegible] of life. In this case, [illegible] Council of India [illegible] Satyagraha. [illegible] only used to indicate a part [illegible] injustice. Shri Vinoba used [illegible] sense.

[illegible] his entire life from [illegible] injustice. It was not a new thing by [illegible] its use and importance [illegible] Thus it was prescribed for [illegible] for attainment of self [illegible] or for helping [illegible] naturopaths too prescribed [illegible] But the purpose for [illegible] fasting fell under a different [illegible] also the consequence of the [illegible] lity. Such fasts were of two kinds [illegible] period and fasts unto death. [illegible] only on the [illegible] of the last. Bapu had [illegible] Of these the last note [illegible] nowadays. Shri Vinoba [illegible] just a few [illegible] fast-unto [illegible] to reason [illegible] him to [illegible] Thus [illegible] also in Delhi also. He received reports [illegible] cases. In some [illegible] he came into [illegible] the fasters [illegible] he knew only [illegible] newspapers. Every week they received reports [illegible] place in some part of the country [illegible] It only meant that there was discontent [illegible] country and it manifested itself in [illegible]

But Shri Vinoba [illegible] that he felt hardly [illegible] from the [illegible] or spiritual [illegible] Gandhiji's [illegible] people had [illegible] and Gandhiji often asked them to [illegible] But now in his absence the conditions had changed. The responsibility therefore of those who were inclined to go on a fast was great. They must know that such a mighty weapon was not to be handled lightly.

Fasting as a spiritual weapon had a legitimate place in the armoury of non-violence. Weapon and armoury were inappropriate terms in the technology of non-violence. But he had adopted a current code. It only meant that of all the spiritual means which non-violence had at its disposal fasting occupied a special place. But, it was hoped that those days for the purpose of either bringing all to pressure upon someone or simply drawing someone's attention to some issue. The use of a [illegible] is not only [illegible] itself inscrutable [illegible] and the last [illegible] It ought not to [illegible] calculated [illegible]

Fasting [illegible] only proper [illegible] on for being [illegible] also a properly qualified person to use [illegible] of purpose and [illegible] serve as [illegible] justification to wield this weapon. Even in violence arms were not to be handled by those who were not qualified to do so. A gun was not to be handled by one who did not know the right way and occasion for using it. In fasting purity of heart, disarmed freedom from passion and hatred and complete absence of all egotism were necessary to justify one for resorting to it. There could be no emphasis on the self (*atmagrahi*) in *satyagraha*. It was truth (*satya*) which was to be allowed to emphasize itself. He alone who had rendered motherlike services to humanity could claim some justification for this purpose.

There was a third condition also. Fasting would not be justifiable even for a right cause and a right man if the circumstances in the country or in the surroundings were not favourable to it. A fast could be undertaken only when all the three conditions were favourable for it.

In the absence of these three conditions fasting though apparently non violent would be akin to violence. Let no one run away with the idea that violence was possible only with the sword. Such improper fasts could also be violent. If people yielded to such fasts out of pity that sense of pity too was not justified. If Shri Vinoba said his voice could reach all those who were engaged in social service he would advise them to render service in every possible form at their disposal but not to touch the weapon of fasting for the present. He did not mean to ban the use of the weapon completely but when a popular Government was in power, and when they the workers knew that they had not even a fraction of Gandhiji's qualifications it was better that this weapon was not used.

One of the characteristics of a votary was that he would consult his colleagues before embarking on any such action. If anyone therefore had the urge for fasting, he should consult his colleagues—not those who had a place in for encouraging fasting but those who could think dispassionately. It would be self-deception if every one claimed to hear the 'Inner Voice'. 'Inner Voice' could manifest itself only to the purest of souls. Otherwise the voice instead of being the voice of God was more likely to be the promptings of Satan.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

D. M.

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR

By Gandhiji

Price *Rs* 7-0-0 Postage etc 0-10-0

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH

(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)

By Gandhiji

With 11 Illustrations and Index

Pages 640 Price *Rs* 7, Postage etc *As* 12

HARIJAN

October 17 1948

SARVODAYA IN VILLAGE ECONOMY

We must think of life as a whole and in all its varied aspects Then there can be no water-tight divisions and consequent clash of interests between agriculture and other industries or occupations It should be possible for the worker of one occupation to take part in another occupation or have a share in the earnings of other occupations. A development on these lines should be aimed at

The lack of entirety of outlook is the reason for the various kinds of injustices resulting from the existence of one person as the owner and another as the actual cultivator of land, standing in the relation of landlord and tenant, or owner and labourer or serf

The landlord's share in what the tenant might produce with his labour has been long assumed to be legitimate but the tenant gets no portion out of what the landlord might earn through other occupations, which he is enabled to pursue owing to the tenant relieving him from the labour on land

It is sought to remove this injustice by abolishing the absentee landlord He is asked either to become a pure agriculturist himself cultivating the land or to cease to have any interest in that land

This does not seem to be the right direction of remedying the ill.

For the proper uplift of the Indian village it is important that a villager should not be merely an agriculturist, a herdsman or a trader As a rule none of these occupations provides continuous engagement and full work during all the days of the year Even if every one of these could be so developed as to provide full employment to persons engaged in it it is necessary that they should also pursue a handicraft along with their main occupation A mere agriculturist does not often develop fully on the intellectual plane A mere shop-keeper or a mere artisan tends towards physical weakness and moral cowardice

Village needs led to the rise of the artisan class where they could not be created locally, they were invited from other places. The same needs brought the mere agriculturist under the control of the trader A few persons with greater intelligence or cunning than others of the agriculturist class also took to that profession They did not require to abandon their lands They were cultivated first through labourers and then through lessees

Thus came about a division of labour But in the division of earnings the merchant claimed a share both in the produce of the land and the labour of the artisan while he admitted nobody s share in the earnings of his trade Similarly the landlord claimed a share in the yield produced by the sweat of the labourer and also exploited the skill of the [illegible] him more than just sufficient f r [illegible] which he himself gave no share to th [illegible] earnings from other lands or occupati [illegible] The [illegible] only person who worked hard est [illegible] the landless labourer and the artisan

The reforms now attempted aim at eliminating the landlord and the middleman (that is the shop-keeper or the agent) making the artisan and the farm-labourer 'free' classes and enabling them to take a due share of the fruits of their labour

Since none dares to stop large-scale industries the industrialist retains a place of honour in the national economy

The joint Hindu family system was based on blood relationship There was a time when a family consisted of as many as 200 to 250 members This made it possible to divide the work of cultivating land tending the herds manufacturing various articles marketing produce etc amongst its different members All belonged to one family and consequently each one shared in the produce of all But that system has now disappeared and it is not possible to revive it in the same form. But the principle of common share in the earnings of all which underlies that system is a valuable one It can now be taken advantage of only through multi-purpose co-operative societies and all laws and reforms should be devised with the object of promoting such societies

The Tenancy Act also should pursue the same object The so called landlord the agriculturist the tenant, the farm-labourer, the village artisan, the shop-keeper and the emigrant who goes abroad for a short while to earn should be all so knitted together in a common society that everyone shared in the earnings of all others and none remained unemployed. Everyone is of course to get a living wage People should be guided and taught to a social and economic life based on such multi-purpose co-operative basis

If the landlord is prepared to share all his other income with the tenant and the labourer there could be no harm even if he retained the ownership of the land

There would be no objection to a trader investing his savings in the land and taking a share in its produce by getting it cultivated by labourers or tenants if he is equally prepared to share his other income with his tenants and labourers.

An enterprising young man in a joint Hindu family goes abroad and makes money He has to share it with other members of the family even as he himself gets a share in the earnings made at home during his absence Why not extend the bounds of family and include the tenant and the labourer indeed, the whole village in it? Then there should be no cause for jealousy Rather he would receive help and encouragement for his enterprises abroad This is possible on the co-operative principle When this happens the terms absentee-landlord 'unearned increment exploitation will fall out of use

It is certainly more advantageous to cultivate larger farms of say 100 to 200 acres than those of 50 acres and similarly a bigger herd is more productive of wealth than a small one, provided always that this is done under the co-operative system

If the new Tenancy Act is not favourable to the promotion of such co-operative societies the defect should certainly be remedied in a suitable manner The law must welcome and encourage erstwhile landlords to take greater interest in their land, to go back to their villages and take to personal cultivation, improvement of agriculture and also promotion of industries in their villages in such a way that the tenant, the artisan and the labourer all share together the joint earnings — all occupations and all earnings being regarded as joint.

The agriculturist is very much attached to his land and he will not part with it easily He will do his best to circumvent the law It would therefore be much better for all if he could be induced to go the way of justice and *sarvodaya*

It is no doubt much to be desired that there should be no delay in justice but the tendency to take away matters from the jurisdiction of civil courts is not a healthy one The purpose behind the demand to separate the Judiciary from the Executive is defeated by instituting all sorts of special Tribunals independent of the Judiciary The tendency to take away the power of the civil courts to see to it that the law is properly interpreted and administered, and evidence is carefully weighed and justice is done is bound to lower the moral standard of governments

The commutation of produce into a money equivalent is apparently convenient But in reality it is quite a wrong procedure What deserves to be done is to fix the quantity of the landlord's share for a number of years as say 5 maunds or 10 maunds instead of an annually variable one fourth or one-third quantity During bad years, the quantity should be reduced or remitted in the same way as rent is done under Land Revenue Law

Bombay 6-10-48

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

K G MASHRUWALA

Prohibition in Madras

The Madras Province deserves to be congratulated for extending its Prohibition programme throughout the Province I hope other Provinces and States will follow in rapid succession. But even where they are unable to do so they would considerably help the Madras Government if they so arrange their programme that the areas adjoining Madras are made dry earlier than others so that there may be no chances of smuggled liquor going into Madras

I hope also that the work of enforcing the policy is not entrusted to officers, who are themselves addicted to drink

Bombay, 8-10-48 K G M

EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE CRAFT OF SPINNING

[*Note* A few days ago I read somewhere a satirical criticism of Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar for his attempt to show how many subjects could be correlated with the *charkha* and its ancillary processes and instruments The writer suggested that Shri Dev Prakash might as well have taken up a list of all the sciences with a distinctive name and asserted that they could all be correlated to the *charkha* The writer may feel further amused at this further attempt of Shri Dev Prakash in the same direction But I make no apology for publishing this article The fact that a humourist can create a little amusement through his own scepticism or desire for fun does not necessarily mean that the original writer is talking nonsense Shri Dev Prakash has sense of humour enough to enjoy such fun even at his own cost

But, humour apart what is science if it is not a methodical study of life and nature and an attempt to arrange the results of such study in a more or less logical exact and practically applicable form? Nothing that is done or happens in nature is unrelated to science Only every one does not know or care to know that relation The result is that they apply the laws of science empirically or ignorantly even if correctly Even the illiterate labourer carrying a load in a wheel-barrow applies principles of mechanics but not having known the principles is unable to extend their application to fields lying outside his daily routine The same man would become a skilled and scientific worker if he understood the laws of the sciences involved in his work Since the *charkha* has not been suggested as a medium of education merely for its capacity to produce large supplies of cloth but for its capacity to impart useful knowledge to the pupil and develop him in various ways it is absolutely necessary that the pupil should know what his work and its environments mean in terms of science I hope the Wardha Scheme educationists will carefully study Shri Dev Prakash Nayyar's notes and work and improve upon them.

— K G M]

What appears in the following columns was prepared as suggestions for the Post-Basic Education Committee which met at Delhi in 1946 to plan the syllabus for the post-basic stage *Nayee Talim* is craft-centred, i e our knowledge should grow in response to the need for it to solve the problems arising out of our practice of craft This arouses the suspicion of the intelligentsia that the amount of knowledge so required will be meagre In view of the unscientific way in which crafts have been handled in India so far such suspicion is understandable But that there is no ground for it should be clear from the following statement of problems arising from the practice of the craft of spinning and the knowledge of the various subjects that is necessary to explain them From my article entitled *Danger Signals*, it would appear that a fuller account was called for than

just indicating the problems and their correlation as I am going to do here Indeed that was my original idea But I feel I must realize my limitations and abandon it leaving the fuller account to better people and with greater leisure The jottings have already waited for about two years for want of time Even as hints they are suggestive rather than exhaustive Only the appreciation with which they met in the Committee encourages me to hope that they will be useful

THE SPINNING WHEEL

(1) PHYSICS

Problem	*Correlation*
1 The relative radius lengths of the driver wheel, of the follower and of the *girri*	Principle of the Pulley
2 How does the driver wheel rotate ? — the limit to the radius of the driver	Moment of the Couple
3 How big should be the spindle ? — the distance of the point from its nearer resting point on the *mudia*	Principle of the Lever
4 How tight should be the thinner *mal* ? Necessity of Oiling — necessity of giving a smooth support to the spindle — necessity of a leather piece on both sides of the *girri*	Laws of Friction-rolling and sliding friction
5 How to keep the two *mals* tight ? use of springs	Elasticity and Forces generated due to compression and tension — equilibrium of two forces — representation of force — its two constituents
6 The economic value of spinning — its comparison with other occupations	1 Work and Energy distinction. 2 Measurement of Work-Power
7 Manufacture of the wheel and its components	Study of the Machines utilized for the purpose
8. Quantity of wood or iron required or used	Mass and Weight — definitions Law of Gravitation — Specific Gravity — Principle of Archimedes
9 Other spinning wheels in use or out of use	Study of their mechanisms
10 In what form iron is found in earth — how iron mines are detected ?	Magnetism

2 CHEMISTRY

Our Material	1 Chemical composition of Wood its properties — the best wood for the purpose
	2 Iron Chemical composition of iron — its properties — its mode of manufacture (rough idea of the industrial method) elements and compounds — iron and steel — different properties — which to be used here ?

3 GEOMETRY AND ARITHMETIC

1 Amount of space occupied by the wheel — quantity of iron and quantity of wood required	1 Rectangle — its shape — angle — area
	2 Circle — its circumference — area — various other definitions connected with circle
	3 Area of the curved surface of a cylinder — measurement of its radius — axis — definitions of point and line
	4 Volume of a cylinder
	5 Volume of a cuboid
	6 The quantity of material used in a hollow cuboid
	7 Arithmetic of spinning

4 GEOGRAPHY

1 Different forms of the *charkha* — where they are found	1 Geographical location of these places
2 Our material — wood and iron	1. Different types of Wood in India — where they are found and why ? How are they removed from their places of growth — different stages of rivers — how wood is seasoned — which is the best wood for the purpose and why ? Other woody places in the world — the relative worth of the various kinds of wood compared with the worth of the Indian varieties
	2 Where is iron found in the world and in India ? Trade in iron — India's position in it
3 Cotton	1 Places where it is found in the world — their climate — seasons in which grown — soil

2 Different varieties in different places—their relative strength and fineness

3 Actual cultivation of the crop by the pupils

5 HISTORY

History of the changing phases of the *charkha*—its origin — practical extinction under the Company — its survival in some places due to social custom History of the development of the Charkha Movement — its relation to the wider national movement

6. ECONOMICS

1. The economy of decentralization and the principle of self-sufficiency

2. Economic disadvantages as compared with *takli* especially in view of the poverty of India and the need for self-sufficiency The question of cost and availability Comparison between the *Yeravda Charkha* and local wheels

3 The economy of local production — wooden spindles

4 How many hours are required for an average adult to enable him to attain average speed and efficiency to make spinning for his own clothes a practical proposition?

5 Position of basic schools in the scheme of national self-sufficiency regarding cloth

6 Survey of the cloth position with special reference to a village or town and thinking of means for introducing self sufficiency in it

7 Study of the productive power of different wheels that have been used on the forward march during the last 20 or 30 years

8 What percentage of national energy will be required to make India self-sufficient regarding cloth so far as spinning goes

9 In connection with cotton the following problems can be studied

1 The relative yield of different lands in the world — especially in India

2 The extremely poor yield in our country — the way to improve it

3 Difficulties of large-scale farming — the economy of small-scale farming Natural vs chemical fertilizers The best way to prepare natural fertilizers

7 PSYCHOLOGY

1 Effect of concentration or harmony of the mind, and the consequent co-ordination of various movements, in producing uniform yarn without breaking and vice versa the effect of such yarn in promoting harmony or peace of the mind Hence its value as occupational therapy

2. Spinning as an index to the character of the spinner, especially when it is performed under varying conditions and the reactions of the various spinners noted to these variations

3 When planned as a co operative activity, it offers opportunities for the study of group psychology

8 BOTANY

1 The structure of the cotton plant — different types of weeds etc that crop up in a cotton field.

2 Botany of wood

9 [illegible]

1 Nervous control and the co-ordination of the eyes and the various muscles to produce requisite movements

2 Automatic spinning and reflex action

3 The various *asans* or postures and the various shapes that the various muscles assume in them

4 The various muscle movements and lever actions

5 The expenditure of energy — its source — eating digestion and absorption of food, the carrying of energy to the spot required the circulatory system katabolism and metabolism

6 How the changing needs of the continuous process of spinning are conveyed to the brain through the eye — the structure of the eye and the formation of images on the retina

7 The effect of the various *asans* on the spine, the various malformations that can result from wrong postures.

Sevagram, 2-9-48 DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR

(*To be continued*)

THE WILL OF GOD

The widening river moves towards the sea
There its unending waters to discharge
The seaside burgh is reached that draws its name
From this same stream of Alde whereon it lies
But at the final moment comes a check,
Which flaunts the purpose of the stream, whose course
Is thereby altered, for a stony beach
Rises between it and its goal the sea
And thus for twelve long miles the river flows
With those hard stones between it and the deep
Until they fail, and so, invincible
It now unhindered works its final will
E'en so the will of God moves ever on
To its fulfilment, but the will of man
Opposing blindly like that stony beach
Turns it aside and for a while prevails
But in the end though hidden from men's sight
All hindrances will be dispelled
And in the ocean of the love of God
His will shall find fulfilment at the last
But while the thwarted river still pursues
Its predetermined purpose, every mile
Its force grows stronger through the little streams
That joyful flow to meet it adding thus
Their tiny waters to its mighty flood
E'en so the little streams of prayer that we
In joyful daring link with God's own will
May help (our Lord has promised it)
To overcome the hindrances, and thus
To forward God's great purposes for men
Yet not alone by that proud stony beach
The stream is checked but by more hidden means
The tides, impelled by forces not of earth
Thrust back its waters as they reach the sea
But even here the influence lasts not long
And has no power to keep them from the deep
E'en so beneath the surface all unseen
By human eyes, the evil one assays
To thwart awhile the will of God for men.

His efforts cannot last so long as of his
Can stem that stream for God the Son as Man
Has wrought the Father's perfect will on earth
And now as God gives grace to all mankind
Who join th eternal stream of Love Divine,
And give themselves in Him to do the will
Of God the Father that they thus may reach
The boundless ocean of His final will

T W CRAFER

QUESTION BOX

GUJARATI SCHOOLS OUTSIDE GUJARAT

Q 1 Should Gujaratis residing outside Gujarat run separate Gujarati schools for the education of their children ?

A Those who cannot regard themselves as living settled down permanently in another province and feel that their children are likely to return to Gujarat will naturally regard it convenient to educate their children through the medium of Gujarati and there can be no objection to their doing so But they cannot always insist that the Provincial Government or the Local Municipalities must arrange for such schools But all such schools must also impart a sound knowledge of the provincial and Hindustani languages, and I would not find fault with the Provincial Government if it imposes such a condition

Q 2 What should be the medium of instruction in the secondary and high schools run by Gujaratis ?

A In secondary schools there is no objection to make Gujarati the medium of instruction At the high school stage the answer depends on the University to which the school is affiliated. If that University permits its pupils to answer in Gujarati, then there is no objection in having Gujarati as the medium of instruction Otherwise it would be desirable to instruct through either Hindustani or the provincial language

Q 3 Though there is only one Gujarati high school in Calcutta the Calcutta University has recognized Gujarati as a medium for its matriculation examination while in C P and Berar, though there are Gujarati high schools at Burhanpur, Akola and Amraoti the medium of instruction is either Hindi or English The Nagpur University has recognized English Hindi Marathi and Urdu as media but not Gujarati Maybe the reason is there has been no demand for it The high schools at Nagpur and Gondia have opened classes for the fifth standard this year, and in course of time they will become complete high schools If the Gujarati high schools of C. P and Berar apply for the recognition of Gujarati as a medium for the matriculation examination, would you support the application ?

A If the University recognizes it, I would gratefully accept the facility but if it does not, I would not make a grievance out of it

Q 4 Would it be inappropriate to get Gujarati high schools of C P and Berar affiliated to a University outside the Province if the Nagpur University does not recognize Gujarati as a medium at the matriculation examination ?

A It is likely to prove inconvenient If on the one hand, the Provincial Government gives first preference to the students of its own University for higher studies services and professions etc, while, on the other hand, the Government of the province to whose University these schools have been affiliated do not give them an equal place with other competitors on the ground that these students were not permanent inhabitants of that province, their condition would be like bats, rejected both by birds and animals from their respective brotherhoods

Q 5 The Governments of Bombay and Saurashtra have abolished English from fifth (Gujarati) standard this year and in the course of the next two years it will be abolished also from standards VI and VII In C P English is still retained and one does not know how long it will remain. This will create difficulties to the studies of students who have to stay both in Bombay and C P according to domestic convenience Do you not think that there should be a uniform policy in the matter in the various provinces ?

A The Government of C P should be persuaded to abolish English from standard V

Bombay 3-10-48 K G MASHRUWALA

Not Harijan by Birth

In the article *Bhangi by Choice* on the information supplied by Dr Deshraj Bhangi himself it was stated that he had married a Harijan wife Of course, in the context, it could be understood only to mean a Harijan by birth I am now informed by Shrimati Bhangi that if the rule be that a child's caste is known by that of the father the statement is slightly incorrect as her father was a so called caste Hindu who had married in a family converted to Hindusim under Arya Samaj rites.

Bombay, 8-10-'48 K G M

Correction

In No 32 of the *Harijan* dated 10-10-'48 on page 272 in column 2 line 36 read *distorted* in place of *disturbed*

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE NEW BOMBAY TENANCY BILL	K G MASHRUWALA	278
SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT-IX	D M.	279
SARVODAYA IN VILLAGE ECONOMY	K. G MASHRUWALA	280
EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE CRAFT OF SPINNING	DEV PRAKASH NAYYAR	281
THE WILL OF GOD	T W CRAFER	283
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	284
NOTES		
K F NARIMAN	K G M	277
PROF EINSTEIN AND AGRICULTURE	K G M	277
THE PROGRESS OF THE CHARKHA	D M	277
SACRIFICIAL SPINNING	D M	277
WEAVING AND OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY	R S	277
PROHIBITION IN MADRAS	K G M	281
NOT HARIJAN BY BIRTH	K G M	284

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates → INDIAN One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3.

Controls

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 34 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1948 TWO ANNAS

SARVODAYA AND OTHER ISMS

[Notes of a talk with Gandhiji]

Wardha, 22-8 '34

I joined Bapu in his constitutional at six o'clock this morning He gave directions regarding the Harijan Ashram Trust Then the talk turned to village service He had recently suggested that such work should not be done under the aegis of an organization Referring to it Bapu said that there would have been little need for Kishorlal's lengthy commentary if what he (Gandhiji) meant by absence of organization had been properly understood. 'It certainly does not mean that there should be no connection or co-operation among the workers Not only so, we even contemplate to maintain workers from a common fund for some time So, my advice of unorganized service only means that a village worker should not receive or expect orders or instructions from a higher authority about the way in which he should set about his village work, but must be free to settle his own programme and the manner of fulfilling it He will also prove his usefulness to the village so that by and by the village should be willing to provide him with a living If the village fails to do so he should take to some labour or a handicraft and earn his livelihood If he knows no other handicraft, he can at least take to carding and spinning for eight hours a day. I hold that whoever devotes eight hours daily to any socially useful productive work is entitled to get a living My ideal of socialism is that everyone should get the same wage A lawyer, a physician a teacher, a labourer or a sweeper—all should get equal wages Today not only wages are not equal but there is difference of heaven and earth between the highest and the lowest incomes At present, the condition is that while a lawyer might get a thousand rupees a day a sweeper might not get even eight annas

Thus from village work Bapu switched on to socialism I said that I understood that in Russia the Communist Party followed the same principle All members of that party took the same allowance whatever be the nature of their work Bapu said that both Rama and Ravana had to go through nearly the same kind of discipline and austerities Thereupon I narrated the kind of iron discipline that was imposed on a member of the Communist Party and described how he was punished for even a small fault or if it be a serious lapse even expelled from the party, and also their method of self-criticism by each member Bapu said that he was very anxious to know more about it but added that he got no time for reading His interest and enthusiasm for reading had not abated in the least When he saw books he did not know which he should select because he wanted to read everyone of them But under the call of duty he had to control his desire for reading books Shall I read I said to myself, all these books or shall I read first what Mahadev has just written on the *Gita*? And I decided that my duty was to go through Mahadev's manuscript He wrote it at my suggestion Therefore, I have taken that up for reading since yesterday

As the talk proceeded, I suggested that Bapu should express his views on the problem of rural indebtedness and how it could be liquidated, also, if the rich were to be regarded as trustees of their wealth, he should define the duties and obligations of the rich as trustees Bapu said that these things would be accomplishable easily when the common people got control over Government Sooner or later that control was bound to come It was in the atmosphere and it was their right and therefore it could not but come But it was possible that even when they got the control the common people might not understand politics Nevertheless it would be they who would select their leaders "At that time the leadership will come either to us or go to the socialists Those who will have served the people sincerely will become their leaders While we believe in the principle that we can control only the means, the end or result is not in our hands the socialists look to the end, and are prepared to adopt any means to achieve it But if we shall fully preserve the purity of our means I have no doubt that the leadership over the masses will remain with us the socialists will not succeed If they get the power, they will resort to confiscation of property, repudiation of debts and similar extreme methods But if we keep proper control over the means, power will never go to the socialists At present they will not be able to achieve anything beyond startling the propertied class by their unrestrained language. I do not want just to startle them I want to reform them That was the reason for my getting the Working Committee to clarify its policy at its last meeting For myself I would laugh at the socialists' talks If we are vigilant and honest, they can never succeed in our country

So far what we have done is so very trivial indeed and yet we have been able to bring about some change in people like Though to a very insignificant extent, they have begun to act as trustees It is true that the amount of commissions which they take as trustees is on a royal scale, but by and by we shall succeed in getting that also reduced. has converted himself into a true trustee, and when the control of the Government passes into the hands of the masses, all of them (capitalists) will quickly accept their obligations, and will be willing to carry out the duties assigned to them But if we needlessly startle them today, they will just organize themselves and establish fascism in our country Even in suspending the present civil disobedience movement, I have checked the advent of fascism in our country In a way fascism does exist in our country even today, but so far not many of the rich have joined it. Those who have understood that I am their friend do not join any such organization How can they organize against me?

It is not that people would necessarily be unhappy under fascism We may leave aside Hitler, but under Mussolini Italy is certainly better off than before Some of the public utility works undertaken there are commendable. The standard of living has improved But what does it all avail? There is no freedom there Whoever dares to oppose Mussolini's policy invites death And now even killing has become unnecessary People have adapted themselves to the new condition and are content with it He has done the work more cleverly than Hitler His personal life is extremely simple But he has the eyes of a cat. A person gets dazed in his presence. I was not to be dazed like that but I noticed that he had so arranged things about him that a visitor would easily get striken with terror The walls of the passage through which one has to pass to reach him, are all overstudded with various types of swords and other weapons. In his own room too there is not a single picture or anything of that kind on the walls but they are all covered with weapons He keeps no arms on his person But his eyes move about in every direction as if in constant rotation The visitor would totally succumb before the awe of his gaze like a rat running directly into the mouth of a cat out of mere fright. What is happening in our own country in Bengal today? Anderson says that he is taking the mildest possible steps to check the terrorist activity there But even these steps might be oppressive enough Yet people may grow insensible to oppression when it is not quite visible, and the people in Bengal seem to have got used to the high-handed rule going on there today Darjeeling was once a resort of the Bengalis Englishmen had almost left it. But today no Bengali can even enter Darjeeling without a passport This is not a desirable condition of existence even if people are economically well off There is danger of this type of fascism getting established in India, and I want to save the country from it by winning the rich over and making them our friends

'So in our efforts, we must strictly guard the means of attaining control over the masses There must always be pure If at the time people obtain control over government, the leadership is in our hands, there will be no difficulty in settling the problem of rural indebtedness

'The moneyed-class will readily accept the position of trustees If we do not waste our wealth and energy, the climate and the natural resources of our country are such that we can become the happiest people in the world'

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

N P

EARTH HOUSES—I

Earth has been used as building material since the very beginning of human civilization Entire empires had their architecture based exclusively on earth as the sole structural material The ancient civilizations of China North India, Peru Mexico, north coast of Africa and Minor Asia have known no other structural material and have built their homes, palaces and forts in earth only

Among the various types of houses made in earth, houses made out of earth rammed in wooden moulds to form walls deserve special attention because of their strength and capacity to last for centuries Already in the times of Pliny the Roman historian forts were known many centuries old The rammed earth method of building was considered so important that Pliny took the pain to describe it in great details The rammed wall was extensively used by the Romans throughout their empire. From the Gauls they have learned to mix earth with natural asphalt for added toughness They have also been using a kind of natural cement, made out of powdered lava, which was poured as a slurry over rubble piled up between planks This powdered lava was also added to rammed earth Hannibal has built in Spain forts out of rammed earth which have outlived by many centuries the empire of their builders

Several portions of the Great Wall of China were built in rammed earth Poles were driven in the ground in two parallel rows and earth was rammed between them When the space between the poles was full, they were pulled out and re-erected further on

Curiously enough the Bhil tribes in C P build their huts in a similar way They erect a sort of double basketwork by weaving twigs about sticks stuck in the ground in two rows and fill the space between with earth, ramming it down with poles On the walls so erected they fix their thatched roof and finish the walls by smearing them with mud

The ancient Indian forts were built on the same principle The space between two stone walls was filled with rammed earth Sometimes eggs were added or buttermilk with lime or brown sugar The English guns were not able to dent the tough

old mud of the Bharatpur Fort In many cases the outer stone wall has crumbled away while the mud core stands bare and good for centuries more

The present great demand for housing coupled with shortage of raw materials has given fresh impetus to the study of earth as structural material. Research is going on in several parts of the world, especially in U S A and sufficient progress was made to give back to earth the position of man s most important building material

In India the problem was tackled by the Village Industries Research Laboratory with the help of the Government of Mysore The workers have started with the very obvious fact that in India no other material but earth is available in sufficient quantity to cope with the demand for housing in cities and in villages Earth was inevitable and therefore earth had to be studied

India is short of fuel If the kitchen fireplace is not given all the firewood it needs manure will be burned With the destruction of manure, food will run short. Burnt bricks and lime are luxuries The research has gone in the direction of raw earth

There are many ways of using raw earth for building Puddled mud wattles and mud, mud bricks sun-dried adobe bricks, stabilized adobe bricks rammed earth rammed earth blocks, pressed bricks, pressed bricks stabilized, rock hard pressed bricks, sprayed mud etc —these are the various ways of building out of earth They will be described one by one in short articles aiming solely at bringing the subject to the notice of the public, both general and professional

Bombay, 11-10-48 MAURICE FRYDMAN

NOTES

Charkha Jayanti Reports

Every year the Charkha Jayanti is observed in several parts of the country in a variety of ways and for periods varying from a few days to about three months At some places it is observed in a strikingly novel manner The *Harijan* office receives reports of the work done from not a few places But having regard to the size of the papers it is impossible to take a casual note of more than one or two out of several

I suggest that the head office of each Provincial Charkha Organization should invite such reports in proper forms and prepare a properly studied summary of the work done throughout the province and publish it locally, and from all such provincial reports the all India Charkha Sangh could prepare a readable report for the information of the general public

It would be possible then for the *Harijan* papers to share in the publication of such digests

Harijan Work

The above remarks apply also to the celebration of the Harijan Week or organized Harijan work, with appropriate changes

Bombay, 11 10-'48 K. G M

LIFE IN MUSSOORIE

Addressing a post-prayer meeting at Mussoorie Shri Vinoba said

There was a time when men visited peaks of holy mountains to get an inspiration for asceticism and for attainment of knowledge through the practice of meditation. But it was no longer so The peaks had become places of luxury and self indulgence In spite of that Shri Vinoba hoped that those who visited them would be touched with some pious sentiments

DIGNITY OF MAN

The first thing that he saw on his arrival at Mussoorie Shri Vinoba said was the rickshaw Man had a sense of dignity and this was lost when he was thus employed One could understand the case of those who were either indisposed or crippled But there, in Mussoorie the rickshaw had come to stay as a common vehicle He himself had been offered a rickshaw when he started for the prayers That only showed how blunt their sensibility had become The feeling of fellowship had been crippled He was aware that the custom was not limited to Mussoorie but had spread to several big cities But it required to be abandoned

SHESH NAG

The life of Mussoorie continued Shri Vinoba was entirely dependent on labourers Like the *Sheshnag* who supported the earth, these humble friends supported and carried the burden of those who resided in Mussoorie He could see that the heavy luggage which the labourer carried on his back curved his spine It would result in the speedy destruction of his life He might, while young, be able to perform that sort of work but it would break him down very quickly

SCAVENGERS PLIGHT

He also witnessed that the street sweeper had to sweep the street with a tiny broom He could do his work only with his back bent at a right angle to his legs. As Shri Vinoba had experience of that kind of work, he knew what it meant to remain bent for a long time Referring to the scavengers Shri Vinoba said that they daily cleaned the commodes more than once in many houses In spite of such obliging service rendered by them they were regarded as untouchables and low But who could be lower than those who considered their benefactors low?

Concluding Shri Vinoba said that he did not say these things to find fault with anybody He was as it were speaking to himself and desired that they should think over the matter and make proper reforms

Mussoorie, 26-9-'48 D M

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K Gandhi

Translated by Dr Sushila Nayyar

Price *Rs 0-10 0* Postage *0-2 0*

Gandhiji says in the introduction about his book

I am giving a new name *Key to Health* Anyone who observes the rules of health mentioned in this book will find that he has got in it a real key to unlock the gates leading him to health He will not need to knock at the doors of doctors or *vaidyas* from day to day "

HARIJAN

October 24 1948

CONTROLS

Shri Santbai is a Jain *sadhu*, who has devoted himself to constructive activities among the backward classes of the Ahmedabad District for several years past. In the course of a circular letter to the workers of Gujarat he writes

It appears that controls are about to be reimposed to fight the problem of inflation and high prices The previous experience of controls has shown to us that the moral degradation of the people caused by the controls is extremely great

' The strenuous efforts of Gandhiji led to their removal But the expected happy results did not follow Then floods in some parts and famine in others have further complicated the food problem In the case of cloth merchants did not act honestly *Hence*, control has been reimposed upon cloth Food is likely to be controlled next Thus we shall return to the old conditions

' For us (village workers) the fundamental question is that of the cultivator Before imposing control on food that question should be seriously considered If the control appears inevitable it should be brought in such a way as to induce the cultivator to co operate with it

The following two alternatives are possible

(1) Government should entrust the entire management to a body of constructive workers and give it their full co operation that is to say they should provide the body with whatever food it imports into the province from outside and also distribute cloth iron and other basic necessities of the cultivator through this body If cultivators are enabled to purchase their wants at fixed prices it will be possible to induce them to sell their grains also at a fixed price Since Government would be giving their full co operation to the management the working would be smooth

(2) Another way would be to convene agriculturists conferences in every district and have them appoint their representative bodies The prices of food should be fixed in consultation with such representatives The cultivator will thereby feel that the prices have been fixed by his men Moreover it will enable the authorities to understand the real difficulties of the cultivator in the administration of controls In this way too It will be possible to develop a healthy public opinion

Personally I think that it is not good to return to the once abolished controls We must try our utmost to avoid them By avoiding I do not mean in an indirect manner, but by persuading the ministers to our views And if it appears that they are unavoidable, it is necessary that they should be in a way which will be supported by public opinion We might hope to avoid the undesirable consequences of controls if at least there is public opinion behind them

" I request you to give your opinion in this object,

I agree with the opinion about controls expressed above So far as I have been able to gather the constructive workers of Gujarat are generally of the same mind Their opinion is based on their actual experience

I have often said that neither control nor decontrol can bring comfort to a people which has become heavily morally degraded.

Shri Santbai has suggested two alternatives I think that the first is better and safer The scope of elected representative committees has a limit It is a mistake to extend the method of elections in activities requiring simple honest administration when the general moral level of the people has gone low You cannot draw more or better water than what is stored in the reservoir

Another good alternative is to organize co-operative societies, and carry out the work through them A co-operative society would be a people's organization in the fullest sense.

Where this too is not possible, it would be better for the Government to carry out the work directly through its own staff Electors hardly have any control over their representatives after the elections are over and if the work is not well done the Government is enabled to point to the representatives and deny its own responsibility for mismanagement This leads to irresponsibility And the most important condition for the good execution of any work is that it should be entrusted to people who feel a sense of personal responsibility in the matter Indeed, it is on this that capitalism has claimed its right of existence

Bombay, 9-10-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE W. H. O CONFERENCE

[I had requested the Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health New Delhi, to give me a brief account of her visit to Europe in July last to participate in the World Health Organization (WHO) Conference. She has responded to my request and I trust the readers of the *Harijan* will be interested in sharing her following letter with me

I would request the reader not to feel angry at or annoyed with Pakistan for her attitude As I stated in my article on Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah every act of Pakistan explains itself if we once understand that her present goal is to run away from everything that would bring her in touch with Hindus and Hinduism If we adhere faithfully to the ideal of *sarvodaya* placed before us by Gandhiji, and shed our own communalism, irrespective of how Pakistan responds to it immediately a time must come when the clouds of mistrust will scatter themselves away and the relations between the two Dominions will be as they should be among cultured children of the same mother Let us never forget that no matter how many autonomous political States there be in India all India is one Pakistan is not different from Nepal or Goa or Pondicherry to the land surveyed by Mt Gaurishankar

and the culture of the Brahmaputra the Ganges and the Indus valleys will never fail to show its fundamentally common origin

Bombay 1-10-48 —K. G M I

The WHO (World Health Organization) is one of the beneficient activities which the Social and Economic Council of UNO (United Nations Organization) has brought into being War is a curse and brings nothing but calamity in its wake And yet it is strange that man still resorts to this brutality for the solution of problems fn any event the poverty disease and hunger which followed in the wake of the last world war had to be dealt with and such organizations as F A O, U N E S C O, and W H O undertook the task of rehabilitating the vast mass of humanity in the war-devastated areas This undertaking has now extended its scope to all countries of the world This is as it should be fot no part of the world is left untouched by a global war The East backward as it is in the matter of education and health and now suffering from acute food shortage also stands no less in need of such rehabilitation than the war-devastated areas of Europe China has of course been helped largely from the very beginning Her plight is worse than any other country because she has been in the throes of war for longer than the others and civil war still continues to rend her in twain

International Conferences are always interesting Apart from the knowledge gained of conditions in other countries of the world and of how they are tackling their problems, apart from the valuable experience of working in Commissions which these Conferences offer, it is good to make personal contacts with men and women from different parts of the globe Today English may be said to be the lingua franca of the world and it is not, therefore, difficult for us to get to know people But, of course, knowledge of French Spanish and Russian would be very valuable for our delegates

This was the third occasion on which I had the privilege of attending an International Conference on behalf of our country I found a definite change in the attitude of everyone towards us now that we are independent There is immense interest in us and in our problems and sympathy too We had universal sorrow expressed at the passing away of Gandhiji They wanted to know everything about him in detail While they could not subscribe to his ideology simply because they felt it was not practical for mere human beings I do not think there was any questioning as to the moral rightness of the way of life advocated by him One man from a country that had suffered terribly in the last world war said ' How I wish he could have been with us to show us how to battle non-violently! We were physically and numerically weaker and we had to surrender but if we could have known how and had been led by a Gandhi to resist without arms I am sure we would have had the courage to do so.'

They [illegible] had been [illegible] doubt that our [illegible] because of the [illegible] we are to maintain [illegible] Gandhiji

The WHO Conference [illegible] doctors who were working [illegible] health in their respective [illegible] personally anxious to [illegible] progress of disease [illegible] and all [illegible] those of health and [illegible] standing among [illegible] inhabitants of all the [illegible] through war do not want [illegible] And yet, even at [illegible] certain amount of [illegible] plexes and jealousies and [illegible] unhappily breed [illegible] the smooth running of the [illegible]

The proposal of [illegible] certain amount of opposition [illegible] sponsor of the scheme and [illegible] upheld by a large majority [illegible] result that we are to have [illegible] South East Asia Zone in [illegible] We [illegible] decided to have this in My[illegible] our work there early next year [illegible] Siam and Afghanistan have [illegible] we hope Malaya will also [illegible] if she decides to become a member [illegible] Pakistan with their mistrust [illegible] advice by other countries to [illegible] to join the Middle East Zone [illegible] its headquarters bureau in Alex[illegible] that in spite of good-will from [illegible] to co-operate even in matters [illegible] transcend all barriers [illegible] Bureau in Mysore can [illegible] model of good health [illegible] service Proper housing [illegible] water supply the best nutrition [illegible] of possibility in the area concerned the elimination of water and insect-borne diseases, the provision of medical aid in the shape of maternal and child welfare centres and dispensaries and above all health education for the prevention of disease are all matters requiring urgent attention Such work offers a wide field of research too

There was plenty of good will in the U K [illegible] for India One was greeted in the same spirit by most people 'So glad you are free Sorry about Gandhi'

This worship of one who was supposed to be an inveterate foe of Britain at one time as also an indefatigable opponent of the way of life of the West is quite remarkable It just shows that the heart of man is sound, that instinctively he yearns for peace and that the things of the spirit do really find first place within his innermost recesses I often wondered whether these people who had

never seen him in the flesh were not really nearer to him than many of us who, in spite of his long years of ministry in our own land have spurned his teaching. And the thought brings home the responsibility that lies on those of us who do believe in what he taught us

England is still in the throes of an economic breakdown Life is hard even though it may be said to be a little less hard than when I was last there in 1946 One has to stand in queues for most things Food and clothing and fuel are strictly rationed But the spirit and discipline of the people are most commendable The individual is willing to suffer without complaint for the sake of the larger good There is no shouting nor scramble for places in queues The law of 'first come first served' is strictly adhered to with the utmost discipline And since one has to form up for queues for most things, e g for seats in restaurants cinemas, theatres buses, trams railways shops and even for buying newspapers, such behaviour calls for the utmost restraint. Pedestrians and motor or bus or horse-carriage drivers or cyclists are so strict about obeying traffic directions that one rarely if ever hears the hoot of a motor horn in London. I wish our people could learn to execute their business without noise and in an orderly manner There is much that we can learn from the U K. and other Western countries in the matter of disciplined behaviour both at home and collectively in public

One rarely sees a drunken person in London Alcohol is very expensive and that puts it out of the reach of the majority of persons Moreover no drink is served after 10 p m or even earlier in some places I wish we could have some such regulations brought in here immediately as well as put prohibitive prices on alcoholic drinks so as to make it easier for people to adjust themselves to prohibition when we are able to make the latter universal The drink menace in our cities must now be reckoned with if we are to save our so called educated and moneyed classes from becoming addicts to this evil

It interested me greatly to note in both the U K and Switzerland the great attention that is paid to priorities in housing and medical aid and relief to mothers and children Throughout the war and even today children are not denied their full quota of milk nor are pregnant women All others are catered for after the needs of the first two categories have been fulfilled. The new workm n's and villagers' cottages are small but neat so as to provide for the minimum needs of a family I long for the day when our farmers and our workmen will be able to have such cottages Medical aid and relief of the best quality is available to the poorest in the land. The new Health Act of the U K is a reformatory measure on sound lines I trust we too will be able to move along those lines when we have the requisite number of doctors, nurses and hospitals But if the medical profession here were to realize the high calling of their profession and make it nothing but a means of service to the poor there would be no need for socialization or nationalization of anything All would *ipso facto* belong to the nation.

Switzerland was cut off from the outside world during the war years and had to rely a great deal on its own resources for food It is a small country richly endowed by nature in beauty wonderful rivers lakes and mountains rich pasture land and a hardy people They doubled their output of cereals and are still maintaining it Today there is no shortage of food in this lovely land but people have not given up their war efforts Land brought under cultivation is still cultivated for growing cereals and the people have increased their intake of raw vegetables and fruit. It is a tragedy that our 'Grow More Food' campaign has been such a failure. They had their hundredth Independence Day celebrations on August 1st which we were able to see in their picturesque capital of Berne There are 25 Cantons (small provinces) in Switzerland Groups from all of them joined in the big procession dressed in their colourful peasant and other costumes of a century ago One banner which they carried impressed us all greatly "Four languages (Italian, French, German and Romansch) one voice four languages, one people We could learn a great deal from these folk too I gathered that every child learns three languages from the beginning, French German and Italian. These three are all used in their Parliament A great many learn English later on in life. And yet we here find it difficult to learn our provincial language and Hindustani in the primary stages and English in our higher education Where there is a will there is a way' is true for all time and for all occasions. If only we could have peace within and on our borders there is so much that we can do to lighten the burden of the poor man Everything is linked up with everything else. We cannot have education without health and vice versa There can be no health without food and good housing drainage and a pure water supply And we cannot reach out to our village population in the matter of education or medical aid without communications Above all there can be no progress without honesty Standards of integrity deteriorate when there is violence abroad Truth cannot be without non-violence as Gandhiji always taught us. Therefore unless we set and demand high standards of integrity, we shall surely fall

New Delhi 19-9 '48 A K.

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI
By Mahadev Desai
Price *Rs 4* Postage etc *As 11*

THE STORY
OF
MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)
By Gandhiji
With 11 Illustrations and Index
Pages 640 Price *Rs 7* Postage etc *As 12*

BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH

In the course of an article to the Press on Currency and Control Shri J C Kumarappa writes.

The resultant action taken by the government to re-introduce controls shows that the government is oblivious of the lessons our past experience had to teach. With the lack of character, which is obvious in both the seller and the consumer, to introduce controls will be to repeat the past The essential factors in control should be the administrative machinery and the sense of citizenship of the merchant When these are absent, as it has abundantly been proved, to bring in controls will be like handing over a flaming torch to a little child who is playing in a room full of wooden furniture and cloth upholstery The use of the torch needs certain discipline and self-control which can hardly be expected from a child and it is folly to place instruments of destruction in hands which cannot be trusted "

OBSERVATIONS

Then after a brief review of the report published by the Government of India on this matter, Shri Kumarappa says.

' Many state that there is a scarcity of consumer goods but they forget that this is an all-world malady to which we are no exception The improvement of the situation lies in producing consumer goods by methods which will bring in quick results At the present time capital goods are not available, and therefore even as a matter of exigency, we have to turn to cottage industries Unfortunately a great many of those in charge cannot think in terms of organizations other than the mammoth ones If, as a measure of dealing with inflation light dawned on powers that be, and village and cottage industries are harnessed to meet this need it will be a boon to the masses of the people in our country

" Some of the advisers counsel dropping of the prohibition scheme. This shows what values people place on building up a society We cannot afford to ignore social values In an emergency the need for it is all the greater We can afford to do without great many things but we cannot afford to send some of our fellow beings into the gutters under the plea of monetary needs Nation-building activities should be safeguarded from the financial enthusiasts

' We are surprised that even a leading labour leader should make the misstatement that at the present time "the rural indebtedness has been practically wiped out releasing additional purchasing power to the rural population " The labour leader forgets that whatever the increased agricultural prices may have meant to the few surplus producers, it has not brought relief to the bulk of the agriculturists in the deficit economy Though the agricultural prices had gone up that of the manufactured articles also had risen and therefore the apparent advantage shad proved to be more than a handicap

' The Financial Adviser Dr P J Thomas, while strongly recommending retrenchment in the government staff, curiously enough equally strongly recommends an expansion of his own department ! This appears to be the way most of the counsellors have been working The industrialists take this opportunity to ask for safeguarding them with labour legislation They want to introduce third shifts, they plead for supplies of coal and raw materials. They expect to get special depreciation allowances and relief from income-tax ! They wish, the government will not make any statements to shake the confidence of the industrialists and want the government to re-enunciate their industrial policy ! Thus all the counsellors seem to have gone to the government to plead their own case The government itself seems to be obsessed with what Shri Jaiprakash Narayan calls the Tennessee Valley Authority mentality, and are not willing to let go their grip of power which makes them jealous to expand their departments and incur expenditures without counting the cost

SUGGESTIONS

" As we have already indicated, development of character and discipline is the first prerequisite In this the government itself should set the example and turning the searchlight inwards should set its own house in order Princely salaries to members of government ministers of provinces and other high dignitaries should all be scaled down ruthlessly to be in consonance with the economic status of the common half-starved citizen. Unless it does this it will have no grounds to ask others to help in its effort of setting up the economic structure of the country on a sound basis. The moral appeal given by an example is much greater than all the preaching from the house-tops In regard to currency the suggestions made of withdrawing the money in circulation by issuing Government paper, unless such funds were made available or ear-marked for specific purposes such as agricultural development will be a danger if left in the hands of what has proved to be a spendthrift government Here we may mention that notes in circulation have gone up several crores in the last few months. If our expenses are to be met by the printing press, no attempts at deflation will ever succeed. The sooner we bring the improvident government to base its currency on valuable securities, such as gold and silver bullion the better it will be for the country It will increase the credit-worthiness of the government.

" As regards production, as we have repeatedly stated, we agree that village and cottage industries should be stepped up and agriculture should be made to produce all that we need in the form of prime necessities Foreign trade should be restricted to surpluses only and the use of money should be confined to exchange of commodities to comparatively

distant places [illegible] exchange should take place as [illegible] through multi-purpose co-operative [illegible] on the basis of barter Agricultural prices [illegible] should be fixed not as a derivative from [illegible] articles and indices worked up [illegible] of such prices but they should be [illegible] independently on the basis of [illegible] into the production of [illegible] done the old slogan [illegible] will assert itself

Until our economic structure is firmly based on the activity of the common man in producing the [illegible] public we shall always [illegible] like a cone balanced [illegible] that the government took [illegible] the financial morass in which it [illegible] in which the [illegible] lack of a well defined and [illegible] economic policy

THE SAVIOUR OF HARIJANS

It is sometimes asked what Gandhiji did for the Harijans There were critics who maintained that under the sweet name of Harijan, he really wanted to subline them and that the Harijan Sevak Sangh was only an instrument to turn them into his benchmen I do not wish in the least to probe into the intentions of these critics I would only [illegible] that the criticism is simply a travesty of truth The Harijan population in this country is well [illegible] They are scattered all over the country They live all their life in poverty squalor [illegible] groaning under the weight of untouchability For thousands of years they have been [illegible] this slavery and if anybody stretched his hand to help to these down-trodden people I [illegible] strongly say with my conscience clear [illegible] and none else! Great saints like Dnyaneshwar and Tukaram raised their voice against this social injustice but they were not heard Brilliant [illegible] Dr Ambedkar tried to pierce through this [illegible] problem with their extraordinary talent but their attempts also fell short But Gandhiji with his persuasive speech powerful pen and [illegible] successfully solved this age-old problem

BLOT ON HINDUISM

Untouchability is a blot on the Hindu religion and it must be wiped out Those who observe untouchability do not [illegible] more but destroy their religion Harijans [illegible] other faiths not because they believed in them but because of the torture they were subjected to in the Hindu fold If Hindu reformers [illegible] this leakage stopped then [illegible] Harijans with equality tolerance [illegible] There is no deliverance [illegible] Gandhiji [illegible] brought this truth home to us He gave a [illegible] shock to the old orthodox ideology when he advised caste Hindus to serve the Harijans in order to atone for the sins they perpetrated through centuries together It awakened the thoughtful people from their long slumber He literally brought about a revolution in the field of thought by preaching that all human beings are equal all children of God before whom there is no difference of high and low Man is high or low, not by birth or by the work he is called upon to do but by his own actions—this is the core of his teachings and in order to demonstrate it in practice, he himself many times did the work of a *bhangi* and even lived in the *Bhangi* Colony It is due to the influence of his teachings that today all over India the Harijans are shouldering the burden of administration of the country equally with others

With a view to spreading education among the Harijans Mahatmaji opened *ashrams* and hostels at various places and organized the Harijan Sevak Sangh. If the darkness in the form of ignorance in which the Harijans have been groping for centuries is once removed they will have a proper perspective of the environments surrounding them They will be conscious of their rights as human beings and will fight for them They will be alive to the need of becoming free citizens of the world by breaking through the bondage of Hindu orthodoxy With this end in view, Gandhiji kept the flame of knowledge constantly burning in the hearts of the Harijans

The Harijans are an indivisible part of the Hindus They cannot be separated from the rest of the Hindus socially economically or politically Gandhiji staked his life against the Communal Award in 1932 when he was at the Yeravda Jail so that this idea may prevail and he came out successful through that ordeal. But he did not rest after he won this political victory In order to change the mind of the people in 1934 he toured all parts of the country delivered thousands of speeches and wrote many articles He persuaded the caste Hindus to treat the Harijans as their own kith and kin Since the word 'untouchable' evokes unpleasant associations, he substituted it by the sweet word 'Harijan' He started his own paper under the name of *Harijan* As this work required considerable money, he himself begged for it and thus raised the Harijan Fund He had no objection even to resorting to legislation if that could help to wipe our this blot on society His whole being revolted against this demon of untouchability

(From the broadcast speech of Shri G D Tapase Minister for Backward Classes Bombay on 2-10-'48)

CONTENTS

		PAGE
SARVODAYA AND OTHER ISMS	N F	285
EARTH HOUSES—I	MAURICE FRYDMAN	286
LIFE IN MUSSOORIE	D M	287
CONTROLS	K G MASHRUWALA	288
THE W H O CONFERENCE	A. K.	288
BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH	J C KUMARAPPA	291
THE SAVIOUR OF HARIJANS	G D TAPASE	292
NOTES		
CHARKHA JAYANTI REPORTS	K G M	287
HARIJAN WORK	K G M	287

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates—INDIA One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 5 or 14 sh or $. 3.

Wrong Approach

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 35 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1948 TWO ANNAS

PUNCTUALITY

I have to lodge a complaint before you. We have developed the habit of not caring for punctuality. Even ministers and leaders are not free from this vice. During the recent Gandhi Jayanti celebrations a leading provincial minister was to address a public meeting. He arrived an hour late. If even leaders pay such scanty regard to the virtue of punctuality, is it to be wondered at that ordinary people have no sense of time at all? They too go late. It would be possible to train people to keep time if the convenors insist upon commencing the proceedings at the appointed time with whatever audience is present.

I request you to draw the attention of the public to this matter.

This is not a new complaint. Gandhiji's insistence on punctuality was well known. There were occasions when he was known to have actually run the road in order to reach a meeting in time. If there was delay in the arrival of the vehicle meant for taking him to that place he did not wait for its arrival but started on foot. If he reached late he apologized. According to newspaper reports the last admonition he gave to his daughters and received from his assailant was for being late at the prayer. Who knows how events might have changed if he could have been punctual that day? His habit of starting work at the appointed time with such members as might be present is also well known.

It is not that we have no sense of punctuality whatsoever. Time is kept to the point of a fraction of a minute when it has been got fixed through an astrologer. A special kind of chronometer is put up to give the signal and the attention of the priests is fixed upon it, so that the function might commence simultaneously with the dropping of the signal. This keeping of time is called "keeping *muhurta*." Really keeping *muhurta* means keeping the appointed time. But we have restricted its application to the occasions in which an astrologer has been consulted and the time has been got fixed through him. We believe that time is not a matter of great consequence for all other appointments, unless it is fixed by fate to put us to some loss. For instance, we would go as much as two hours earlier to catch a train, or to attend a summons or any other place where lateness is likely to be penalized.

But we have not the same regard for public or committee meetings. We do not think that these functions are influenced in any way by the stars and there is no rule to punish a late comer at a meeting.

The result is that it is the punctual people who are punished at meetings. Much of their time is wasted either for want of the necessary quorum or the absence of the secretary or the president or an important member whose guidance or views have to be sought before coming to a final decision. There have been occasions when as many as two hours of the right times have been lost on such occasions. It has also happened that if proceedings have started in the absence of an important member, the discussions have to be reopened on his arrival. At times the organizers themselves have been known to throw out a hint to the president or the chief speaker of a meeting to arrive about half an hour or more later than the announced time!

This habit is regarded by several people as trivial and unimportant. It is not regarded as casting any slur upon a person's character. Gandhiji thought otherwise. Being late he considered to be departure from truth and non violence. Not to keep time was untruth, and the waste of others' time was violence. It would be assuming too much airs and use of high-flown language, if I were to use such an expression. I shall content myself by saying that these defects indicate want of proper training for inculcation of right habits. These defects have to be removed.

Bombay 11-10-48 K G MASHRUWALA

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K Gandhi

Translated by Dr Sushila Nayyar

Price *Rs 0 10 0* Postage *0-2 0*

Gandhiji says in the introduction about his book "I am giving a new name *Key to Health*. Anyone who observes the rules of health mentioned in this book will find that he has got in it a real key to unlock the gates leading him to health. He will not need to knock at the doors of doctors or *vaidyas* from day to day."

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

THE 'VANASPATI' MENACE

There are already 24 *vanaspati* factories in existence and 37 are in the course of erection This industry has a total investment of 25 crores of rupees with an annual output of 1 42 000 tons valued at Rs 25 56 crores

The above figures mean that the *vanaspati* industry has assumed a menacing magnitude, is today the biggest food processing industry barring the sugar one and as is clear from the number of factories under construction the industrialists are making a galloping headway aiming to push the production figure to 4,50 000 tons by 1950

Why is this race for the production of *vanaspati* ? The industrialists are no humanitarians There must be some strong impelling force that is motivating this rush Let us probe into the psychology of the industries — in the category of which it falls the food processing industries

Our country is very densely populated and its produce hardly suffices to satisfy the hunger of its millions When such food is made the agency to fill one s pockets it becomes a heinous crime All the food industries have to share this blame Sugar factories, rice polishing mills oil mills flour mills and fruit preservation industries — all these and many more of this line have one basic fact at their root to convert perishable goods into a less perishable form This means that the keeping quality of the article being improved, the margin of profit in its trade accordingly multiplies But in doing the above trick if it were possible to retain the original constituents of the food concerned it would not have mattered much, but what happens is that the more nutritious elements which are first to be attacked by the pests (even they have a better knowledge of nutrition than educated man) or get deteriorated are either completely removed or are converted to a less assimilable form This ultimately means that food industries commit a manifold crime, viz

1 They convert a food into a less assimilable form

2 Being less perishable the middlemen command a larger share in the booty

3 They waste a proportion of the food reserve of the country and that too the most nutritious part of it

4 The self-sufficiency of the people in their prime necessity of life is robbed and they become dependent for all their food needs on the traders and businessmen

5 These processed foods being more expensive are denied to the poor and are made available to the richer as is the case of jam biscuits etc

6 Because of its keeping qualities it is transported long distances depriving the local people of its benefits

One after one, the foods of the common man are falling a prey to the avarice of the trade world Wholesome whole rice has been replaced by white polished stuff bringing in its train a number of diseases which are born of the deficiency of vitamin B and minerals in the rice-eating tracts of the country The beneficial brown sugar with its stock of essential mineral salts and monosaccharosas has been ousted out by nutrition-free white sugar with its calcium-consuming dental and bone diseases Fresh home ground flour is fast becoming a dream and speedy rollers of the mill bear out the *atta* of much of its nutrients The same sorry plight threatens to grasp our fat-giving foods too and thus the menace seems to be rising every day

These industries destroy wholesome bounties bestowed by mother earth By multiplying them we increase destruction of food, which ought to be a crime in a land existing below subsistence level

Once this fact is recognized and the danger it entails appreciated we cannot but cry " Hands off Our Food to these industrialists They must not be allowed to go on playing with the health and life of the nation which is already much undernourished and undafed None of the tom-toms of the propaganda machines of the big business should be allowed to blind us The policy of our State should be to deal with these industries with an iron hand and if it may take time to stop the already installed giants, we can certainly curb their tendency to multiply themselves

The *vanaspati* industry and the harm it will bring have been enumerated times without number It is a spurious imitation of *ghee* and a definitely harmful product for the human system The following are some of the inherent menacing properties of *nakli ghee*

A — Less Assimilable Fat

As mentioned above to make a foodstuff more stable it has to be changed into such form that it might not deteriorate This means it cannot easily be changed into its simpler forms Assimilability is changing of food into such simpler forms that the body can make use of it When the oils are hardened by hydrogenation the digestive system finds difficulty in breaking it into simpler elements

B — Wastes Vitamins from Other Foods

The oil soluble vitamins A and D are not present in either vegetable oils or *vanaspati* During digestion these fat soluble vitamins, obtained from other foods get dissolved in them In oils as they are fully assimilable the body gets their benefit but *vanaspati* being only partly so some of it passes out of the system carrying out along with it the dissolved vitamins and thus acting as a drain upon the body

C — Essential Fats Absent

The presence of animal fat like *ghee* and butter in food has been found to be essential for the assimilation of food They not only contain the indispensible vitamins A and D but also have certain fatty acids in their composition without which the body cannot do Once the people are made to take to highly energizing' *vanaspati* the dairy products — the only source of animal fat in our country will be thrown overboard and will

naturally seriously affect the health of the nation The argument advanced that margarine and such other products which are much akin to *vanaspati* are freely used in Western countries has to be believed with a grain of salt. Taking for granted that the argument is correct these products may not adversely affect the health of those people who get animal fats through other sources available to non-vegetarians (Margarine has animal fats mixed in it excepting in the special brand of Vegetable Margarine)

Even if we do not take into consideration the effect of the *vanaspati* industry on dairying the cattle wealth and the danger of replacement of cereals by a cash crop of oilseeds we cannot shut out eyes to its effect on the health of the masses

DEVENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

CONSTITUTIONS STATES v. PROVINCES

[I believe that the following proposition is quite a reasonable one —K. G M]

Is it necessary or wise that acceding States like Mysore and Bhopal should have their own separate constituent assemblies to draft their own separate constitutions? They are represented in the Indian Constituent Assembly which is drafting a constitution not only for the Federal Union at the centre but also for certain of the constituent Units the Provinces There is no reason why the constitution of the Provincial Units should not apply to the State Units as well.

As it is, the acceding States are taking a hand in drafting the constitution of the Provincial Units but the latter have no reciprocal share in drafting the constitutions of the State Units

It is highly desirable that the constitutions of the Units, Provincial or State, should be uniform and identical The need for uniformity in an ever-increasing sphere of administration has been ever-increasingly felt and admitted Diversities in the constitutions of the Units, Provincial and State, would lead to unnecessary and vexatious constitutional complications and administrative inefficiency The distinction between States and Provinces has ceased to have any significance today

The acceding States will do well to concentrate on perfecting the constitution not only of the Federal Centre but also of the Units by the Indian Constituent Assembly of which they are members and adopt the same for all Units Provinces and States If however the *amour-propre* of any acceding State calls for it, it may have its own constituent assembly, provided it adopts *in toto* the Unit constitution as framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly

Bangalore 10-10-48 P KODANDA RAO

RE-UNION OF HEARTS

Shri Vinoba was rather exhausted today having had to speak during almost the whole day But on observing that there were some Muslim friends also among the people gathered for prayer he addressed a few words

Shri Vinoba referred to the great tragedy that had occurred in India Votaries of Pakistan had propounded the idea that there were two nations in India and that they could not live together It was an erroneous theory but a large number of Indian Muslims had been carried away by that propaganda Shri Vinoba did not allege that the Muslims had no grievances Grievances had existed but there existed proper remedies for them also That the millions of people should quit their homes was certainly not a remedy The results would have been far better if efforts had been made to solve them in a friendly spirit But that method did not appeal to a large section of the Muslims The events which followed were extremely distressing He was told that from Indore also many Muslims had gone to Hyderabad and other places but they had subsequently to return to their old places and that that had put them in difficulty They had certainly erred in migrating away like that But even so Indorians should help them to resettle. That was the way to reunite broken hearts and reestablish unity Everything said and done the two were not aliens Only their modes of worship were different The Muslims might rest assured that they would have complete freedom of worship in India He would however advise them to endeavour to identify themselves with their Hindu brethren Difference in modes of worship was no bar to mutual regard and friendliness They must develop mutual friendly relations and regard India as their own mother land

He would suggest to them continued Shri Vinoba to learn the language of the land Nagari was still foreign to them A few amongst them had picked up a little English but Hindi they did not know He urged them to learn the other style and script as well That would help the growth of friendly relations Referring to the speech of a Muslim Shri Vinoba said that the audience could hardly follow what that speaker had said Shri Vinoba himself could follow it only because he knew a little of Persian Arabic and Urdu One should speak a language which one's hearers could understand

Concluding Shri Vinoba advised them not to be influenced by disputes going on elsewhere but to develop mutual love and confidence so that the re union of hearts could become easy and a day might come when those who had separated could reunite.

Indore, 17-8-'48 D M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

THE NATION'S VOICE

[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]

Edited by

C Rajagopalachar and *J C Kumarappa*

Price *Rs Three* Postage etc *As Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

October 31 1948

WRONG APPROACH

I take the following from a correspondent's letter

'Having read your balanced views on the burning topic of Hyderabad and its surrender I approach you with my views which are complimentary to the views honestly and fearlessly expressed by you

'The idea put forth by some political bodies that the State should be partitioned on a linguistic basis into three parts and each part should be annexed to the corresponding Hindi territory creates the impression of greed for territorial expansion on the part of India. The people of the State as represented by the Hindu section, will certainly like to go in for their separate existence although as a part of Indianised India under a Governor assisted by his cabinet as in other provinces like Bombay Madras etc The bulk of the population being 86 per cent Hindu they should be very much pleased to have a popular Government with a Hindu Governor at its head

Under this presumption I suggest that at the hand of the new State of Hyderabad, the Maharaja of Kashmir may be invited to sit and thus gratify the wishes of the people of Hyderabad

And vice versa the present Nizam may be appointed Governor of Kashmir by a popular cabinet (If this arrangement is made), the heart burning in Pakistan will be allayed and there will be the road of friendship and good relations paved between Hindustan and Pakistan."

I refer to this letter not because the suggestion is a new one The exchange of Kashmir and Hyderabad rulers has been often suggested by several writers But I refer to it because of its fundamentally wrong approach to the problem Even assuming that such an arrangement would be looked upon with satisfaction by all parties concerned i e the rulers and people of Kashmir and Hyderabad as well as the Governments of Pakistan and India, let it be realized that it is a surrender to a fundamentally wrong creed, namely that Hindus must be ruled by a Hindu and Muslims by a Muslim that there cannot be a Hindu head of Government in a Muslim-populated State, and vice versa If carried to its logical end, it means that Shri Akbar Hydari and Shri Asafali have no place as Governors of Assam and Orissa and that Hindus must ultimately shift to India, and Muslims to Pakistan This must also ultimately lead to the secession of Kashmir from India

That a great many people think and act on these lines is unfortunately too true If this line of thinking is correct the creeds of Pakistan and the Hindu Mahasabha are fully vindicated and all the unhappy migrations and the refugee and rehabilitation problems are but unavoidable steps in the application of a correct principle that Gandhiji's attempt to oppose that principle was not only vain but fundamentally wrong and that those who were offended against him for that were amply justified.

It shows how we have learnt to regard ourselves as mere labelled articles A letter by ordinary mail has to be placed in one box another blue-labelled one in an air-mail box Similarly a man labelled Hindu has to be sent to one part of India another labelled Muslim to another!

If different labels of caste or creed or province disable men from living together, then it is better that we tear off all labels and become simply "human

Whether Hyderabad should have a constitutional monarchy or whether it should be partitioned into three linguistic divisions and merged into three different provinces is a question for the people of Hyderabad to decide Provided we keep clear of communal caste or linguistic narrowness it is not necessary to worry much about the details of the exact arrangement. But if the arrangement rests on the principle that a Muslim cannot be the head of a Hindu State or vice versa, I have no doubt that it will be against the principles for which Gandhiji lived and died

All India is one all Indians are a single nation whatever be their caste colour creed or language

Bombay, 13-10-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

WHY THIS HEAT?

I notice a good deal of heated speech-making and slogan-crying on the question of the formation of a Maharashtra province and the position of Bombay in it. I do not see why this question should be made a subject of such heated controversy After all I believe no province is going to be an autonomous independent State like Pakistan or Ceylon and no Indian not belonging originally to one province is going to be debarred from taking up residence in any other province The utmost that a provincial government might insist upon is that all persons seeking to live in it and take part in its civic life might have to accept the language of that province for purposes of oral or written communication in public offices If for instance the city of Bombay becomes a part of Maharashtra as demanded by its protagonists no Indian who is at present domiciled in Bombay can be turned out of it, or be declared a foreigner in it At the most in course of time he might have to adopt Marathi even as the Gaekwad and the Maharashtrians of Baroda Surat and Ahmedabad have to speak and write in Gujarati in Baroda and Gujarat It is not a very difficult thing to do

Then on the question of governance, I do not believe that there will be wide differences of policy from province to province if as every one concedes there is no desire on the part of any provincialist to break away from the Centre or make it weak

Suppose there was a particular town which could be included either in the East Khandesh district or the West Khandesh district Would it be wise on the part of a political worker to run into passion on the issue of its inclusion in a particular district in preference to any other? I believe it would be regarded as a foolish and mischievous agitation by the provincial leaders Similarly, seen from the point of view of Akband Bharat the questions whether particular places or areas should be in Maharashtra, or Gujarat, or Karnatak, are too trivial for creating a heated atmosphere It only means that even important political leaders are too small persons for our great country They are unable to be Indians first and everything else afterwards They must cling to their small tickets or labels of district and province and caste and creed, and their *Vande Mataram* ultimately becomes no more than a few square feet of land round about their place of birth

Bombay 21-10-48 K G MASHRUWALA

SELF-DEPRECIATING CURRENCY

The idea of a self-depreciating currency expressed by me in the article *The Currency Problem* (*Harijan*, 19th September 1948) is not my own invention I took it several years ago from a book which Shri Mahadev Desai had lent me to read after he had seen my Gujarati booklet *Sonani Maya* (The Illusion of Gold) To the best of my recollection it was a book by an Austrian Economist Some day I may be able to get hold of the book, and give the reader details of his scheme

The principle behind the suggestion is this. Currency is meant for helping exchange of goods It can do so only by always remaining *current* i e running in circulation The amount of currency in a society must be just sufficient to help exchange of articles — for sales and purchases for cash If currency remains locked up in a treasury — whether one's private or that of a bank, it ceases to be currency In that case it is at best like goods kept in a storehouse

Goods have to be stored for a time But no goods are meant for permanent storage. They have to be used up either as material for production of goods of other kinds or for direct consumption Otherwise they will deteriorate in value in course of time Insects, weather conditions and various other factors damage them All articles which have reached perfection diminish in quality, quantity or value in the storehouse

Gold, silver and a few other heavy metals are to a certain extent exceptions to the rule But although these remain unaffected by weather or insects they too by no means increase in quality or quantity by being kept in a treasury Like all other goods they have to be used either to turn them into ornaments or vessels or medicines and chemicals In the form of bullion or coins they are a burden to the owner as heavy as their weight

But their glitter and keeping quality have made them a fascinating burden so much so that every one loves to possess that burden in the same way as the reindeer loves its branching horns even if they are dangerous to its life And the love is so great that a person gives to another If you allow me to carry your burden I shall not only preserve it intact but pay you a little for that loan.' This is known as interest

Of course he too would not be able to add a grain to its weight if he simply kept it in his box By no trick of magic would a thousand pounds of silver become a thousand and one pounds But he might have promised to pay as many as 60 pounds by way of interest How does he do it? What he does is that instead of carrying the thousand pounds as a burden like the lender, he transfers the burden to various people in exchange for some materials which the latter can use for production of other goods, capable of satisfying some need of the people Since people do want those goods the original borrower is able to get back not only one thousand pounds but even eleven hundred pounds so that he returns to the lender 1060 lbs and keeps 40 pounds, as his own wages or profit Thus the store of silver becomes what is called "interest bearing money'

Really it is not the storing or investing that helps to produce wealth but its circulation Wealth could be produced even if there was no large stock of money to keep and invest, but only just sufficient for currency

The institution of interest is a wrong one, howsoever old it might be. Moreover it has not been confined to gold and silver only, but transferred to other forms of currency also So that even paper currency is supposed not only not to deteriorate in keeping like other printed bills and forms but is actually made to yield interest The result is that instead of storing and preserving wealth, people are encouraged to store and preserve currency — a commodity made for the express purpose of always running It is just like creating conditions in which a motor-bus kept in the garage is more paying than the one running to the streets (A fact which has actually happened under petrol rationing leading to black-marketing!) This is unnatural. Like all other types of wealth money must also diminish in quality or quantity with the passage of time A rupee note printed on 1st January must automatically become less worth than sixteen annas on December 31st Just as accountants reduce the value of their buildings implements, furniture, and stock by so many per cent at the end of the year as 'depreciation', so too must be the case with the balance in hand A few per cent per annum reduction would not be unreasonable

If the amount of currency is just sufficient to help exchange of goods the small bits of one rupee or ten rupee paper would within two or three months become so much damaged that they would have to be sent back to the treasury for renewal. If at the end of the year you see a note marked as issued in January in a good condition it should

mean that it was not well circulated and was therefore quite necessary for exchange The habit of spending currency must not be encouraged

This can be done if the currency notes are automatically reduced in value every year If a rupee note issued in January 1948 will fetch only 15 annas in 1949 and 14 annas in 1950 and so on every year no one will like to just hold a rupee note as cash in hand Before the year ends, he will want to part with it either by purchasing some article or at least converting it into small change, (which would not be always available)

The Government is trying to unearth concealed notes If Government offers to exchange old old notes on par if handed in say within 3 months after a proclaimed date for new ones bearing the year of issue and makes the old notes worthless thereafter it would be able to unearth all the cash preserved

But this may not by itself reduce inflation very much The new notes may take the place of old ones and be again buried But if the new notes are self-reducing as suggested even to the extent of half an anna per rupee it would make the currency flow with greater rapidity This might of course lead to rise of prices in spite of controls as an immediate result It would be necessary, therefore, to provide simultaneously a method of getting back superfluous currency into the treasury itself This could be done by bonds of substantial value (i e not just Postal Certificates of ten rupees or fifty rupees) payable in full after 4 or 5 years with ordinary self-depreciating currency

Bombay 19-10-48 K G MASHRUWALA

CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE

At the Conference of Educationists held at New Delhi, the President, the Hon'ble Member for Education Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had remarked

> Under the present financial state of the country free and compulsory education can be introduced only for five years of the children of school going age six to eleven plus

The main reason for not adopting seven years' course of Basic Education — six to fourteen — according to the Post-war Reconstruction Scheme was financial The question as to how far money spent in providing education for only five years achieved the end in view of sound education that each individual within the measure of his powers can make the best of body, mind and soul was lightly set aside

The confirmation of the views you expressed in your article *Secondary Education* (the *Harijan* 30-5-'48) that any attempt to reduce the period of seven years prescribed for Basic Education is educationally unsound and should be resisted (because) apart from the fact that permanent literacy cannot be achieved within a short period it is impossible to realize the objectives of social and civil education before the child is at least fourteen years old' I read in the book *The Future of Education* by Sir David Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi College Oxford published by the Cambridge University Press

Writing about the state of education in Great Britain Sir David Livingstone writes

> 'Some 70 per cent of the children of the nation are entirely withdrawn from any educational influence at the age of 11 [illegible] education which ends at the age of 11 is not an education It might be possibly agreed that nearly all the money spent on elementary education is [illegible] because the system is on the lines of [illegible] Elementary education is not complete in itself It is preparatory It prepares the pupils to go on to something else and puts him foot on the first step of the ladder of knowledge But in fact the vast majority go on to nothing else They never climb higher on the ladder than the first step The [illegible] of uses of our present elementary system [illegible] to enable a minority to proceed to further education and the rest to read the cheap press

To cease education at 11 is as unnatural as to die at 14 The one is physical death and the other intellectual death. Would those who agreed to the policy of imparting education for only five years to the children of the nation be willing that their own children should leave school at the age of eleven and continue no further?

In chapter II of the same book under the subject, *An Ignored Educational Principle* Sir David Livingstone writes

> The principle is that almost any subject is studied with much more interest and intelligence by those who know something of its subject matter than by those who do not, and conversely that it is not profitable to study theory without some practical experience of the facts to which it relates Without theory practice is unintelligent without practice, theory is not understood
>
> If our education is to be really fruitful, we must recognize a principle which has been almost wholly ignored in education — the cross fertilization of theory and practice There is or should be a continual interaction between the two

This ignored principle is the accepted principle for educating children through the medium of a basic craft in *Nai Talim*

Sevagram 5-9-48 E W ARYANAYAKAM

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs* 7-0-0 Postage etc 0-10-0

THE STORY
OF
MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH
(AUTOBIOGRAPHY)
By Gandhiji
Fifth Impression
With 11 illustrations and Index
26 000 copies sold upto now
Pages 640 Price *Rs* 7 Postage etc *As* 12
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

RULES FOR THE SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

(By M K Gandhi)

Life members of the Ashram are those who believe to the necessity of keeping the eleven observances and endeavour to do so to the best of their ability, and who will stay in the Ashram even after Gandhiji's death and render lifelong service through the activities of the Ashram

The names of those who come under this category should be placed on record. They should sign the following pledge

'We the undersigned believe in the necessity of keeping the eleven observances, and will endeavour to do so to the best of our ability We will live in the Ashram till death even when Gandhiji is no longer with us in the flesh and will perform the duties assigned to us'

The second class of inmates is those who have joined the Ashram for service They are non-permanent members And the third class is visitors and guests who come to the Ashram for a short time

One of the life members shall be the manager He will be selected by Gandhiji After his [Gandhiji s] death and on the manager ceasing for some reason to hold that office, the life members shall elect a new manager

The manager shall have charge of the entire administration of the Ashram and assign to the inmates their respective duties As far as possible the manager will try to obtain the consent of the life members in doing this.

The Ashram account shall be duly kept, and audited once a year The statement of accounts shall be sent to the trustees of the Ashram and to the President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh

The rules deducible from the observances and essential for a well-regulated Ashram life are as follows

All members whether permanent or otherwise—will turn every minute of their time to good account They will take part in every corporate activity of the Ashram When free from Ashram work they will spin or carry out some other process connected with cotton They will prosecute their private studies from 8 to 9 p m or during daytime when they have no Ashram work to do and have spun for at least one hour

They may not spin when they are ill or otherwise unable to spin owing to circumstances beyond their control.

No one should talk idly or in a loud voice The Ashram must bear the impress of perfect peace as well as of truth Our relations with one another must be characterized by affection and restraint and with guests and visitors by courtesy Whether a visitor is dressed in rags or in gorgeous robes we should treat him with uniform respect. We must not make any distinction between the rich and the poor the noble and the simple This does not mean that we may expect a delicately nurtured guest to live as simply as ourselves That is to say in waiting upon guests we must always take into consideration their habitual mode of life This is true courtesy If an unknown visitor arrives at the Ashram we must ask him the purpose of his visit and if necessary take him to the manager

Our every word and every act should be well thought out Whatever we do we must do with a will and complete identification with what we are doing at the moment For instance we must not talk at meals or while cutting vegetables

Food must be taken like medicine under proper restraint only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service We must therefore take food in moderation or even abstemiously We must be content with what food we get If the food is insufficiently or badly cooked we must not talk about it at meals but courteously speak about it later to the manager of the kitchen Bad or imperfectly cooked food should not be eaten

We must not smack the lips while eating We must eat our food slowly decorously and neatly in a spirit of thankfulness to God

Every one must wash his own dish thoroughly and keep it in its place

Guests and visitors are requested to bring their own plate, drinking pot bowls and spoon, as well as lantern bedding, mosquito net and napkins They must not have more clothes than necessary Their clothes should be made of *khadi* Other things must be as far as possible village-made or at least Swadeshi

Everything must be kept in its proper place All refuse must be put into the dustbin

Water must not be wasted Boiled water is used for drinking purposes Pots and pans are finally washed with boiled water Unboiled water of the Ashram wells is not safe to drink It is necessary to learn the distinction between boiling water and hot water Boiling water is that which which pulses are cooked; and which gives out lots of steam No one can drink boiling water

We should not spit or clean the nose on the road but only in an out of the way place where no one is likely to walk.

Nature s needs must be attended to only at the appointed place It is necessary to clean oneself after answering both the calls of nature The receptacle for the solid contents is as it should always be different from that for the liquid contents of latrines After a visit to the latrine, we must wash our hands with pure earth and pure water and wipe them with a clean napkin The night-soil must be fully covered with dry earth so as not to attract flies and in such a way that nothing but dry earth is visible

One must sit carefully on the latrine seat, so that the seat does not get dirty A lantern must be carried if it is dark

Everything which can attract the fly should be properly covered

The teeth must be cleaned with care at the proper place The end of the twig must be well chewed into a soft brush, and the teeth and the gums must be brushed with it both ways The saliva discharged during brushing must be spitted out After the teeth are well brushed the twig must be split into two to clean the tongue with. Then the mouth should be carefully washed The split twigs should be washed well and collected in a pot When they dry up they should be used for starting a fire the idea being that nothing which can be used should be thrown away

Waste paper which cannot be used for writing on the other side should be burned Nothing else should be mixed with it

The fragments of vegetables must be kept separate and converted into manure

Broken glass should be thrown into a hollow at a safe distance from houses

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

A VALUABLE OPINION

When there is so much of misunderstanding and lack of enthusiasm for the introduction of Basic Education on a nation-wide scale by the Provincial Governments it is encouraging to get a letter from an understanding educationalist who has no political axe to grind While we have faith in the system that we are working out it is also at times necessary to get the opinion of those who are engaged in the training of teachers. Hence I consider the following opinion of Dr Miss Jean Forrester Principal, St Christopher Training College, Vepery Madras as valuable

It is a real encouragement to find such a sense of purpose such creative living in education and a set up in which knowledge is alive and related to life instead of being dead as in so many of our schools

The easiest way to convince people of the value of what you are doing is to allow them to come and see I have found that it is the rare teacher who is able to believe in activity centred education projects all things of that kind without seeing them done The average teacher is afraid of being a complete failure and of getting into trouble if he departs from the well trodden paths of the Government Syllabus and the text book. It is because I am so convinced that the best way of spreading your philosophy is by letting as many people see your experiment as possible that I venture to hope that you will not be too unwilling to receive even Government officials sent from Madras. It will be easier for us who believe in the principles of Basic Education to do something if there are officials who have at least seen what you are achieving

Sevagram 9 10- 48 E W ARYANAYAKAM

NOTES

B. G. Horniman

Shri B G Horniman has passed away (16th October) He will always be remembered with gratitude as an Englishman who voluntarily became India's servant and valiantly fought for her rights and honour even to the extent of courting the displeasure of his own countrymen The Government even expelled him once from India He was a powerful speaker and writer and built up the reputation of the *Bombay Chronicle* founded by Sir Phirozshah Mehta. He had not been keeping good health for a long time and perhaps he found in death a welcome relief God bless him.

Bombay 20-10-'48

Lands for Politicals

Herewith another clipping sent by a correspondent

Sir

The assignment of lands for political sufferers is going on briskly but there appears to be no proper method in dealing with the work It would be better if the committee entrusted with this work looked carefully into the merits of every case and disposed of the work more easily *commencing from 1942* (Italics mine — K G M) as that was the starting point of the National Movement This method will help the committee in easy disposal instead of doing things in a way which may naturally lead to some confusion.

B V SAMBASIVA RAO

(The *Indian Express* 5 10 48)

It shows the extent to which demoralization has penetrated into Congressmen Will the Government succumb to these demands ?

Caste-Records

The same correspondent writes

'While the whole of India under the inspiring guidance of Mahatma Gandhi is trying to fuse India into a nation without stressing upon the differences about castes communities and religion or even rich and poor it was surprising for me to learn that instructions have been given to the enumerators of voters for adult franchise to ascertain the particular caste and subdivision of each eligible voter

Through you I earnestly request the Madras Ministry not to make records of distinctions, wholly unnecessary for purposes of election

I endorse

Bombay 16-10- 48 K G M

CONTENTS

		PAGE
FUNCTUALITY	K. G MASHRUWALA	293
THE VANASPATI MENACE	DEVENDRA KUMAR GUPTA	294
CONSTITUTIONS STATES v PROVINCES	P KODANDA RAO	295
RE-UNION OF HEARTS	D M.	295
WRONG APPROACH	K. G MASHRUWALA	296
WHA THIS HEAT ?	K. G MASHRUWALA	296
SELF DEPRECIATING CURRENCY	K. G MASHRUWALA	297
CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE	E. W ARYANAYAKAM	298
RULES FOR THE SEVAGRAM ASHRAM	M K. GANDHI	299
A VALUABLE OPINION	E. W ARYANAYAKAM	300
NOTES		
B G HORNIMAN	K G M	300
LANDS FOR POLITICALS	K. G M	300
CASTE RECORDS	K G M.	300

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh, or $ 3

Fear and Hesitation

Reg. No. B3032

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 36 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY NOVEMBER 7 1943 TWO ANNAS

LIVE EDUCATION

[A speech by Shri Vinoba at the Allahabad University Students' Union on 28-8-43]

[illegible] students. Shri Vinoba [illegible] of the world in one's own [illegible] them to go himself just as [illegible] he ascended from one step of [illegible] the

Shri [illegible] in a university then [illegible] would be of great advantage [illegible] came to a close [illegible] more that the end of [illegible] knowledge [illegible] a state of [illegible]

They [illegible] strength. A young man had [illegible] that the world was [illegible] he could [illegible] youth [illegible]

Shri Vinoba [illegible] was not turned or allowed to [illegible] thinking. It had become the [illegible] government to stuff the students with [illegible] ready made and fixed ideas. According to the view of the government they [illegible] communism [illegible] good or [illegible] Then [illegible] who the great leaders of India taught their pupils [illegible] Thus finally asked their [illegible] to be great [illegible] teacher should feel proud of [illegible] disillusioned [illegible] from the opinion [illegible] The method [illegible] to impose his [illegible] of living upon others. That [illegible] of students. It sought to [illegible] machines. Students must refuse to become [illegible] machines. They must aspire to follow [illegible] (Tatkhalanusarini *patha* (a broken line).

Shri Vinoba [illegible] given to administration of students had become [illegible] several times. The member of such a union [illegible] of thinking. He asked [illegible] heard of [illegible] sheep herded [illegible] Vinoba [illegible] for a mutual [illegible] mutual co-operation [illegible] students. It was essential [illegible] co-operation in doing good deeds. But one must retain one's freedom of thought and the thoughts must have free field for transformation for the progressive realisation of truth. It was essential for the pursuit of truth. It was also the way of acquiring real strength.

Self-control was essential for developing strength. Man was meant to be Indra i.e. Lord of the *indriyas* (senses) which were his various instruments of power. One must learn to control them. It was the most important art to be acquired during student life. Self control was a condition precedent for the development of concentration which was an important factor in the development of strength.

Shri Vinoba illustrated the difference between the functions of the eyes and the legs by drawing attention to the difference between the rain and a river. Rain drops might fall at any place over the surface of the globe and might come from any direction. But they must follow a definite direction in order to form into a river. In everything not far distant to every direction of the universe. But the legs must travel in a definite direction in order to complete a journey. Like the river man's path of action must be a regulated one.

Once he was [illegible] Vinobaji said he address a meeting for [illegible] youths with enthusiasm. Vinobaji said that he could understand the necessity of inspiring old with enthusiasm. But a country was undoubtedly [illegible] young people stood in need of being enthused from outside. A young man's period *Ta* (perseverent application) to order to make his enthusiasm. As the *Gita* says application and enthusiasm are needed for *karmayoga* [illegible] all the *karmayogis*.

[illegible] especially young asked whether students should take part in politics. A student must develop the whole self. He must be vigilant before forming his ideas. He should therefore study politics and observe and understand political problems as well. But it must be done in the manner of a supervisor. The Indian word for a chairman was *adhyaksha* (literally, supervisor), one who watched proceedings without identifying himself with any particular side. In the same way the students must study, observe and examine every matter connected with life like an *adhyaksha* and then come to conclusions. He must not when he time arrived.

In order to become a *karmayogi* it was necessary to be co-tantly engaged in some productive work. Until one did something with one's own hands one could not be sure of the correctness of one's

[illegible] for its basic experience [illegible] often asked students [illegible] them did not They [illegible] work to girls If cooking was [illegible] should also be restricted to girls [illegible] have upon the bread of knowledge [illegible] they could claim to have done [illegible] But since both men and women needed [illegible] knowledge let both also take part in the [illegible] and the acquirement of knowledge [illegible] had divided labour of men and woman in [illegible] had devised a way to keep both the sexes [illegible] They deprived knowledge of all [illegible]

[illegible] long strenuous manual labour in his young days [illegible] consequence, one saw the lustre of independent thinking in the teachings of the *Gita* India did not want dead learning They must have live knowledge which was fired with the spirit of independence and the courage to take risks

D M.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

THE NEO-SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Jesus in his simplicity and ignorance of world affairs taught us in bygone days to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also" said the carpenter's son But then he had not the advantage of studying modern diplomacy at the feet of His Grace Dr Cyril Garbett the Archbishop of York

This second custodian of the soul of the Church invocation of York, devoted much time to define the duties of a Christian He said

> The Christian should support the United Nations as an attempt to limit national sovereignty Unless the veto is restricted the United Nations will fail, as the League of Nations had failed to preserve peace.
>
> The Christian must press strongly for the outlawry of the Atomic Bomb Its use in war may result in the end of our civilization and reversion of those who survive to primitive conditions of existence
>
> In an armed world the democratic State must also be armed Weakness and timidity encourage an aggressor while protests and arguments excite his contempt unless behind them there stands the resolution of an armed people ready to fight, suffer and die rather than passively submit to the murder of their nation and the enslavement of its citizens
>
> In supporting the Government in taking all necessary precautions against attack we shall do so without hatred for any nation'

The last sentence is a master stroke to reconcile the turning the left cheek philosophy with the Atom Bomb diplomacy The Hiroshima experience tells us what to expect from this doctrine Let us pray in sackcloth and ashes "Lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil' May God also save us from such leadership

J C KUMARAPPA

FALSE AND OBSCENE ADVERTISEMENTS

Correspondents have often drawn my attention to absolutely false or obscene advertisements appearing in newspapers magazines etc A single issue of a weekly or a monthly journal has often been found to contain about ten to fifteen advertisements relating to drugs for bringing about abortion (under the title of regulation of menses) rejuvenation, and to lascivious literature Then there are a number of advertisements for cigarettes and liquors, often occupying a full page

There are also advertisements found to be bogus on experience They relate to cheap cameras, automatic pistols, knitting machines word and figure puzzles etc Credulous readers living in small towns or villages rely upon such advertisements and place postal orders and find themselves grossly deceived A correspondent says that editors or managers of journals continue to print such advertisements even after their attention has been drawn to their bogusness Irritatedly, he complains that he saw no difference between conductors of such journals and the black-marketeers profiteers, bribe-takers *pugree*-takers, the bogus advertisers themselves and the Amichands They subordinate duty towards society to money

A good deal of paper is also wasted in useless stuff such as astrological forecasts for the day week, month etc, attractively dressed up

This is a matter for serious self-examination by journalists The part played by the Press, the [illegible] and the film-producer in the modern world in moulding the national character, and improving or spoiling national tastes about good manners dress language, music etc is much greater than that by schools and universities

Gandhiji placed before the Press the ideal of a paper without advertisements and practised it successfully If the people considered that they gained something by reading what Gandhiji wrote, they must themselves pay the legitimate cost of his paper As it is, readers have to pay for the papers, quite as much as for Gandhiji's paper and yet it is not so much the readers who maintain the journal as the advertisers

We have been talking of the freedom of the Press, it has been called the fifth estate and so on But what about the self-created slavery of the journalists to advertisers or particular industrialists? They seek to curb the Government through their criticisms, but they themselves are under the effective control of their advertisers or the industrialists who pay them. They accept any rubbish of an advertisement or uphold any industrial interest if they are paid their price They write a leader to denounce drink and at another place give a full page advertisement of some wine!

The least that journalists can and should do is to refuse to take advertisements of an objectionable character of a substance opposed to their views, or of an item against which there is a complaint of being false or bogus, unless they are

satisfied that the complaint itself is false It is as much their duty to express freely and fearlessly matters coming in their advertisements as in other columns

Public libraries and reading rooms can also play a great part in controlling papers and advertisers They can keep a black-box, in which readers could put in complaints about a journal not keeping to a proper standard either in its writings, pictures or advertisements. The managers of libraries should verify such complaints and if satisfied draw the attention of the journal asking them to correct themselves and if not heeded refuse to patronize it. This would by the by be a superior and more effective censorship than that exercised through Government Executive

Bombay 18-10-48 K G MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Presidential Election

The narrow majority by which Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya has been elected president of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Jaipur reveals that the Congress is almost equally divided on certain fundamental issues I do not exactly know what all these issues are, but the uppermost among them appears to be the question of the National Language With the mind of the Congress so fully known in advance, how happy it would be if the two leaders i e Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, now meet together to find an agreed formula in the matter? I am sure, it is possible to find a solution which should meet with general satisfaction Shri Ghanshyam Sinha Gupta, Speaker of the C P Legislative Assembly, has been working in that direction, and I believe he is making some progress

Assuming honesty and absence of selfish motives on either side, in non-violence equal division is an opportunity for forging stronger unity The two leaders by putting their heads together to find a common solution can change their erstwhile rivalry into strong companionship

Somehow I have a feeling that we are returning to the period of 1907 The atmosphere in the country is not dissimilar to that which prevailed at the Surat Congress There is hatred and jealousy at large, and readiness to fall out on the smallest pretext

Both Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Purushottamdas Tandon are old experienced, respected leaders Both have spent the best part of their lives to build up the Congress I hope, at Jaipur it will be possible to say of both of them that during the concluding period of their lives they worked together to rebuild the institution stronger

Bombay, 27-10-48

Language in Border Districts

A correspondent writes

"Two propositions emerge out of your leading article *The Mother tongue Theory* in the *Harijan* of October 10 1948 — one that the doctrine of [illegible] modified to mean [illegible] form of the [illegible] secondly that the literary form is the [illegible] literary form of the province and not [illegible] dialect or local form of the language which [illegible] learns to speak in its natural environment [illegible] application of these two principles the [illegible] arises in border districts Take, for example [illegible] district of Manbhum in Bihar. Both at Purulia [illegible] Dhanbad the environmental language is Bengali but the literary form of the province of Bihar as now established is Hindi How do you reconcile the two propositions in such cases ?

I have already answered this question in my previous articles Border districts of all provinces must be treated as multilingual. Grown up people generally live in small homogeneous colonies and maintain an environment suitable to their habits they have necessarily to mix freely with the people speaking another language Children growing up in these conditions speak both the languages pretty equally It goes without saying that the language of the province has to be learnt by all but the other language being not a mere dialect must be allowed the same scope and freedom as it would have if their area were transferred to the other province. Thus everyone in Manbhum must learn the language of Bihar but the Bengalis must have the same facility and freedom as they would have if Manbhum were to be transferred to Bengal

What applies to Manbhum applies also to the border areas of Thana Surat Belgaum etc in Bombay

Bombay, 20-10-48

Profit Sharing

The Government of India had appointed a committee to draw up a scheme for sharing the profits of industries between the industrialists and labour This committee has recommended certain forms of profit sharing to be tried in first instance in six industries viz Cotton Textiles Jute Steel, Cement, Manufacture of Tyres and Cigarettes Making

Our position is that there should be no profits at all in centralized industries All industries that require centralized form of organization should be worked on a service basis They should be owned or controlled by Government Any excess over the cost should be ploughed back into the industry The employees in such industries should receive adequate salaries and wages which should be on a par with remuneration obtainable for like work in cottage and village industries

Profit sharing schemes and many of the so-called welfare schemes of mills are so much dope to hold their workers in bondage and extract every ounce of energy out of them Seemingly they benefit the worker monetarily but in the end they create better markets of the mill-products These enslave the worker rather than liberate him They are not calculated to develop his personality or individuality

J C KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

November 7 1948

FEAR AND HESITATION

A correspondent writes

Most of the papers in India have expressed their views on the police action in Hyderabad A majority of them had encouraged the Government to take some such action as has been taken long before it was launched Even though the police action had commenced on the 13th September you did not say anything on the subject until the 24th And what you have written in the *Harijan* of the 26th September is lacking in clarity and is not compatible with Mahatmaji's teachings People like me expect that there should be no room for fear or hesitancy in putting forth Mahatmaji's views in clear and unmistakable terms in the *Harijan* which was his own paper Your observations regarding the Hyderabad police action is in equivocal and suppressed language It is also contrary to Gandhiji's principle of *ahimsa*

The military action which the Government of India has taken against Hyderabad can never be supported on the principles of Mahatmaji The only moral justification which the India Government could plead was that a handful of people there were suppressing the true voice of the people by terrorizing the latter But was not the situation in India identical [illegible] when Mahatmaji gave the call for freedom's battle? Here too the Britishers who were a small number of foreigners were ruling our country with the might of the army In this fight of ours Mahatmaji never sought armed intervention of an outside party but built up the strength of the people through truth and non violence and won complete independence No doubt there is some difference in the circumstances of these two cases but in the main the two are similar

If the morale of the people of Hyderabad had fallen so low that they felt themselves helpless and became servile to a handful of *goondas* an effort should have been made to raise their morale and to organize and make them strong so that they could fight through *truth* and non *violence* But India who takes pride in calling herself Mahatmaji's follower—what did this India do? She conquered the Razakar *goondas* on the strength of her guns and brought about the emancipation of the 85 per cent If Mahatmaji had been alive today I have not the slightest doubt that he would have himself gone to Hyderabad and taught the people the ways of satyagraha and would have won over the Razakars and their leaders with love. He would never have allowed one part of India to use arms against another

The police action in Hyderabad can never be squared with the advice which Mahatmaji tendered to the Britishers when they were threatened with Hitler's invasion or the line of action he wished us to adopt if Japan invaded India He had advised the people to resist the invaders not with the sword but with truth and non violent non cooperation Then would he not have advised the people of Hyderabad to meet the Razakar menace in the same way? There is no doubt that we have drifted away from Mahatmaji's teachings

From your writings I feel that you agree with Mahatmaji's ways But it pains me to observe that you hesitated in stating your views clearly Possibly it is due to the fear of legal consequences But if you really wish to preach Mahatmaji's teachings you must be fearless against law even though it be of our own national Government Possibly this is one of the reasons for the fall in the circulation of the *Harijan* that its articles now lack the qualities of fearless nessness of truth bright optimism and pioneering spirit with which Mahatmaji's writings overflowed and which used to reach to the heart of the people

I would like to put where you yourself have stated in one of your notes in the *Harijan* of the 26th September The true democracy will be established only when we cease to rely on the army This is possible only through non violent means To oppose arms with violence is to build up a rival army and be a slave to it How great it would have been if you had written in the same frank and fearless manner regarding Hyderabad as in the *Harijan* too becomes servile through fear or ignorance who will keep the torch of truth burning?

I plead guilty to some of the shortcomings mentioned in this letter I was unable to give clear non violent guidance against the evils that were rampant in Hyderabad I could have repeated Bapu's teaching in some such words as that a votary of non-violence will embrace death at the hands of evil-doers But after Gandhiji's death he who has the courage to do and die non-violently will not seek my guidance, and those who seek it generally do not possess that kind of courage They seek less risky ways Bapu could tell people to go and die because he would have been prepared to go himself to Hyderabad if the occasion demanded He had often done such things Apart from other factors I am physically unfit to do so Indian papers clamoured for military action I felt sorry for it But so long as I was unable to show an alternative way how could I denounce it either? Not only ordinary people but even those who had the reputation for being votaries of non-violence supported this clamour When Shri Bhansali undertook his first fast I believed that it was of the nature of a non-violent austerity But it became abundantly clear at the time of his second fast that he too not only did not see any non-violent remedy but on the contrary his fast was directed against the Government of India itself for its supposed dilatoriness He was impatient with the India Government for its delay And he broke the fast when he was satisfied that the Government did intend to take military action. I could not approve his second fast and he was

somewhat misgiving about it. If this was the state of mind of [illegible] like Bhansali, it is not strange that [illegible] ordinary people and the papers asked should be favourable to the use of force. In fact, [illegible] the Government which showed greater patience and reluctance to use arms than the people and in that extent it was more non-violent. How then could I denounce the Government?

I cannot write in the way Gandhiji wrote. There is no question of the fear of law in this. In fact, I do not know if there is any such law which penalizes an expression of dissatisfaction against a given policy of the Government. But whatever Gandhiji wrote derived the force of authority because it was backed by his life-long service and preparedness to act. There was thirty year's service behind the advice he offered to the Britishers and others. He could not give that advice in 1914. He even organized a volunteer corps for Red Cross work during the First World War. Later he urged the youth of our country to join the army and launched a recruiting campaign and got even the Ashram members enlisted. Moreover it cannot be said with certainty that Bapu would have opposed or disapproved of the action against Hyderabad. He was among us when the military action began in Kashmir. Possibly he saw no practicable way of avoiding it. He did not denounce it simply by asserting non-violence.

It is not difficult to pick up a few sentences from a writing by Bapu and spin out a nice article. But how could I do it? It would be unreal, a sort of hypocrisy. It would not have served the present issue.

One must have experienced that an advice given by some person even though it is sound and valuable, fails to convince people or become acceptable to them. But a similar utterance by a great person like Bapu is at once accepted by the people. The reason for it is that in order to convince others, it is not enough that what one says is true and full of wisdom. Truth must be uttered by the proper person to become an effective force. It must have behind it the sanction of experience, service and sacrifice of the speaker. A thought might be just a conclusion of logical thinking or bright imagination. It is a mere statement but so long as it is not proclaimed by a person who has gained authority to utter it it does not produce action.

If there is hesitancy or silence on my part the reason for it is not fear of anything outside me. It arises from my anxiety not to say anything which might not be true to myself.

Bombay 13-10-48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR

By Gandhiji

Price Rs. 7-0-0 Postage etc. 0-10-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

EARTH HOUSES—II

It is possible to build rammed earth houses of any kind of soil provided it contains some clay. Yet it is not the clay that makes it well, it is the sand and the gravel in the soil. The clay acts as a binder. As excess of glue makes a poor joint so excess of clay makes a poor wall. Soil too poor in clay will make a weak wall but the wall will not crack and will resist rain well; while soil too rich in clay will give a wall all cracked up and not resistant to rain.

The top layer of the soil is usually full of organic matter and is therefore unsuitable for ramming. The upper 6 to 12" should not be used. When the upper layer is scraped off a test for the suitability of the soil for ramming should be made.

The examination of the rain gulleys in the soil gives the first indication of the suitability of the soil for rammed work. The nearer the walls of the gulley to the vertical the better the soil. Sloping walls indicate soil which lacks cohesion and is not water resistant.

A bucket of the soil to be examined as representative of the soil available as possible should be secured and sieved through 1" mesh sieve. 10 tins (cigarette tins will do or drinking tumblers) of this soil should be put in a pan and well covered with water. The whole should be stirred and the muddy water gently poured out. This should be repeated several times until the water is no more muddy. The content of the pan is dried then in the open or in an oven and the residue after washing and drying carefully measured. It should be not less than 6 tins and not more than 8 tins. 7 to 7.5 tins should be considered just right.

The residue is then sieved through a ¼" mesh sieve. All that passes is counted as sand, all that remains is gravel. The gravel then suitable for rammed earth work will not pass a ¼" mesh but will pass a 1" mesh sieve. Bigger pebbles are absolutely of no use because they seriously interfere with ramming. The pebbles protect the soil under them from the action of the ramming tool and as a result the wall becomes full of soft pockets. Similarly clods of earth are a nuisance because they are usually dry inside. They crumble under the tamming tool and leave dry spots.

The content of gravel and sand should be about 1 to 2. It is neither the clay nor the gravel but the sand that makes the rammed wall resistant to rain. It is not possible to lay down general rules as to the right proportion of clay, sand and gravel because a lot depends on the percentage of colloids in the soil, on the size of the grains of sand and on whether the gravel is sharp or smooth. As a result of several experiments with various soils the following table is considered a safe guide.

	Min	Opt	Max
Clay	20%	25%	10%
Sand	30%	50	60
Gravel	10%	25	40%

Roughly clay and gravel should be equal and sand not less, more, if possible.

It can be seen that when well graded rammed earth will be quite good for gravel in the well trodden A well rammed and well proportioned rammed earth wall is a problem for burglars because it does not give in to the crow bar It is sticky it catches the point without giving way In a stone wall or a brick wall once a stone or a brick is removed the rest is easy Not so with the rammed wall It has to be chiselled away bit by bit

If the composition of the soil is known and it is not within the table it should be corrected by adding sand gravel and clay as the case may be.

For extensive constructions in rammed earth it may be worth while to carry out actual compression tests on little test cubes 6 x 6 x 6 inches The soil must be rammed down to half its volume when loose Well rammed blocks out of suitable soil will stand up to 600 lbs/sq inch but for ordinary purposes 300 lbs sq inch is amply sufficient The average weight of rammed earth is about 120 lbs/cubic foot. It is therefore possible to build as high as with bricks with the same safety

MAURICE FRYDMAN

DENMARK'S 'EDUCATION FOR LIFE'

1. GRUNDTVIG

No longer do I dream about the dead
But now my song is of the powers of life
Which are astir today

When the death-bell goes
Then only will my school time reach its close

So sang Grundtvig when he innovated in 1844 in place of the prevalent 'schools for death' his new education for life' which rapidly developed into a great movement destined to be the mainspring of Danish renaissance Indeed all writers on Danish history agree that the Folk High Schools of Grundtvig furnished superior leadership in national crises both after the Napoleonic defeat and quite recently after the Nazi invasion It was because of this education that the conservative Danish farmer readily became receptive for progress and the switch-over from grain-growing to the production of butter eggs and bacon for export was carried out with surprising speed and efficiency

In 1814 compulsory education was introduced in Denmark and 35 years later the Free Constitution which gave equal and free franchise to all was granted These two notable events created an awakening and the Danish farmer rose to build up the new nation with the slogan of what we have lost outwardly we must gain inwardly' Happily for the nation Grundtvig was ready with his educational curriculum to harness the new energies He maintained that unless young Danes were systematically trained for the new onerous responsibilities the national upsurge would soon evaporate itself He was able to convince both the Queen and the popular leaders of the superiority of his scheme and with their help, started in 1844 his Folk School Movement which, in a short time, pervaded not only his own country, but became an inspiration for the whole world What was his education like?

His strictures on the then prevalent education are worth noting He says

> A school where boys torn loose from nature domestic and native life hang over books and arithmetical tables from morning till night is nothing but a school for Death By such education we have become immeasurably rich in ideas but great beggars in reality rich in knowledge but poor in vital force They turn all people into professors, officials and almsfolk unless they can all literally live on air

Grundtvig, therefore, called his scheme of education, as the education for life and not for gaining a living He planned his curriculum for three sets of students (1) for children below 14 (2) for boys and girls between 14 to 18 and (3) for those above 18

The education of the child should begin with stories from Norse Mythology and the Bible and with songs Then would come the study of the mother tongue But it must be remembered that the mother-tongue has 'its home neither in the brain of the scholars nor even in the pen of the best writers but in the mouth of the people' The song plays an important part in moulding the student's life Through the song the individual reaches the highest point of harmony both within himself and with his fellows There should be utmost freedom in the school. In the teaching of history the books should be relegated to a subordinate position and the teacher should be concerned rather to absorb the spirit of his subject and to transmit it to his students with the simple eloquence of sincerity and enthusiasm. This, Grundtvig called the living word The best schools for children are the houses of the good and industrious citizens where they can get both a liking for and a grasp of the trades which they will afterwards practise

In the second stage the students should study in addition to the above subjects, grammar composition, arithmetic and drawing. Communal residence becomes the essential part in this stage. The emphasis should be laid on the fact that they should not be cooped up in the school with its desks and books but should be out as much as possible in the open air learning farming dairying or some other trade and engaging in healthy manual work The tuition would be real only if the high schools are surrounded by a farm worked in the best possible way and by a workshop where all crafts are practised in the best manner This would be a 'school for life'

In the third stage from 18 onwards the students would enter the Folk High Schools for adult education The main subjects taught here would be national statistics Danish constitution and law administration and local government This study would give the students a deep insight into the life and economic activities of the Danish people and would equip them to shoulder in future their civic responsibilities

None of the schools taught co-operation in a material sense but the young persons who took courses at them emerged with minds sufficiently alert to grasp the import of the times and to adapt their lives accordingly. The young people are mentally and emotionally roused which made them receptive of instruction and fit for co-operative enterprise

The schools must be residential where the intercourse of teachers and students would create 'a spiritual sense of a unity in multiplicity' which is one of the essential aims of civic education

Education, Grundtvig says 'should teach the students that human life is equally noble in every position Students must return to their former work with increased pleasure, with a clearer view of human and civic relations, especially with regard to their fatherland and with an awakened happy feeling of the national fellowship which makes them sharers in everything great and good which has hitherto been and shall hereafter be achieved by the people to which they belong

He has given a utopian picture of his education He says

> "We imagine all the Latin schools gone and all boys growing up, as far as possible in their own houses and in God's free nature, in living intercourse with the people, trained in one or other of the crafts of daily life so that even those who from childhood seemed best suited for mental work have also learnt to use their hands

2 KOLD AND SCHRODER

Grundtvig was singularly fortunate in having followers who fired with missionary spirit carried ahead the torch of education for life to the remotest corners of Denmark Kristen Kold was his brilliant successor A poor cobbler's son, he became a teacher at the age of fourteen when in his school there were 'many students big enough to see over his head' The school was closed for want of funds, leaving Kold to live on hook-binding! Later in 1848 he became a war-volunteer But he could not do without teaching because, as he said in later life, he was 'born to be a teacher of the people' He bought a plot of land with the monetary help of Grundtvig, erected a school by his own hands and visited his friends in the neighbouring districts to persuade them to send their children to his school! It was he who refused government grant and inspection and to introduce examinations He started schools for women and summer classes for farmers which soon became very popular He enunciated the principle that the people must be 'enlivened before they are enlightened He taught so well that it was said of him that his hearers would remember his lessons even in the next world'! No wonder, therefore that he is known as the 'Danish Socrates'

Askov school which worked under Ludvig Schroder taught with agricultural and dairy bias. Schroder insisted that all must work on the farm and in the dairy and not leave things to hired workers It became a great educational centre and attracted educationalists not only from Sweden, Norway and Finland but also from America France England Switzerland, Czechoslovakia Germany and even Japan Trier comparatively poor and humble but all the more spirited started his school with carpentry, fishing and gymnastics Borup started schools for industrial workers Niels Bukh started in 1920 Gymnastic High Schools which created interest throughout the world The exercises combine movements with music In the same year Peter Manniche opened the international People's College. Students came from all over Europe and music, manual work and language study groups were the means to break international barriers These schools became spiritual centres of resistance to anti-democratic and totalitarian ideas, especially after the Nazis came into power in Germany Indeed it is interesting to note how the great gospel of Grundtvig shot away varied colours through his various disciples each supplementing the rest and all making one whole message for the young growing Denmark

3 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SCHEME

Now what are the achievements of this new scheme of education?

It created in every Dane a profound sense of individual liberty in the mode of life and occupation as also the will and ability to co-operate for the common welfare It is well worth noting how education tactfully imparted creates happy sweet homes quite competent to shoulder national responsibilities The whole movement grew up as a rural one The pupils after the completion of their education went to their farms vitalized with added vigour and knowledge and passionately eager to be first class farmers and not at all dissatisfied and full of vague longings for a doubtful better They built in their villages lecture halls not only for lectures but for cultural entertainments concerts plays readings, folk-dancing art and physical exercises

Directly or indirectly as a result of her education, Denmark has solved the problems of co-operative enterprise stopped the city-ward tide of the rural population and built up a rural social life wherein many of the social problems confronting rural communities in other lands have been cleared away It created among the rank and file the intelligence, self-confidence and mutual trust which the people needed in order to be able to apply the new scientific methods to their farming and to make a success of their co-operative associations It discovered the value of music as an international language as also the importance of the daily hour of manual labour as a means of helping the students to get to know one another and of fostering a democratic life The modern Dane believes that national energies should be bent to the improvement of the Danes at home and not be directed towards imperialism and conquest No young Dane regards war as a glory but as an antiquated and uncivilized way of settling disputes which by now the world should have outgrown

The [illegible] achievement still remains [illegible] 9th of April 1940 Herr Hitler [illegible] Denmark and demanded submission [illegible] capitulation The Danish government [illegible] *triumph* and tolerated the [illegible] German occupation The people [illegible] Folk High School for leadership and guidance which they received in ample measure Some teachers were imprisoned and were even put to death But undaunted they led the Danes whose resistance was so civil and decent that the otherwise opprobrious Germans determined to treat the Danes well They argued that the Danes had a [illegible] liberty and it behoved German soldiers [illegible] decently and to respect their [illegible] of character and try to be [illegible] popular

After [illegible] years of occupation the Nazis permitted general elections in the country The results are given below

	Seats (out of 128)
1 Social [illegible] (led by [illegible] High School teacher)	[illegible]
2 Conservative	31
3 Liberal	23
4 [illegible]	[illegible]

The result of the elections more than proved the Danish people who so valiantly withstood the Nazi tyranny in Denmark which thank God came to an end with the conquest of Germany in May 1945

This whole story of Danish education co-operation opposition to oppression and democracy affords a valuable lesson that what a good people whatever their number can do if they are determined to work co-operatively humbly and generously for a common purpose so that all world should be safer and better for all those who want to live and let live It reminds one of the *Upanishad* saying यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकनीडम् (Where all the world becomes one nest) (Whatever is done with knowledge faith and co-operation becomes supremely powerful)

R. J SOMAN

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K Gandhi

Translated by Dr Sushila Nayyar

Price *Rs 0 10 0* Postage Rs *0-2-0*

Gandhiji says in the introduction about his book

"I am giving a new name *Key to Health* Anyone who observes the rules of health mentioned in this book will find that he has got in it a real key to unlock the gates leading him to health He will not need to knock at the doors of doctors or *vaidyas* from day to day"

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

GOVERNMENT AND DEFLATION

The Government has formulated some plans for meeting the problem of ever soaring inflation These plans are overweighted on the side of large scale industries When we take the production of agriculture and village industries the output of large scale industries is infinitesimal Therefore if we want to increase the production even a slight improvement of agriculture and village industries will provide a great lever for banishing inflation But this factor of production has been almost ignored

One has to remember that a large measure of this inflation is due to the spendthrift nature of this Government which in itself is an outcome of a fall in a sense of values in the income and expenditure on Governmental affairs The remedy for this cause of inflation would be to increase the value of money while reducing the quantity that goes into any particular hands For instance, a man with Rs 10 in his hands has a certain value for his tenth rupee while another with one lakh at his disposal would have comparatively little or no value for his last rupee To meet this difference in the unitary value of money at the margin, it is necessary to cut down the funds available to any government department The simple way of doing this is to decentralize both the revenue collection and dispersal of expenditures We have to develop a system of local administration which will resuscitate the ancient methods of village republics Until this is done fighting inflation will be merely dealing with symptoms and not the disease.

Similarly the use of money must be largely restricted by introduction of certain amount of exchange in commodities in local transactions by the instrumentality of multi-purpose co-operative societies

These reforms under conditions prevailing today may lead to a certain amount of looseness in administration But we have to face this problem so as to educate the villagers to shoulder responsibility Centuries of foreign rule have brought us to the present state of a diminished sense of public duty To build up this civic character of the people, may take some decades but that is a period which has to be gone through before the people can be expected to take up the responsibilities of Swaraj

J C KUMARAPPA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
LIVE EDUCATION	D M	301
THE NEO-SERMON ON THE MOUNT	J C KUMARAPPA	302
FALSE AND OBSCENE ADVERTISEMENTS	K C MASHRUWALA	302
FEAR AND HESITATION	K G MASHRUWALA	304
EARTH HOUSES—II	MAURICE FRYDMAN	305
DENMARK'S EDUCATION FOR LIFE	R J SOMAN	306
GOVERNMENT AND DEFLATION	J C KUMARAPPA	309
NOTES		
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION	K G M	303
LANGUAGE IN BORDER DISTRICTS	K G M	303
PROFIT SHARING	J C K	303

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN, One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Temple Entry

Reg No B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No 37 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY NOVEMBER 14 1948 TWO ANNAS

SARDAR PATEL AT SEVAGRAM

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel paid a special visit to Sevagram on 3rd November The following is the full text (in translation) of his speech before the workers of Wardha and Sevagram at Mahadev Bhavan, A I S A Sevagram as reported by the A. P I

I have come to this sacred place after a long time My heart is full What shall I say? This is the first time that I have come to this place to Bapu's absence On the last occasion, everybody came, but I was then ill—so ill that I thought that my promise to Bapu would be fulfilled Bapu and I had settled that we would journey to the Unknown together But I feel that Bapu stopped me from going Sushila was with me at the time she exerted herself a lot and I am now alive Doctors even now forbid me from exerting much But Mangaldas insisted on my coming to Nagpur coming to Nagpur meant a visit to Sevagram

' Like Ashadevi my mind is also full of many things but we cannot do everything according to our own will I have not seen your work but Ashadevi says you are carrying on your work with devotion, love and conviction When Bapu came to India work was being done in a different way Bapu said that real India was in the villages Crores live in villages and their interests must command our attention As the freedom struggle gained in tempo, we felt that if we did not manage the towns the towns will destroy the villages

THE FOUR WALLS—(1) UNTOUCHABILITY

"Gandhiji built his struggle on four walls, the first was removal of untouchability That sin had to be washed out. That sin is not part of the Hindu religion it is a foreign matter We have attained some success in its removal, but its poison had spread so much that when we were in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji had to wield his biggest weapon against the British Government They had resorted to such manoeuvre in granting self government that it would have disintegrated the Hindu community In this world the fighting is carried on with arms but Bapu saved the Hindu community by his weapon of fasting But we have not yet cast out untouchability from our hearts; that wall is therefore only half-built.

(2) KHADI

' The second wall was self-sufficiency in cloth Whatever cloth we need, we should make ourselves That used to be the case before the British came There was a charkha in every home Bapu plied his charkha daily and regularly up to his end It is in the same manner that we should ply the charkha You know that we used to sing that we would weave Swaraj out of cotton yarn They remained however, mere words otherwise the country would not have been in the present sore straits Thus the second wall also remained incomplete

(3) HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

' The third wall was Hindu-Muslim unity What shall I say about it? Bapu lost his life working for it We are all responsible for his death

(4) NATIONAL EDUCATION

' The fourth wall was national education

'We did not follow Gandhiji even there and did not help him attain the Swaraj of his conception, which he called *Rama Rajya* Bapu knew our weaknesses but he had hopes that some day the seed would bear fruit. He knew that Swaraj could not be attained in his lifetime In India two forces were at work India was influenced by Western culture and civilization In big cities and factories the labourers were being ground down That is a poisonous system By mills turning out big stocks of goods only few men get rich In India some 60 to 70 lakh labourers work in the mills But crores of workers are lying idle The smaller crafts in villages have been swallowed by the bigger ones of the town We copy the big business of the foreign countries When Bapu came to India, he revived the ancient indigenous Indian system The conflict between both the systems goes on

"Whatever type of Swaraj we have got we have secured through Bapu's austerities He wanted *Rama Rajya* that dream he has left with you. Crores of our men live in villages How can they experience the benefits of Swaraj? Even in cities none has tasted the fruit of Swaraj They are still in a pitiable state. After we attained Swaraj, the conditions in cities should have changed but they are actually worse

THE PRESENT WORLD

"Today the world has become smaller One country threatens another by means of a scientific weapon Big countries are involved in rivalry for scientific domination Is the world going to be destroyed in this way? Many people feel that we should follow Gandhiji's way It is only thus that

the world can be saved The world has become a big problem But even then every one is absorbed in self seeking Each one wishes to enhance his own power. India is also involved in the same Bapu disliked intensely the partitioning of India But conditions assumed such a form that Bapu told us to do as we thought best We did what we felt was right and proper but even after the partition of India we have attained tremendous unification. But we have to consolidate that unity

'I am delighted to know that you are working with steadfast devotion fe is a small plant today. I pray to God that, under His sheltering care, that plant may grow and we may attain the Swaraj of Bapu's dream We have grown old and weak We can ourselves make or mar our future Bapu has given us sufficient equipment and it is only on his path that the world can travel in safety and peace I also pray that God may give strength to us to follow his path'

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M K Gandhi)

V

BREAD LABOUR

The Ashram holds that every man and woman must work in order to live This principle came home to me upon reading one of Tolstoy's essays Referring to the Russian writer Bondaref Tolstoy observes that his discovery of the vital importance of bread labour is one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern times. The idea is that every healthy individual must labour enough for his food and his intellectual faculties must be exercised not in order to obtain a living or amass a fortune but only in the service of mankind If this principle is observed everywhere, all men would be equal, none would starve and the world would be saved from many a sin

It is possible that this golden rule will never be observed by the whole world Millions observe it in spite of themselves without understanding it But their mind is working in a contrary direction so that they are unhappy themselves and their labour is not as fruitful as it should be. This state of things serves as an incentive to those who understand and seek to practise the rule By rendering a willing obedience to it they enjoy good health as well as perfect peace and develop their capacity for service

Tolstoy made a deep impression on my mind, and even in South Africa I began to observe the rule to the best of my ability And ever since the Ashram was founded bread labour has been perhaps its most characteristic feature

In my opinion the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita I do not go so far as to say that the word *Yajna* (sacrifice) there means body-labour But when the Gita says that rain comes from sacrifice (verse 14) I think it indicates the necessity of bodily labour The residue of sacrifice (verse 13) is the bread that we have won in the sweat of our brow Labouring enough for one's food has been classed in the Gita as a *Yajna* Whoever eats more than is enough for sustaining the body is a thief, for most of us hardly perform labour enough to maintain themselves I believe that a man has no right to receive anything more than his keep and that every one who labours is entitled to a living wage

This does not rule out the division of labour The manufacture of everything needed to satisfy essential human wants involves bodily labour so that labour in all essential occupations counts as bread labour But as many of us do not perform such labour, they have to take exercise in order to preserve their health A cultivator working on his farm from day to day has not to take breathing exercise or work his muscles Indeed if he observes the other laws of health he would never be afflicted with illness

God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment, with the result that if any one appropriates more than he really needs, he reduces his neighbour to destitution The starvation of people in several parts of the world is due to many of us seizing very much more than they need. We may utilize the gifts of nature just as we choose, but in her books the debits are always equal to the credits. There is no balance in either column

This law is not invalidated by the fact that men raise bigger crops by mechanizing agriculture and using artificial fertilizers, and similarly increase the industrial output. This only means a transformation of natural energy Try as we might, the balance is always nil

Be that as it may, the observance best kept in the Ashram is that of bread labour, and no wonder Its fulfilment is easy with ordinary care For certain hours in the day there is nothing to be done but work Work is therefore bound to be put in A worker may be lazy inefficient or inattentive but he works for a number of hours all the same Again certain kinds of labour are capable of yielding an immediate product and the worker cannot idle away a considerable amount of his time In an institution where body-labour plays a prominent part there are few servants Drawing water, splitting firewood cleaning and filling lamps with oil sanitary service, sweeping the roads and houses washing one's clothes, cooking,—all these tasks must be performed without fail

Besides this there are various activities carried on in the Ashram as a result of and in order to help fulfilment of the observances such as agriculture, dairying, weaving carpentry, tanning etc which must be attended to by many members of the Ashram

(Translated from Gujarati by V G D)

(To be continued)

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR
By Gandhiji
Price *Rs 7-0-0* Postage etc *0-10-0*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—X

Addressing the weekly prayer meeting at Rajghat on 8th October, 1948, Shri Vinoba referred to the need of concentrated work for Hindu Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and the proper perspective for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis

' The restraint and discipline manifested by all the classes of people in India in connection with Hyderabad has received deserved applause from all sections But lest we not ran away with the idea that that restraint alone was enough We must advance further to foster love and unity among all communities An unfortunate wave had seized the people Let us now forget the past People had enough of the sad experience and the public in general have now recovered from that insanity

"I do not claim, continued Shri Vinoba, "that even those who were responsible for the incitement have also changed I know some of them have repented, but there are others who are still lying low They have however lost all influence over the public, and if there is any it is very insignificant Let us therefore avail of the situation and take necessary steps so that the heart of the Hindus and the Muslims be united are long

' In this connection I cannot but congratulate the Government for their decision regarding the resettlement of the Moos I have been attending to this matter for the last few months and, in my opinion our Government have approached the problem with great sympathy. They have felt the same responsibility towards the Moos as they did with regard to the unfortunate Hindus and Sikhs As a result the Moos will soon be settled But the appropriate atmosphere of general goodwill and communal unity can be maintained only if the junior officers appreciate the spirit behind the decision and keep it in their mind in carrying out their duties The junior staff have in their hands the power of sabotaging the best cause if their outlook is narrow and communal, But I hope that in the changed circumstances they will act in the proper spirit and help the cause of Hindu Muslim unity

The people of Delhi also can contribute much in this direction The two communities have lived together in India for centuries There is not much difference in the mode of their living I believe there is more similarity than otherwise. Both should have as many personal friends as possible from the members of the other community The unity of heart which can be achieved by such personal friendship cannot be obtained by political gestures I therefore urge upon you the necessity of participating in the ceremonies festivals and social functions of each other learning each other's languages and making acquaintance as much as you can with each other's religious literature I have not the slightest doubt that if in this favourable atmosphere our actions are inspired with goodwill and sympathy there is nothing that can stop the two communities from coming together.

After all the main difference between the two communities is only in the mode of [illegible] it seen in the proper perspective you will [illegible] Islam has done as much good. The Hindus have been guarding innumerable deities and gods While the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* always [illegible] that there is but one God who can be worshipped much credit goes to Islam for the emphasis on the worship of one God This idea has become quite clear to all now On the other hand, I know many Muslims who believe in the sanctity of life This is only an illustration There are similar other things which can harmonize our lives and fuse our ways of thinking If there is any friction somewhere it would get diffused in the prepondering atmosphere of unity

The same attitude is required in regard to the Harijans We must try to absorb them or rather to use a better phrase rapidly become Harijans ourselves. I have just returned from my tour in Jaipur The scavengers there placed many grievances before me Their demands we could not meet They are forced to work even when they [illegible] strike to get their demands conceded There are still many atrocities inflicted on them I have already referred to a similar incident from Bihar (in a previous meeting). These should end completely in Swaraj There are many who have expressed their fears about Swaraj Their [illegible] sure that we shall fulfil our pledges to them They are afraid of power coming into our hands We [illegible] to dispel their fears by our actions Like the British we also must fulfil our pledges. The British said that they would quit within a year actually they left four months earlier The Constituent Assembly has declared untouchability to be against the principles of the Indian State. Let us therefore eradicate it at once. Much work in this connection could have been done in this Gandhi Jayanti I do not say that nothing has been done But for years, it has been our experience that people do not feel as much interested in the work of social reform as they do in politics. This might have had some justification in the past, but can have none now after the achievement of Swaraj Politics without the help of social reforms, loses its efficacy

" If the above two things are achieved the third one—the problem of different languages—will be solved without much trouble That problem does not frighten me at all. All these provincial languages, till now, carried on a suppressed existence under the supervening influence of the English language. They had not the opportunity to flourish Although love for our own language has become manifested at present in the form of self conceit the feeling of one nation is not less assertive and, indeed, it is that which supports the idea of division of provinces on a linguistic basis There is no risk involved in the formation of linguistic provinces, if the outlook is correct We must show the proper path I believe that if we act correctly in the two things mentioned above the linguistic problem will be solved without difficulty D M

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

HARIJAN

November 14 1948

TEMPLE ENTRY

At long last we seem to have done with communal riots though we are still suffering from their after effects On the altar of communalism we sacrificed the greatest man of the modern age, who insisted upon the liquidation of communal hatred and passions by the power of truth and love The other leader, who unfortunately interested himself in keeping the communal quarrel alive, has also come to the end of his life s journey We hoped to breathe a sigh of relief But Satan is never satiated He would not allow a single opportunity for mischief to slip He appears to threaten us with the same mischief over the Harijan question

It is a pity that mischief should be afoot among the Hindus ostensibly on the ground of Harijan Temple Entry but really to further the dirty game of politics by ambitious persons. In fact, no side is above board The hardships of the Harijans at Kaful (Baroda State) and in many Rajputana States, as also what happened to them in Kathiawad a little while ago indicate how much aversion and hostility towards the Harijans is still lingering in the hearts of the caste Hindus Happenings at Bikaner put it in bold relief Some Congressmen there announced a programme for cleaning the Harijan locality, to which some caste Hindus participated Out of these only four Congress brahmans had the courage to accept water from the hands of Harijans These four workers were regular temple-goers The temple leaders banned their entry Here no question of Harijan entry was involved. No one had ever bothered as to where or from whom a caste Hindu visiting a temple ate or drank. At one time the caste panchayats used to interest themselves with such questions and ostracized or penalized those who transgressed the customary prohibitions about food and drink But we all know that those days have passed. Even then, one hardly came across an instance of this type But this has happened in Bikaner and it is alleged, with the support of the Maharaja himself It appears that Shri Rajaji was approached in the matter, and he exhorted the Maharaja to respect the spirit of the age But even the Governor-General's advice did not have much effect The reformer brahmans commenced a hunger-strike in front of the temple Shri Vinoba mediated and persuaded them to terminate the fast They consoled themselves with the feeling that God could not dwell in a temple that prohibited Harijans from entering its precincts and by resolving to hold joint prayers with Harijans instead of worshipping at the temple

It is clear that these are all political manoeuvres The anti-Congress groups want a handle to stand against the Congress candidates and to incite the ignorant masses against their opponents during the Assembly elections, and they find this handy There is no higher or religious objective behind the whole move save of catching votes by raising a storm among the voters

At the same time I must also say that the agitation carried on among the Harijans for temple entry is also not quite sincere The legislation throwing open all Hindu temples to the Harijans is of course a correct step But the question as to why one should go to a temple is a fundamental and pertinent one No one is prevented from entering a mosque or attending a mass or a sermon at a church. But no one goes there without a purpose Only people with faith or a spirit of inquiry go there Temples belong to the same category It is not fair or honest to seek entry into them merely for asserting one s right The seeker should have some faith in the deity, some respect for the sect to which the temple belongs, at least some honest desire to know or see. In short he must be a respecter He must be gentle of behaviour and careful enough to refrain from doing anything on the temple precincts which would wound the susceptibilities of its devotees Even a blue-blooded brahman if he wants to go there to ridicule the deity should have no access to the temple for obvious reasons And if he is turned out for such behaviour, no one may be blamed

The statement that a temple is meant for its followers only, is only a half truth No doubt, temples are built for the followers but it is also equally true that in all temples non-followers are freely admitted Prominent and influential men are even invited and accorded fitting receptions irrespective of their religious labels or leanings The reason is understandable The number of followers can increase only if non-followers are given an opportunity to come and see Therefore, it is more correct to say that temples are intended as much for 'respecters (even Muslims, Parsis or Englishmen) as for the followers If any one is to be named as not entitled to enter, it is the slanderer or the temple-breaker To deny this truth to any other way is to suppress truth It does not benefit any one In banning 'respecters' among Harijans from temples under pressure of custom truth has been violated and outraged And on seeing society powerless to break the custom voluntarily, law has now stepped in and rendered it easy

But law cannot lay down any test for distinguishing between respecters and others Respect has to be presumed, until anything is done contrary to it But sincerity demands that the right shall be exercised only by respecters None should seek entry merely for the purpose of asserting one s right nor encourage others to do so

The temple-managers on their part should assume that everyone who observes the rules laid down for all comers to the temple is a respecter A counterfeit coin will soon stop circulating So a man having no respect for the temple will stop going there after a few visits The temple will not

law anything thereby. Disorderly behaviour can of course be always prevented.

If this view is accepted whether it is a Vedic Hindu or Jain Hindu temple neither Harijans nor Hindus non-Hindus Jains non-Jains may be discriminated against *inter se*. This view is consistent with truth and frankness. Anything else will involve hypocrisy and untruth. If the latter are allowed to prevail, the end will be destruction of temples and fratricide.

Bombay, 3-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

P. S.—Managements of certain temples of the Vallabhacharya sect have declared a lock-out of their temples and even removed the deities to their place of origin. In the ultimate reform of religion it is probable that all idolatrous sects and temples will be wound up. If the descendents of Vallabhacharya think of winding up their establishments voluntarily under the plea of Harijan temple entry it may be a blessing in disguise. May be the present day institution of temples is destined to disappear in some such way. It may not be regarded as a calamity. The only regret will be that then it will not be a consummation brought about intelligently but on principles fundamentally opposed to the teachings of Vaishnavism.

4-11-'48 K. G. M.

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

WHAT PEOPLE EXPECT

The object of occasionally publishing letters of the following nature is just to acquaint popular leaders in office with what people expect of them.

"Revered Rajaji left Baroda this morning (25th October) after about 36 hours stay in our city. His visit has raised several thoughts in my mind on the fundamentals of correct and simple standards of dignified life.

He arrived here at 4-30 p.m. on the 23rd. During the whole programme arranged in his honour, not a single opportunity was given to the people of hearing him or getting a direct contact with his personality. No doubt the visit was announced as private and the entire programme was official. But the Government of the people did not have the imagination to realize that the people of Baroda must be necessarily anxious to hear their first Governor-General. They could have provided it at the ceremony for unveiling the portrait of the late Prince Fatehsinhrao Gaikwad. But the function was so arranged that it rather brought into prominence the wide gulf existing between the officers and the people. As a result, there was such disorder at the meeting that the people who had gathered could not at all hear Rajaji's speech.

'Apart from his Governor-Generalship we expected that Rajaji, as our old and revered leader, would address the people at least once. But His Excellency flew away without fulfilling our expectations.

'If we examine the published programme, it is seen filled with parties, *darbars* and ceremonials reminding one of the old princely order. There was no difference between visits of the Governor-Generals of the old British regime and the present one. Moreover, the amount of expenditure said to have been incurred during the few hours of his stay is shocking. While responsible Governments are striving to reduce public expenditure, the expenditure of gigantic amounts in the erection and decoration of temporary arches, gateways etc., is intolerable. There is such inconsistency between the two that far from making our hospitality look civilized the pomp brings disgrace to our culture.

'I take it that as per programme Shri Rajaji must have attended yesterday's cricket tournament between the West Indies and the Rajasthan teams. Our revered Mahatmaji and other leaders have often criticized in strong terms the extravagant expenditure incurred on these foreign sports. Gandhiji had said that these sports were a misfit in a poor country like ours. If the head of the Indian Union patronizes these sports, its evil effect on the popular mind might better be imagined than described!

Our revered Rajaji is personally as simple as a yogi. He can immensely benefit India and the world if from his high position, he sets about testing the worth of every custom and ceremonies hitherto maintained in imitation of the British on the pretext of political dignity and decorum and creates new standards of our own. We have our own ideals of high and noble culture and our practices must be set after these.'

I do not think that the above expectations are unreasonable.

Bombay, 2-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

Gujarat Potters' Petition

The Gujarat Provincial Potters' Association has submitted the following demands to the Bombay Government. I have no doubt the Bombay Government will consider their petition very sympathetically and do all in its power to raise this depressed and hard-working class to a higher level.

The demands are:

'1. Repeal of Rule 135 of Village Service Rules requiring compulsory labour from potters.

'2. Protestion against the high handedness of powerful majorities.

'3. Encouragement to the Village Pottery Industry.

'4. Protestion against the tactics of the majorities and intelligentsia, who stifle the opinion of or exploit the artisan and labouring classes in the villages.

"5. Safeguarding their rights to enable them to lead a life of self respect as free citizens of India."

The fourth demand is rather vague though suggestive, and it is difficult to know what Government should do specifically in the matter.

Bombay, 5-11-'48 K. G. M.

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

GREEN LIGHT TO VIOLENCE?

In the *Harijan* of 9th May 1948 in answer to the question how a votary of non-violence should react to a law for compulsory military training I said "It is evident that a *satyagrahi* would resist such law in a civil manner and suffer the penalty of the breach" Then in a subsequent paragraph after describing in general terms what the public mind was in this respect I concluded, "I would not consider as unreasonable the imposition of such conditions as would as an alternative necessitate the taking of such training and the rendering of such service as could be compared with the hard life and service of persons in the military It should not be possible to say of a non-violence that its path is so easy that even a coward might go along it

My opinion was referred to with approval by Mr Bruce Odspur, an English pacifist, in the *Peace News* an English weekly devoted to the cause of non-violence and abolition of war

Commenting upon Mr Bruce Odspur's opinion Mr Michael J Clay another English pacifist wrote as follows in the *Peace News* of 6th August, 1948

"While agreeing with Bruce Odspur's general interpretation of Gandhi's attitude to violence I am sorry to see him support Shri Mashruwala in giving the green light to conscription in India and incidentally here

'The fact that pacifism is confined to a small minority does not alter its fundamental nature and mean that it is merely a personal inhibition. Opposition to war and opposition to conscription are one Those who refuse to register and oppose conscription may or may not find life easier than those who accept arduous alternative service but they will assert their unity with non pacifists more deeply if less obviously. Violence may or may not be better than cowardice, but we hope that the way known as pacifism is open to all men and women.

I believe myself to be as firmly opposed to war as any pacifist and a believer in non-violence Mr Clay's charge therefore set me thinking Had I compromised with violence in any way? I read and re-read my answer and considered my reply to be not only consistent with truth and non-violence as I understand them, but could not see where I had departed from the spirit of non-violence Perhaps, I thought the difference of views lay in the fact that I was speaking only against the background of India, while Mr Clay was doing so against the background of Europe I, therefore, sought the opinion of a few friends, whom I know Two of them have written to me at length. Of these, Mr Horace Alexander has taken pains to explain Mr Clay's point of view at length, and it will be best to reproduce the relevant portion of his letter verbatim He says

'I have read your comment in the *Harijan* of May 9th 1948 and I think I can see why M J Clay is not satisfied

Although your comment seems to me unexceptionable as far as it goes, I think it omits one consideration which to us in the West has become very important

We must all agree I take it that so long as the majority in a country believes in military conscription conscription will continue But those who believe in non violence are concerned for two things on the one hand, they must refuse the military conscription on the other they must strive to get the law repealed

Now in your article, you are merely concerned to indicate that the true votary of non violence will not ask for an easy option He will be willing to show that he is as ready as any man to undergo hardships that it must be hardship on behalf of the real service of humanity not as a part of military service

In the West, many opponents of conscription have come to the conviction that if they merely accept some hard form of alternative service *imposed and required by the State* they are to all intents and purposes acquiescing in a permanent measure of conscription and making the task of the Militarized State easy giving the Green Light to conscription as Clay puts it Therefore some Western pacifists have felt that they must refuse all alternative service, in other words they refuse to recognize the conscription law in any degree They prefer prison They regard the whole system of conscription as immoral and cannot agree to some to terms with it By such a radical protest against it they hope to hasten its repeal

"By all means the pacifists or votaries of non violence organize their own strictly disciplined training, as Pierre Ceresole did in his International Voluntary Service for Peace. But note the word *voluntary* in the title (and the word *international* too!) Pierre Ceresole and his friends said in effect 'We reject and refuse military conscription perhaps we might even refuse alternative civilian service imposed by the State, but our determination to serve humanity is such that we resolve to organize *our own voluntary* corps of strictly disciplined service not for the nation only but for humanity which is our true fatherland

Personally I note that in India too there may be some who will say, We cannot compromise with a conscription law even to the extent of accepting a legal civilian alternative Military conscription itself seems to us to be such an evil thing that we must choose prison rather than accept any service, however seemingly harmless or good in itself, that is imposed on us by a military conscription law.

' I am not saying that that would be my own position if I had to face the conscription law but I think it is important that all votaries of non violence should show respect and appreciation of those who feel obliged to take that stand

I cannot have anything to say against the stand of pacifists mentioned by Mr Horace Alexander Indeed I had only India in mind at the time, and I referred to compulsory military training and not conscription for military service in war In India the need for the latter hardly arises Military

service is a regular profession with certain sections and there is no dearth of men prepared to enroll if the terms of service are suitable The demand for universal military training arose partly because the non-martial sections have had nothing in place of military training to make them healthy sturdy self reliant and physically well developed men and partly as a reaction to the British policy of disarming the people not from any pacific motives, but for its own safety The policy also made invidious distinctions between various martial communities by preferring some and rejecting others When I said that I would not consider the imposition of alternative hard service as unreasonable, I did not mean that such alternative service need necessarily be officially organized Rather situate as we are at present governments with their unshakable faith in the inevitable necessity of being always prepared for war, were not likely to take the trouble of themselves devising and organizing any alternative form of service If they were at all willing to accept an alternative to military training, they would content themselves with recognizing an efficient unofficial organization for the purpose If, however, they went a step further and officially organized an alternative non-violent service I do not see why as a pacifist I should regret that step It seems to me that governments and people of the world will not advance towards pacifism without some such intermediate steps Voluntary (unofficial) organizations prepare the way But they have their limitations of numbers and resources, official organizations have their limitations of compromised principles and inability to get out of set ruts While, therefore there will always be room for unofficial organizations, both for protesting or rebelling against compromises with principles and for creating new values and standards the success of their mission will involve in the official recognition of their principles in howsoever mitigated a form

Mr Clay's note, small as it is, raises some very important issues for pacifists to consider but I hope that what I have said on the specific question before me will not be regarded as compromising with non-violence Rather, in India for those large masses of people, who have led non-martial life for centuries and are attracted now to military training simply for want of an equally efficient non-violent substitute, as also for those who would use non-violence as just a shield for preserving their lazy and indolent habits, I see no other practical way.

Bombay, 1-11-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

Correction

A correspondent has drawn my attention to a grave error in Shri J C Kumarappa's Note *Paying through the Nose* published in the *Harijan* of the 3rd October The value of the difference to be paid for 28 million bushels at 1 sh 6 d per bushel would be less than 2 75 crores roughly and not 27 5 crores as stated in the note It is a big mistake and I very much regret that it should have escaped my notice.

Bombay, 3-11-'48 K G M

NOTES

Land Revenue in Kind

Shri S Seeramulu Naidu a Thana Officer in Orissa writes

Land revenue in kind is highly beneficial to the Government for easy procurement and for effective control of food stocks and prices It is also, to the tenants, a more convenient mode of payment of rent and will help him in obtaining his requirements and essential services without the intervention of the monetary medium

The system of paying wages of agricultural labour in kind still exists in many parts of India The system deserves to be encouraged by the Government by granting grain loans to the agriculturists. The Government should see that granaries are opened at different centres in rural areas for this purpose This method will improve the economic condition of the agriculturists in a far more certain manner and lead to better production of food grains than the one prevailing In the absence of Government granaries the tenants are thrown on the mercy of the local *sowkars* for grain loans at exhorbitant rates of interest Public granaries could advance loans of grains repayable in the form of grains at low rates of interest The granaries will also provide safeguards against famine and abnormal years They will also help in combating the menace of inflation

If Governments cannot be persuaded to look upon the suggestion of recovering revenue in kind with favour, some way should be found to put the principle into practice in an unofficial manner, and demonstrate its benefits to the people and the public While we may advocate radical changes, we should also not forget that it is very difficult for Governments of large provinces like ours to change from one system to another, and we must not be impatient with them Then we cannot also expect Governments to accept our views as correct, particularly when there are experts of long established systems holding a different view We must establish our credit by actually working out ideas on even a small scale

Bombay 31-10-48

Skins of Unborn Calves

The Honorary Secretary of the All India Cattle Welfare Society Karol Bagh New Delhi, sends the following information which is extremely shocking if true

From the report of an inquiry conducted by the Board of Economic Inquiry under the supervision of the Director of Industries, Punjab I have been shocked to know that a trade in *gosallas*, i. e. 'skins of unborn calves' got by killing pregnant cows, is steadily growing About 600 such skins are reported to have been recovered from a godown of one single *gosalla* in Delhi alone The trade it is further alleged is so lucrative that butchers find it a very profitable bargain to kill the best of the cows in pregnancy and sell *gosalla* beef and hide etc separately Attention of the Government and the public is drawn to the inhumanities involved

[illegible] causing to [illegible] volume of milk supply of [illegible] leaves immediately [illegible] Will the authorities see that this trifle [illegible] fruitful forthwith

Bombay 5 11 48 K G M

A Fortune Spent to Promote a Bad Habit

For promotion of the tea-drinking habit there has been a cess in existence providing for a levy on all tea exported The present rate is Rs 1-6-0 per 100 lbs and the entire sum is handed over to the Indian Tea Markering Expansion Board

India exports about 4 000 lakhs of lbs of tea every year hence the cess amounts to about 55 lakhs of rupees From this amount 3 7th is spent in London, and the balance of Rs 30 lakhs is being used to make us tea-drinkers The figures given below show with what success this has been done

Year	Quantity consumed in India
1930	44 million lbs
1942 43	136 " "
1946 47	165 "

Thus we see that in the last sixteen years the tea consumption in India has increased fourfold

D K G

That Is Not All

The above is not the only evil part of this system The way in which the tea habit is spread is also a very reprehensible one.

I understand that in order to inculcate the tea habit among people unused to it, the tea agents spread themselves into villages and open tea stalls where free tea cups are served for as many as three months and gramophones and other attractive means are employed to attract people to visit the tea stalls The agents even serve tea from house to house

How we would change the face of the world, if the money and energy that is so liberally spent in inculcating evil and health-destroying habits were turned to healthier and better purposes! But we have money and men enough to spread disease and evil not enough to spread knowledge health and things which will bless life!

But it is also necessary that we who disapprove and regret these things should not spend too much of our time and energy in cursing or heaving sighs of despondency It is not going to help anyone Let us assume that there is a hard-set system from which it is difficult for government departments and the business world to extricate themselves Let us — the people themselves and their self-appointed *sevaks* — silently steadily and energetically work in a positive manner against what we regard as evils

Bombay 31-10 48 K. G M

The Haves Hove It

The Food Minister addressing a meeting of the Indian Central Sugar cane Committee stated that it has been calculated that the people have paid about Rs 70 crores in the form of Protective Duty to establish the sugar industry Apart from these protective [illegible] crore have [illegible] spent [illegible] develop cane varieties which will yield higher per cent [illegible] periods of [illegible] the year [illegible] best [illegible] lands which can produce rice and other food crops Bihar which was a surplus province in rice, is now dependent on imports to feed its people owing to the shifting of crops from rice to sugar-cane. All this has been done in the interests of mill-owners at terrific loss to the people — financially and nutritionally

Vested interests are never tired of pointing out that village industries cannot stand on their legs and cannot compete with the mills Under such odds and handicaps it is a surprise that the village industries even exist to tell the tale How much has the Government spent to further the *gur* industry — especially the palm *gur* variety?

The development of palm *gur* makes no inroads on cultivable land as the palms especially date palmyra etc grow in waste lands It is an industry which forms a good complement to the prohibition programme in utilizing to good productive purpose the skill of the displaced tappers

We are told that the Government of Bombay intend to levy a cess of six annas per Bengal maund of sugar-cane going into sugar factories in the province This is calculated to yield about a crore which will be earmarked for the further development of this industry Is there no end to this spoonfeeding of these hefty mills at the cost of the public? Now that they have been placed on their feet at public cost they should be made to bear the expense of further expansion and may even be taxed heavily for the benefit of the public

As a measure of combating inflation the Government of India are contemplating reducing the price of sugar but lest it should tell on the fat profits of mills they are considering whether this reduction should not be made on the price of sugar-cane so that the burden may fall on the back of the farmer! The Government policy seems to be 'from him who hath not even the little he hath shall be taken away and given to him who hath

J C K.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
SARDAR PATEL AT SEVAGRAM		309
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION — V	M. K. GANDHI	310
SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — X	D M	311
TEMPLE ENTRY	K G MASHRUWALA	312
WHAT PEOPLE EXPECT	K G MASHRUWALA	313
GREEN LIGHT TO VIOLENCE?	K G MASHRUWALA	314
NOTES		
GUJARAT POTTERS PETITION	K. G M	315
CORRECTION	K G M.	315
LAND REVENUE IN KIND	K G M.	315
SKINS OF UNBORN CALVES	K. G M	315
A FORTUNE SPENT TO PROMOTE A BAD HABIT	D K G	316
THAT IS NOT ALL	K. G M.	316
THE HAVES HAVE IT	J C K.	316

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Controls for Sarvodaya

Reg No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 38 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY NOVEMBER 21 1948 TWO ANNAS

TO THE FIGHTING FORCES OF INDIA

[Extracts from Sardat Vallabbhat Patel's speech before the Royal Indian Air Force at Palam (New Delhi) on 1st October, 1948.]

IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The first thing that I inquired was whether I could talk to you in our own language because we have won our freedom after a hard struggle after many years of slavery and bondage and if we did not begin to talk in our own language now, there is danger of our h houring the remnants of slavery which may gro again into a tree and therefore at least the armed forces in India must learn to talk in our nat nal language But I am told that there are many outh Indians here who will not be able to understa d our national language I find the same difficulty in the Congress also and in our Assemblies occasionally we have to talk, or largely we have to talk, in tha foreign language because of the South Indian block still even in the Congress, lagging behind in spite of their great efforts to learn the Hindustani language You must make up quickly, because if you go to South India also, you will not be able to talk to the common man except in the provincial language or in the national language We have to make rapid progress in that direction For the present, I will abide by your desire and say a few words in the language which you say you can understand

NON-VIOLENT SOLDIER

Now, as has been suggested by your officer I have been a soldier all my life I am not a statesman nor am I a politician I have joined the armed forces of India which after a hard struggle, a prolonged struggle, got the country emancipated from bondage and although the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces departed from this transitory world last year and you all and we all paid our homage to Mahatma Gandhi when he left us all as orphans, it was he who really started the real struggle for freedom. Freedom's struggle which we fought was a different kind of struggle and in that struggle there were rules of honour rules of conduct and rules which governed the struggle in which we were all engaged and of which there is no parallel in the history of the world's struggles for freedom

A RETROSPECT

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in 1914 For one year he kept himself secluded in his own temporary abode in Ahmedabad to see what was happening in the country following the advice of his own leader or as he called him *guru* Gopal Krishna Gokhale who brought him here from South Africa and advised him to stay in India one year, without doing any public work or involving himself in any sort of public life Unfortunately his *guru* died during that year but as soon as the first year was over he started his experiment in different fields The first in Champaran in Bihar where the Indigo planters who had established themselves for several years were exploiting the poor peasants of Bihar, whose history of sufferings and sorrows are written in the history of that struggle I cannot take you into the details of that struggle at this stage or at this hour but I can only say that that was the foundation of the struggle for freedom In a short period without any weapon in his hand except the weapon of soul force he made the planters surrender he made the Bihar Government and the Government of India surrender and since many years you see no planter in Bihar at all they have all disappeared. There was no slavery so bad as the slavery of the labourers in those plantations that were in Bihar Now after that he started a struggle in Kheda and simultaneously with Kheda he started the great labour organization in Ahmedabad. Even when no Trade Union movement was born in India, it was he who laid the foundation of the labour movement in India and their organization today is the best and the most well organized in this country and yet tha movement was of such a nature and the organization was built on such foundation that there has been the least friction between the capital and the labour in that city And therefore the industry there has thriven to such an extent that it is the most well organized industry in India and the labourers there are the best paid labour in the country, because Gandhiji avoided friction and laid the foundation of settlement by arbitration for any dispute that arose between labour and capital. It is not so in Europe The Trade Union movement in Europe or in the West is based on the principle of collective bargaining in which there is an element of coercion and force which results in bitterness When Gandhiji first started this movement he had to fast for several days in support of the labourers who could not stand the organized opposition of the industry And at the end of his fast there was a settlement

which made the industry and labour accept the principle of resolving all differences and disputes by independent arbitration His one principle in all his movements was that we must not always claim to be in the right although we knew that we were in the right We must not insist on our point of view being the final thing The opponent would also claim the same thing about his view and therefore, the best solution between the two warring elements was to refer the matter to an independent arbitration If that principle is accepted today in the world, there will be no trouble But you know what is happening in the United Nations Organization. People who assemble there—the big powers—who have laid the foundation of the world's unity of all countries are themselves not able to resolve their own differences and meddle with the other peoples' differences

WORLD PEACE

That organization if it does not improve itself is going to land the world into terrific slaughter and destruction In that context if the Security Organization has been based on the principles on which Gandhiji led his struggle, the world would be happier and there would be no struggle at all There would be peace. But all of us in the world pay lip sympathy and homage to that great leader whom this country in its degraded state, in the state of slavery of several hundred years produced Now it is a free country If a slave country produced such leaders why should not India produce such greater leaders who would raise its head amongst the nations of the world?

That is our ambition We don't want to have armed forces for aggression on any country in the world That is not India's history Its civilization is entirely different India has never made any encroachment on any country by the sword throughout its history It has done so by its culture by its civilization by its force of the soul That is how it has spread its message in the past right up to Japan Afghanistan and other places. When the world hardly knew what civilization was our civilization without any force, without any fighting force spread the message of peace love and goodwill

That was the message which Gandhiji gave to us, and wanted us to fight with that force, that weapon We started the struggle After a hard struggle for a prolonged period in which I had the honour to share his sorrows, his miseries his joys, in every struggle and had passed prolonged periods of seclusion in jail with him, it was that struggle which brought about liberty and the fruits of which we have now to enjoy Whether we are fit for it or not only future history can tell.

INTERNAL PEACE

The internal troubles are all solved now So far as India is concerned in the Indian Union nobody will raise his head now again There will be no more trouble no more disturbance, no more violence Both the Hindus and Muslims have adjusted themselves in such a manner that they have spoken with one voice that whatever may be the past [illegible] we shall not allow any trouble any more

THE CASE OF HYDERABAD

When people talk of aggression in Hyderabad they either deliberately misrepresent the thing from whatever motives they may have, or they do not understand what aggression is How can we make aggression on our own people? What is Hyderabad? Is it the Nizam who is Hyderabad, or the people of Hyderabad are Hyderabad? If the people of Hyderabad are Hyderabad it is a part of India The British people still think that Hyderabad is a British preserve They have not forgotten that they were rulers here It is one year yet they do not understand that they have now no claim here And I trust that this will be the last debate in Parliament in which reference is made about India's business Otherwise, we do not want to be forced into friendship If friendship is not wanted we have self-respect enough to stand aloof against the whole world. Because if violence is the order of the world, and we have not got sufficient organized violence, we have enough non-violence by which we know how to die But we know how to preserve self-respect Therefore I wish we have no more sermons from people who still believe that they are trustees here and trustees of the world!

EXHORTATION TO FORCES

Therefore we, members of the air force, members of the army members of the navy—we have learnt these lessons of modern warfare from the West. Let us not degrade it in any manner I am glad and I am proud of you that although the Air Force has been born recently and is a baby yet it is a very healthy and very beautiful good-looking baby of which India can be proud Allow nothing to be done to disfigure it Observe, concentrate on the rules of discipline, chivalry and do not forget that in the armed forces there can be no community —only one community Whether it is Hindu a Muslim or a Sikh we are all brothers. It should be so in India but at least in the armed forces, it should be the first You have to lay an example We politicians have inherited a very bad legacy We have you had also, but we had particularly communal representation Everything, everything that we did every step that we took, was weighed in communal scales You had also the Maratha Regiment, the Jat Regiment the Sikh Regiment. I do not know about the Air Force whether you have any such thing But we wish to forget all that We must now rewrite our history because we are beginning and we have a clean slate

NEW INDIA

You have seen that in one year India's map has been considerably changed The proud princes also have realized the change in the atmosphere, and in one year they have accommodated themselves in such a manner that without firing a shot without any trouble, except in two States we rearranged the whole map of India, and we have introduced

integration and democratization in all the States It is an achievement of which we can all be proud and, therefore I always congratulate our princes for showing wisdom and a sense of patriotism Let us forget the past Let us see what they are doing now They were themselves not free they are free today So you see the Maharaja of Bhavanagar being the Governor of Madras It is a great change it is a revolution it is a great thing He is a common man he is not H H Hi Highness He has abandoned "Hi Highness" he becomes a common man a protector and a trustee of the people of Madras Thus princes and people must learn to be equals and share fates sorrows, miseries, and the pride and the wellbeing of our nation In that we are all put together in a common boat and we begin our journey in the ocean of the world

Therefore I am glad I had an opportunity to meet you today I am still under my doctor's injunctions and he has asked me particularly not to strain much, especially in talking So I do not wish to disobey his injunctions because I still want to preserve the little energy that is left in me at this age to see that India takes its proper place not merely by winning her freedom but by raising the status and strength of India in such a manner that the people who are preaching sermons to us begin to respect us and begin to say that they have also something to learn from us and not always to teach us That is my ambition In that we must all put our heads together and go ahead

To those who say that we do not follow the preachings or teachings of the Mahatma we say Perhaps you from a distance know better about the Mahatma s teachings than we who have all along, all our life, been with him know! Thank you very much We will not take our lessons from you but we will go our own way We have our own lights We must work according to our own lights We have seen what is happening in Europe what degradation what destruction the world has faced from Western civilization. We want to be spared of it Let us go our own way That is what we want to tell them And for that purpose, we must not forget our foundation, our civilization although we may copy the best from the West And therefore when we take lessons in the Army in the Navy or in the Air Force in modern warfare we must not degrade ourselves May God give us enough sense not to do anything which would bring dishonour to our country I wish to say no more on this occasion The Departed Soul takes account of our doings He watches us from heavens Whether we deserve or not the leadership which he gave us for a prolonged period and freed the country, he takes account Let us not forget it Let us do nothing which would make him unhappy We have when we cremated the last remnants of his frail body last year all of us paid our homage but that is all worldly The real homage that we can pay to his memory is to try to follow his footsteps as far as we can We know his life is an open book We know his teachings We must try to follow that Never forget that unity is your strength If one of you or your colleague gets a better job do not feel jealous of him but be proud of him If one below you is promoted try to obtain merit enough to get your proper place but do not be disgruntled Do not feel unhappy because your colleague has been better off than you Feel happy because he is after all your comrade Therefore you learn more of discipline comradeship and unity in your Force and in your schools you must have learnt more But in thirty years or thirty five years of struggle we have also learnt more of the rules of struggle, of chivalry, of discipline of comradeship of unity which are more or less common in both non violent struggle as well as in the violent struggle The rules of struggle or fight are all common because they are all based on a moral standard Therefore do not do anything which would bring discredit to you

I wish you success and god-speed in your career

BAPUJI AND TESTIMONIALS

I was deeply interested to read Shri Devadas Gandhi's article *Our Nationals Abroad* in the *Hindustan Times* dated the 10th October 1948 and specially the following remark of Bernard Shaw

> ' I am also pestered by Indians who ask me for testimonials to India. I reply that India is not a patent medicine on sale and that until Indians give up asking for foreign testimonials they will be ranked in the West as childish beggars If they must have Messiahs let them look for them at home If they must have temples and idols, let them be to Gandhi and Tagore and not to British Tom, Dick and Harry

In this connection I remember how once I had expressed my desire to have a testimonial from Bapuji at Sevagram, where Bapuji gave me and my wife day to day instructions to train us up in the various activities of the Ashram so that we could be of some service to our motherland Bapuji who was observing silence wrote the following loving letter, which might be of general interest in this connection

" Sevagram, 27-3-'45

" Dear Gurbaxani,

" Along with is Amrit Kaur's letter Why do you want a certificate? To the truthful truth itself is a certificate To ask for a certificate is a bad habit I kept it myself for a short time but it is for 55 years now that I have left it Not only don't take mine, don't take anybody else's Don't ask for it Have faith in your truth and non-violence Do write to me, write in Hindustani. Both of you do write to me, Vimla if she can do so The rest you will come to know from Rajkumari s letter

' *Bapu ke Ashirvad* '

And that is how with Bapuji s own handwritten letter of introduction to Rajkumari, we left for Simla on the day Bapuji left for Bombay

Bikaner 14-10-'48 Gope Gurbaxani

HARIJAN

November 21 1948

CONTROLS FOR SARVODAYA

If Government pursues the policy of controls it is blamed by one section of the population if it lifts them, it is severely criticized by another, if the controls are partially lifted or partially imposed, it is discredited by both The common ground between the advocates of control and those of decontrol is that both admit that we have to deal with a people and a set of traders and officers whose sense of civic duty and honesty is deficient and who regard their immediate self-interest as more entitled to consideration than anything else. The advocates of control seek to restrain the selfish instinct of one set through ever tightening controls those of decontrol seek to defeat that of another set by allowing full scope for competition.

A correspondent who has chosen the pseudonym *Disgusted* sends me a copy of an article which he wanted to send to Gandhiji but could not do so as he received the news of his assassination that very day He assures Gandhiji that he is

> neither a capitalist nor a businessman and has no personal axe to grind nor any pecuniary benefits to be gained from decontrol but is only one who holds a responsible executive position and has seen the working of controls at close quarters, is fed up with the increasing routine work red tapism and the inordinate delay in pushing through even essential commodities apart from the inefficiency and wholesale demoralization of officialism and the public

He writes to me

> Since then (Gandhiji's death) a long time has passed but the comments made in the article still hold good It was predicted then that the partial lifting of controls, on account of the go-slow policy advocated by vested interests will lead to its own failure This the partial decontrol of food grains and cloth has amply proved Controls are again being instituted . .
>
> 'High ranking Ministers like Panditji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel are requesting the public to co operate and make the controls successful. They are asking for something which is impossible under the regime of controls Controls have meant high prices deteriorated food grains and on the top of it insufficient quotas on the alleged ground of shortages If there are real shortages, how can materials be found in any quantity in black markets? Lifting of controls may lead to higher prices for a short time but the remedy will be in asking the public not to purchase articles like cloth and other things Food grains may be distributed by Government through their grain shops in big industrial cities and through industrial and commercial bodies at cost price and not at any inflated price and in sufficient quantities I think that if this is done instead of continuing controls and provincial restrictions on movements the people will heave a sigh of relief Government need watch only the border provinces against smuggling activities

I have read his article as also another written by him subsequently I regret on account of their length I am unable to find space for them He feels that

> "ministers both at the centre and in the provinces are completely out of touch with public opinion and they are so much obsessed with their ideas of social justice and obliteration of vested interests that they are unable to see the new vested interests they are creating Controls which were necessary during the war period are sought to be perpetuated on grounds of shortage and equitable distribution Traders and businessmen are accused of blackmarketing hoarding, profiteering and greed If they had only taken the trouble to find out the sources of blackmarketing they would have issued their own staff and the poorer classes of society in whose interests controls are said to be maintained to be the real sources There may be a few unscrupulous among the old trading community, but the vast majority are creations of the control authorities Even now one hears of high level official talks when the problems are absolutely simple and need no consultation especially with the very classes who are interested in keeping these controls One cannot understand even the go slow policy for lifting controls
>
> After criticizing Central and Provincial Governments for their several shortcomings and wrong approaches he says
>
> "The crux of the whole problem lies in quick movement of materials When the railways could handle a heavy traffic increase during war years it is not understood why they cannot do the same even now I think if sufficient pressure is brought upon the railway staff and instances of corruption and inefficiency are strictly dealt with we can move more goods than what we are doing at present. Railway priorities should be completely abolished and food grains pulses sugar, *yarn* cloth etc, should be given the first priority Once this is done, corruption in the railway staff will vanish
>
> Luxury imports may either be totally prohibited or prohibitive import duties be levied, instead of allowing discretion to be vested in the hands of executive officers'

After suggesting a number of what he regards to be, correct remedies to meet the situation in lieu of the policy of controls he concludes

> 'The mercantile community and the public are fed up with the control hypocrisy Controls have outlived their purpose' is the writing on the wall today and nobody will bother to question the utility as a wartime measure Continuance of these measures however modified will only render the already complicated supply position more complex and nothing short of complete abolition is going to bring in that era of free availability and cheap

ratus. It is too much to be expected of the [illegible] ultimate inhabitants of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the close of the year [illegible] with patience all the hardships [illegible] matter of their daily bread necessities and [illegible] shall keep on paying for the cost of [illegible] rotten organisation of the Control Administration with its infectious inefficiency and plaguing corruption. The patience of the people has reached its breaking point and they are crying aloud For heaven's sake, save us from our friends

The correspondent is by no means a solitary writer I have received correspondence in English, Hindi Urdu Gujarati and Marathi complaining against the reimposition of controls Each one has a remedy to suggest I may not exclude myself. Indeed if Pandit Jawaharlal were to act over again the story of Akbar and Birbal he could send a clerk to the Chandni Chowk at Delhi to enquire of every pedestrian if he knew a remedy against the present market-disease the clerk would come back with a long list of ' sure remedies ' suggested by every one of them There is no dearth of doctors or remedies in the world Indeed the number of sure remedies ' and systems of treatment is much greater than that of diseases

Decontrol has, no doubt, been urged very strongly by several writers But I find that few of its advocates do it cent per cent. Control over imports and exports regulation of transport, a system of heavy punishments and the like are expected by every one of them There are hardly any who believe that men could be put on their honour for doing the right thing or suffer the consequences of going wrong Rather all seem to assume that men left to themselves will not behave as good citizens should

Under these circumstances with all my dislike for controls and penal legislations and my faith in Gandhiji's advocacy for the lifting of controls, I feel that the problem is by no means absolutely simple ' as suggested by the correspondent above referred to Rather it is very complicated and it is absolutely necessary that none should feel dogmatic and certain of the correctness of his own views that none can afford to feel ' disgusted ' with policies not in accordance with one's views Let every critic realize that as between Government and himself, he has as compared with the Government's, smaller field of observation fewer means of getting information, less knowledge of the various theories and remedies put forth, and less realization of the difficulties which Government has to face in implementing even such measures as are commonly accepted by all, e g the difficulties in the way of arranging quick transport and putting down corruption in the railway and licensing and other Government departments Let every one of us realize that fortunately we have at the head of the Central Government, and in his cabinet as also in the various provincial Governments men who though they may not be omniscient or incapable of making mistakes, are in intelligence high character and love for their people and earnestness of purpose, the cream of the nation They have' a right to expect and we have a duty to render every assistance to them by honestly co-operating with their policies and measures even if we feel that they are making mistakes Even if they fail, let us not gloat over their failures and say ' We had said so let us also not encourage the people to defeat the Government policy by saying ' it will never work ' Let every citizen think that it is the people's own Government that governs him and he is as much responsible for the continuance of the detested controls as the corrupt trader or the corrupt Government servant that the proper way of getting the controls removed is by honestly abiding by them by trying to get no advantage through influence tip or bribe, but by awaiting one's turn feeling satisfied with one's share and foregoing one's share if one does not need it

I accept (i) that the existence of the black-marker shows that the scarcity of goods even food grains, is less than imagined, (ii) that in reality there is greater scarcity of honesty of regard for the neighbour and of sense of civic duty than goods, and that (iii) what we are trying is to find substitutes for these moral shortages through controls and penal regulations But the removal of the last is possible only by implementing the second and this in turn implies the implementation of (i), that is bringing to the markets all buried goods and selling them at non-profiteering prices and the habit of self-control Control in a sense, is the inviolable law of *Sarvodaya* (the wellbeing of all) When it is not self-imposed, popular Governments try to impose it from above. They cannot help it To remove Government control, let us resolve to exercise self-control,

Bombay 11-11-48 K. G MASHRÚWALA

Business v. Food

While shortage of food promises famine available food is being destroyed by industries and government influence power and resources are being directed towards this Elsewhere we have shown how the wholesome *gur* industry is being ousted by the Sugar Mills which destroy nutritive values out of cane juice For this disservice the public has been made to contribute in the form of protective duties amounting to over 72 crores, similarly the tea-planters interests are being advanced by an expenditure of over half a crore every year in the form of Tea Cess.

The *Vanaspati* Oil Mills add nothing to the existing food supply It only processes the available oil, and that too uselessly from the nutritive point of view and raises the price by about 60%. So it is purely a business proposition of obtaining money from those who pay for a fanciful article This business locks up over 50 crores of the available funds and diverts over 50 lakhs of acres of cultivable land to growing raw materials for the mills

The question before the Government is which is to have priority — business or food?

J C K

THE SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PROHIBITION

Among the many ameliorative measures promulgated by the Congress Ministries when they took charge of the destinies of the Nation in the various Provinces Prohibition remains one of the most courageous, far-sighted and praiseworthy legislations. The measure is one which was dearest to Gandhiji and is calculated to remove one of the most potent causes of the poverty and unhappiness of the less fortunate classes of the population in the industrial and rural areas

The introduction of Prohibition while it raises the moral stature and promotes the material well-being of the common man, has led to a substantial, if not a serious, reduction in the revenues of the State running into many tens of crores of rupees During the last Congress Ministry Shri C Rajagopalachariar (now His Excellency the Governor-General of India) then Prime Minister Madras, sought to meet the difficult financial deficit by the introduction of the Sales Tax, which proved successful in meeting the deficit to a considerable extent.

Since the 15th August 1947 enlightened opinion in the country has been growing that the effects of drink on the impoverished masses is too serious to admit of any further delay in forging ahead with the remedial measures which include Prohibition Prohibition as a programme of National rehabilitation and reconstruction has therefore been accepted as a measure demanding immediate attention It has the enthusiastic backing of all our elder statesmen

Prohibition has however raised issues which we are afraid have not been fully appreciated and satisfactorily tackled In the present context of social educational and industrial regeneration of the country for which ambitious plans have been formulated the serious financial deficit which confronts Provincial Governments will be admitted as exceedingly unfortunate and embarrassing In view of the present low-earning capacity of the average Indian citizen, there are very definite limits as to what can be got out of him by way of fresh taxation

The tapping the transport and the distribution of the toddy liquor together constitute a prosperous enterprise which provides employment to a large number of tappers—a class of hereditary professionals who are skilled in the technique of obtaining the juice from the palms—not to speak of the personnel employed in the transport and distribution of toddy which is carried on by a chain of middlemen, petty contractors and shop-keepers. The interests of this well-developed and closely knit organization is now at stake The men connected with this trade amount to several hundreds of thousands and are now threatened with the prospect of losing perhaps their only means of livelihood by the introduction of this measure

It seems to us that the stage has been more or less set for men of science and technology to accomplish two things first to keep the traditional organization functioning and prevent a crash in its structure, and (2) to discover a process by which palm juice could be converted into a valuable revenue-yielding product

The deleterious effects of toddy (fermented juice of palm) and the arrack (the distilled liquor) which are the form most commonly indulged in by the poorer classes of addicts, are due to their alcoholic content The unfermented juice of the palm generally known as sweet toddy, has been recognized from times immemorial to constitute an invigorating tonic beverage prescribed by practitioners of indigenous medicine for anaemic and syphilitic patients during convalescence. Palm juice is used for making a crude form of *gur* (crude sugar) by boiling down the juice in open pans, the dark residue cast into cubes, is commercially available in restricted amounts and is employed by *ayurvedic* and *unani* physicians as a sweetening vehicle for many of their tonics It enjoys the reputation of being therapeutically far superior to the *gur* made from cane juice Considerable quantities of palm *gur* was being used as raw material in refineries for the manufacture of sugar and with the advent of Prohibition larger quantities of this product are likely to be made available since many of the Provincial Governments have already inaugurated a scheme for the manufacture of *gur* from palm juice as one of the practical solutions to the problem of its economic utilization There is little information regarding the costs of manufacture and whether the returns compare favourably with those of the cane *gur*

The ideal to be aspired in the solution of this problem is to convert palm juice into a beneficent product as valuable as fermented toddy or distilled arrack has been from the point of view of the yield of revenue to the State but without the evil effects of the intoxicant on the social life of the people If the juice could be utilized for manufacturing a product like a vitamin-rich and nourishing concentrate like malt extract or an antibiotic like penicillin it would constitute a valuable achievement Since the juice is known to contain on an average 10 to 12 per cent of cane sugar, the product should provide an ideal raw material for many of the fermentation industries, including those pertaining to the production of citric and lactic acids Whatever be the product proposed to be manufactured we are initially confronted with two major limitations the first difficulty arises out of the inherent quality of the juice, viz. the extreme rapidity with which it gets infected and ferments, the second one is connected with the circumstance that the palm trees do not occur as continuous and uniformly distributed plantations but appear as fortuitously scattered groups in widely separated and sometimes difficultly accessible areas This situation renders the tapping, collection and transport of the juice difficult, time consuming and expensive

The problem of collecting the material from widely scattered areas and preserving it from

spoilage until it reaches a central factory where it is to be further processed demands the immediate attention of those interested in a rational solution of the problem The Government of Bombay have recently instituted the award of a prize of Rs 10 000 for the discovery of a preservative which would effectively keep the juice in its natural state without any spoilage and without lowering or abolishing any of its goodness

We understand that this problem is being vigorously tackled both at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute New Delhi and at the Indian Institute of Science Bangalore Investigations at Bangalore have revealed that freshly drawn and carefully preserved juice contains adequate amounts of the more important components of the B-complex and is nutritively and therapeutically comparable to malt extract These preliminary findings lend convincing support to the time-honoured belief in the efficacy of palm juice as a health-giving tonic It is to be expected that the researches now under way may lead to an entirely new approach to the problem of the economic utilization of the juice

There is one aspect of this problem which merits elucidation in some detail Palm juice as a raw material for the manufacture of cane sugar offers many exceptional advantages First the expensive crushing machinery which is an essential part of every cane sugar manufacturing enterprise can be eliminated in the case of a factory devoted to the manufacture of sugar from palms Palm juice is the result of just 'tapping' which of course is a highly skilled operation. Secondly, since the juice is comparatively free from chlorophyllous and other pigments, the process of clarification is considerably simplified Thirdly, the juice is considered to be free from sucrose inverting enzymes which minimize the formation of molasses Fourthly, the annual cost of cultivation attending the raising of sugar-cane crops is entirely eliminated Today palms constitute a free and generous gift of Nature, they flourish without any attention in some of the most inhospitable and barren soils and continue to yield the saccharine juice for 60-70 years With a little attention and care the useful life of the palm could perhaps be extended and the yield of juice augmented These are problems for the future when the palm will come to be recognized as the sugar-yielding perennial

It is interesting to recall that as early as 1901 a company (The Khandwa Sugar Manufacturing Co) was organized in the Central Provinces to promote the production of palm sugar The causes which led to the failure of the enterprise are obscure and it would be interesting and instructive to investigate them Exact data are not available on the question of the yield of the juice per tree per season It is roughly estimated that a single palm, if well-developed, might yield sufficient juice to make a maund of sugar which at the current rate, would cost about Rs 35 If a hundred palms can be optimally stocked in an acre of land the annual gross revenue per acre would amount to a surprising figure of Rs 3,500 These data have to be checked but they serve to emphasize the potentially remunerative aspects of the enterprise A conservative estimate of the number of palms in the country puts the figure at 4 crores this potential source of natural wealth should be exploited We would strongly urge the Provincial and State Governments interested in this perennial crop to constitute a Central Advisory Board to devise ways and means by which this important source of raw material could be economically capitalized in support of Prohibition and the services of the present trade organization mobilized on modern lines without creating unemployment in its ranks

(*Editorial* in the CURRENT SCIENCE *September 1948*)

Charkha Teachers

The suggestions made in the following letter from a retired primary school teacher are so obvious that nothing need be added to recommend them

'Government has begun to introduce hand spinning and hand weaving in the primary schools of Bombay I know some of the about 150 teachers in Broach and 500 in Surat Of these hardly 2 to 3 per cent are *khadi* wearers I imagine the same must be the position in the whole province In the superior staff (Administrative Officers Supervisors Inspectors their Assistants and the like) the percentage of *khadi* wearers is perhaps still less Under these circumstances is it to be expected that they could create love for spinning among their pupils?

The U P Government has required all Government servants to learn Hindi within a stated period The organiser of the Sarvodaya Exhibition (to be held at Jaipur in next December) has insisted that every worker artisan and exhibitor must be a *khadi* wearer I think that in order to create love for spinning and *khadi* among children it should be obligatory for all teachers and officers of the Education Department to wear *khadi*

When I first joined the Broach Municipal Service in 1911 the School Committee required that every teacher must attend the school fully dressed that is to say he must put on a coat a turban and a shawl or *chaddar*. This obliged even the junior most teacher with a salary of seven rupees per month to put on a coat and a turban If it was legitimate for Government to make that dress obligatory upon its teachers I believe it can with greater propriety make spinning and *khadi* wearing obligatory upon them at this stage of national regeneration

'Along with other conditions usually accompanying appointments of teachers and higher officers that of regular spinning and *khadi* wearing might also be made a necessary qualification for the post

Bombay 8-11-'48 K G M

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

QUESTION BOX

SPEAKING IN ENGLISH

Q Why do our leaders often prefer to speak or broadcast in English instead of the national language?

A (a) Please refer to the opening paragraph of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's speech at Palam (New Delhi) on 1st October 1948 before the Royal Indian Air Force published elsewhere in this number

(b) In addition to this it also becomes at times necessary for international purposes to speak in English so that the world outside India might know what India thinks or feels on particular questions

(c) I do not mean that there is also not weakness on the part of some to speak in English quite unnecessarily

Bombay 5-11 48 K G MASHRUWALA

EARTH HOUSES — III

There is a tendency of mixing up earth work with mud work. Earth becomes mud when mixed and worked up with sufficient water to make it plastic or semi-liquid Mud has its own important place in housing and for certain purposes mud is the best solution but mud, even in the shape of a stiff plastic cake cannot be rammed

Earth required for ramming should be slightly damp fresh and cool to the touch but not wet enough to soil the hands When gripped tight it should just hold together and when dropped to the ground from the waist line it should break up easily

The optimum moisture for rammed earth depends on the composition of the soil The optimum mixture is one that will give the strongest wall and the most resistant to rain When there is little sand the interstices between the grains of gravel take plenty of water away and therefore more water is required With more sand there is less demand for water A heavy clay soil will absorb up to 15% of water before it is fit for ramming while a sand content of 30% to 60% will need a moisture content of 10% to 7%

Nevertheless it is better to err on the more water side When earth is rammed too dry, the clay will fail to function as a binder and a weak wall will be the result. Excess of water unless it interferes with the ramming will give just a few more superficial cracks It is in a markedly sandy soil that all excess of moisture is clearly detrimental to strength

All excess of water reduces the density of the rammed wall and the strength, toughness and durability of the rammed earth wall depends primarily on its density Time will correct the mistakes due to excess or shortage of water content while ramming A rammed earth wall is 'breathing' it takes in and gives up atmospheric moisture freely A sort of curing action takes place the wall matures and steadily gains in strength Rammed earth well done improves with time and its durability is improved if protected from water it will last for centuries [illegible] in many instances

A well made section of rammed earth wall is so strong that the work can proceed immediately on the top of it Yet there will always be a slight shrinkage on drying This shrinkage depends on the sand and the moisture content of the earth used for the work. This shrinkage is less with more sand and more with more water

A well made wall rammed with properly prepared and correctly blended soil rammed fully, i e till the volume of the loose soil is reduced to half, will give a shrinkage between 0·5% and 1·5%, depending on the sand and water content

Damp earth dries quickly and therefore the watering of the prepared earth should be done a few hours at the most before ramming or just before ramming if the work is done in the sun

With experience it is easy to feel the correct dampness by touch and finger pressure and by the behaviour of the earth under the ramming tools Yet there is a limit to the reliability of the personal factor and the man in charge of mixing should periodically get his 'touch' checked up with a balance and a measuring cup

Because of the necessity of having the moisture content under control rammed earth work should not be done during the monsoon unless both the earth prepared for ramming and the wall itself are fully protected from rain The simplest form of roof will do but some roof is essential But it would be better to adhere to the rule that rammed earth work is for the dry season when weather is helpful and labour available.

MAURICE FRYDMAN

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K Gandhi

Translated by Dr Sushila Nayyar

Price *Rs 0 10 0* Postage Rs *0 2 0*

Gandhiji says in the introduction about his book

'I am giving a new name *Key to Health* Anyone who observes the rules of health mentioned in this book will find that he has got in it a real key to unlock the gates leading him to health He will not need to knock at the doors of doctors or *vaidyas* from day to day—'

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
TO THE FIGHTING FORCES OF INDIA	VALLABHBHAI PATEL	317
BAPUJI AND TESTIMONIALS	GOPE GURBAXANI	319
CONTROLS FOR SARVODAYA	K G MASHRUWALA	320
THE SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PROHIBITION		322
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	324
EARTH HOUSES—III	MAURICE FRYDMAN	324
NOTES		
BUSINESS v FOOD	J C K	321
CHARKHA TEACHERS	K G M	323

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Ratanpur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh. or $-8

Three Translations

Reg. No. B3082

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor R. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 39 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 28 1948 TWO ANNAS

TO MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly of India is called upon to declare what the common language of the Indian Union will be Undoubtedly it is a matter of considerable importance for, although language is an ever changing ever developing instrument of society, the choice of the Assembly will give a strong impulse to the propagation and growth of the language of its choice

The alternatives before the Assembly are limited They have to make a selection of one among the three forms or styles of what from the point of view of the Science of Philology is one language The forms are known by the names of Hindi Urdu and Hindustani All the three are identical so far as their fundamental characteristics are concerned They have the same phonetic system and the same grammar In vocabulary there is a great deal which is common to last in ordinary speech for purposes of daily intercourse there is hardly any appreciable difference between them

The differences appear when they are used for literary and scientific purposes Hindi tends to rely exclusively on Sanskrit for its diction, it prefers Sanskrit originals (*tatsama*) to their modified current forms (*tadbhava*). It takes loans only from Sanskrit It derives words and makes compounds in accordance with the rules of Sanskrit grammar Urdu on the other hand prefers Persian and Arabic for similar purposes

The case of Hindustani is different It desires to be all inclusive Words which have passed into the common speech whether they belonged originally to Sanskrit, Arabic Persian Modern European, Indian or Asian languages are retained No attempt is made to revert to original forms in order to please the learned Hindustani like English and other progressive languages is not afraid of borrowing from other languages But again like English and similar self respecting languages it endeavours not to submit to the phonetic systems and grammatical rules of the languages from which it borrows Hindustani is the language of the people and is proud of this fact It is easy of the soil and shuns the jargon of the learned. It is sufficiently supple and resourceful to serve as a fit vehicle of the highest subtlest and profoundest thought and therefore as the most appropriate medium for national affairs

Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders have deliberately chosen for our people the ideal of a secular democratic State Such a State must be founded upon a secular democratic society A secular democratic society is one which refuses to recognize differences based upon creed, caste or race It is all inclusive and gives equal opportunity of self realization to all its individuals and groups The institutions of such a society must necessarily avoid exclusiveness and are eclectic Hindustani fulfils these requirements to an ample measure and deserves to be chosen as the instrument of expression of thought and feeling of a secular democratic State

The one outstanding feature of the Indian civilization throughout the ages has been its power to assimilate differences and to create unity out of diversity It will be in accordance with our traditions of tolerance and large heartedness if Hindustani which harmonizes elements drawn from different groups and cultures is adopted by the Constituent Assembly

It is necessary to make it quite clear so that no misunderstanding may remain that Hindustani is not Urdu nor does the advocacy of Hindustani carry with it an open or hidden design to force Urdu upon the country The leanings of Urdu on foreign elements place it out of court and make it unacceptable as a national language

Our regret is that modern Hindi departs from the traditions of its precursors Braj Bhasha and Avadhi The immortal Tulsidas in the words of Kabir preferred the living flowing stream of the spoken tongue (Bhasha) to the standing waters of the well of Sanskrit Unfortunately the protagonists of Hindi have reversed the process In our judgment this reversal is harmful both philologically as well as socially A living language is being provided with a narrow iron waistcoat which is bound to interfere with its growth and a people's simple sweet language is being converted into the language of an exclusive though learned coterie

Hindustani avoids these tendencies It keeps true to its simple rules and is proud of its rich system of sounds Its arms are open to all incomers, Sanskrit as well as English Dravidian and Persian, in fact from all directions Only it wants them to shed their alien habit and wear the clothes indigenous to it It is natural that Gandhiji whose heart knew no exclusiveness and who identified himself completely with the people should have become the most ardent advocate of Hindustani

It is necessary to say a word about script There is no doubt that Nagari with its variants is the most popular and the most widespread writing of India. It deserves to be recognized as the principal national script of our country, and every educated Indian irrespective of creed or caste should know it But India is a vast country and it has many scripts Among them the Urdu

[illegible] claims based on [illegible] reasons [illegible] need special recognition Hindi [illegible] has for [illegible] been written in Nagari and [illegible] characters [illegible] today these scripts are known and practised all [illegible] India wherever Hindustani is spoken It is in the [illegible] of things that Urdu should be recognized as a [illegible] script for Hindustani This will help in the [illegible] propagation and popularization of Hindustani [illegible] the widest circles Besides considering that in Asia [illegible] endeavouring to bind the peoples of this great [illegible] together in bonds of mutual amiableness and [illegible] it will be a distinct advantage if the Urdu [illegible] which is in use in a great many Asiatic countries [illegible] East India to Egypt is given a recognized place [illegible] India Many of us and especially those who agree [illegible] Mahatma Gandhi whole heartedly will of course [illegible] both the scripts and thus enable themselves to [illegible] the cause of unity and harmony

We are therefore of opinion that Nagari should be declared the principal script of India so that when English is eliminated all administrative work at the Centre will be carried on in the Hindustani language [illegible] in Nagari characters But publications of Government notices, decrees, orders proclamations laws gazettes etc will be made in Urdu script also and it will be open to any citizen to submit to Government documents memoranda applications etc [illegible] in Urdu script and to expect replies written in [illegible] script Central Government servants and teachers will be expected to know Hindustani and both its scripts and officers will have clerks and assistants who [illegible] and write them

We must make it clear that we advocate the [illegible] of Hindustani as the National Language of India or the language of interprovincial intercourse, or the language of the Indian Union. Hindustani cannot [illegible] the place of the languages which are spoken in the various parts of India or are used by large sections of our countrymen It is the right of these languages to develop and be employed as media of instruction up to the highest stages and of administration and the [illegible] of Hindustani as the language of the Union does not imply any infringement of this right

We therefore appeal to the members of the Constituent Assembly to consider dispassionately what we have urged above and give their support to the [illegible] of Hindustani the language of the people — [illegible] in the preceding paragraphs is the National Language of India with Nagari as the principal and [illegible] as the second script

KAKA KALELKAR RAMESHWARI NEHRU
M SATYANARAYAN SUNDARLAL
Members of the Committee appointed by the Hindustani [illegible] Wardha

GANDHIANA

(A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)

Compiled by

P G Deshpande

Nearly three thousand books in various Indian languages and in English have been classified and listed in this Bibliography

A title index also is included

Pages *254* Price *Rs 3-4-0* Postage etc *0-8-0*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—XI

Shri Vinoba addressing the prayer meeting at Rajghat on Friday 12 11 48 said that as he was to leave Delhi the following day for a longer period than usual he had been pondering over the subject he should choose for that evening

Devotees that they were he humbly asked them to regard the Friday prayers as very dear to their hearts even after he had gone The shastras declared that prayer in the evening brought great spiritual gain to life To the time of the day were added the feats that they met on Fridays and at the place where Gandhiji had been cremated The offering of prayer earnestly and with faith at each a time and place and day of the week with humbled and egoless mind gave the devotee an unusual experience of sentiments The background behind Rajghat prayers reminded one that any moment might be the last moment of one s life and that there was no certainty that a person would be able to complete a half uttered sentence before death got the better of him If we could always bear in mind this important possibility of the course of life we would not need anything else for the purification of the mind

THE SUPREME MEANS

After exploring various means and ways for spiritual enrichment of life, the saints all over the world had come to the conclusion that *bhakti* (devoted surrender and prayer) of the Lord was the means pre-eminently the best of them Man whether as an individual or as a species of life, played but an insignificant part in the Almighty s scheme of the universe As a matter of fact man did not even know what exactly was the function or part assigned to him God s will alone was being done and man was no more than just an instrument in its execution But man s self conceit misled him into believing that he was something very important in the world, and that egoism sullied his life If man could only empty himself of this egoism and put in its place the spirit of self-surrender to the Divine Power, vital spiritual force would be generated in him, such as could not be generated in any other way

He had been, Shri Vinoba said, in Delhi for nearly six months, and had participated in various public activities during the period But he must confess that the thing which brought him the greatest peace of mind contentment and self-realization was the prayer at Rajghat People of both the sexes gathered together at Rajghat and kept perfect pause and order, and the prayer too, consisted of texts chosen from all religions and was quite free from narrow sectarianism Shri Vinoba asked them to take the fullest advantage of the pure thing which they had unconsciously discovered and to attend the Friday prayer unfailingly, regarding it as an inviolable engagement of the week

It was true, Shri Vinoba said, that God was omnipresent But there were certain places, which on account of their peculiar associations were more suitable than others for feeling His presence That was the reason why man attached importance to temples and places of pilgrimage Rajghat was a place

which was open to all without distinction If those who gathered at Raghat buried all distinctions and divisions and merged themselves in the indivisible unity and bliss of God through *bhakti*, they too would become united with Him. Prayer offered in His presence or with Him as witness gave one the same advantage as that obtained in the company of pious men There was nothing superior in life to the company of the pious, and it was of the highest order when the devotee too was in the purest frame of mind He was unable to find words to describe the holiness attending a prayer to the Almighty in a place so pure and so reminiscent of a great soul.

Shri Vinoba left next day for a tour in the Gurgaon district *en route* to Bikaner

D M

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

"THE WILL OF GOD"

The little poem of the above name which appeared in the October 17th issue of the *Harijan* was written by an aged clergyman, Warden of the Guild of St Raphael London which works for the conquest of disease by combining the spiritual powers of faith and prayer, with the scientific powers of medical skill and treatment The thought behind the poem is that healing and the final conquest of disease is the Will of God, typified by the stream striving and striving to reach the ocean to which it belongs The stream seems to get quite near the ocean but finds its way blocked by a great stone wall That typifies the human obstructions such as scepticism and selfishness which hinder the advance of healing But the stream is not daunted It flows on along the wall and as it flows it gets bigger and bigger because little tributary streams join it These represent the innumerable efforts human efforts which move together in brotherhood for the common end and the many small rivulets of prayer, which daringly link themselves with the Will of God Finally comes opposition from the tides of the ocean itself These are explained as mighty powers of evil permitted by God which thrust back the human efforts to have His will accomplished

Finally the stream wins through to the ocean, all mankind unites at last to do the perfect Will of God and banish sickness from our world

It is clear that this simile can have many interpretations and the person who sent it to the *Harijan* had specially in mind the great principles of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*, so stressed by the late beloved Teacher Gandhiji It was intended to reach the *Harijan* shortly after his death, but got lost in the post and it was only with great difficulty that another copy could be procured.

The above note sent by the revered clergyman through whom the above poem was received by me for publication speaks for itself As he says the poem is not restricted in its application to the sphere of diseases of the body only In fact the will of God is the will for success of Truth and Goodness against the powers of evil of every kind.

Bombay 2-11-48 K G MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(*By M K Gandhi*)

V

' BREAD LABOUR '

(*Concluded*)

All these activities may be deemed sufficient for keeping the observance of bread labour but another essential feature of *yajna* (sacrifice) is the idea of serving others and the Ashram will perhaps be found wanting from this latter standpoint The Ashram ideal is to live to serve In such an institution there is no room for idleness or escaping duty and everything should be done with right goodwill. If this was actually the case the Ashram ministry would have been more fruitful than it is But we are still very far from such a happy condition Therefore although in a sense every activity in the Ashram is of the nature of *yajna* it is compulsory for all to spin for at least one hour in the name of Gód incarnated as the Poor (*Daridra Narayan*)

People often say that in an institution like the Ashram where body labour is given pride of place there is no scope for intellectual development but my experience is just the reverse Everyone who has been to the Ashram has made intellectual progress also I know of none who was the worse on account of a sojourn in the Ashram

Intellectual development is often supposed to mean a knowledge of facts concerning the universe I freely admit that such knowledge is not laboriously imparted to the students in the Ashram But if intellectual progress spells understanding and discrimination there is adequate provision for it in the Ashram Where body labour is performed for mere wages it is possible that the labourer becomes dull and listless No one tells him how and why things are done he himself has no curiosity and takes no interest in his work But such is not the case in the Ashram Everything including sanitary service must be done intelligently enthusiastically and for the love of God Thus there is scope for intellectual development in all departments of Ashram activity Everyone is encouraged to acquire full knowledge of his own subject Anyone who neglects to do this must answer for it Everyone in the Ashram is a labourer none is a wage-slave.

It is a gross superstition to imagine that knowledge is acquired only through books We must discard this error Reading books has a place in life, but is useful only in its own place If book-knowledge is cultivated at the cost of body labour we must raise a revolt against it Most of our time must be devoted to body labour, and a little to reading As in India today the rich and the so-called higher classes despise body labour it is very necessary to insist on the dignity of labour Even for real intellectual development one should engage in some useful bodily activity

It is desirable if at all possible that the Ashram should give the workers some more time for reading It is also desirable that illiterate Ashramites should have a teacher to help them in their studies But

it appears that [illegible] reading and the like cannot be given at the cost of any of the present activities of the Ashram Nor can we engage paid teachers, and so long as the Ashram cannot attract more men who are capable of teaching ordinary school subjects, we have to manage with as many such as we have got in our midst The school and college-educated men who are in the Ashram have not still fully acquired the skill of correlating the three R's with body labour This is a new experiment for all of us But we shall learn from experience and those of us who have received ordinary education will by and by find out ways and means of imparting their knowledge to others

HARIJAN

November 28 1948

THREE TRANSLATIONS

Shortly before the demise of Mahatma Gandhi Dr Suryakant formerly of the Oriental College, Lahore came to see him and drew his attention to two facts Firstly, that two separate committees were translating the Constitution of India into Hindi and Urdu independently of each other and secondly that the language of the Hindi translation was neither the spoken language of the people nor the language of contemporary literature Both these facts pained Gandhiji as it was one of the chief objects of his life that one common Hindustani language the language of the people should be accepted as the national language of India He thereupon directed Pandit Sundarlal to get in touch with the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly and also with the members of the Hindi and Urdu translation committees and to make an attempt for the production of one common Hindustani translation of the Draft Constitution instead of two separate Hindi and Urdu translations In the event of failure of the two committees to produce jointly or separately such a translation Pandit Sunderlal was to undertake the work of the production of the translation of the Draft Constitution into idiomatic Hindustani as in current use and to present it to the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly

"Pandit Sundarlal made immediate attempts to seek an interview with the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly But the latter had just then left for Wardha Gandhiji thereupon directed Shri Sundarlal to write to the President on lines indicated by him This was done Soon after Gandhiji passed away (From a note attached to a pamphlet entitled *All about the Hindustani Translation of the Draft Constitution of India* by Shri Bakasahab Kalelkar and others)

Thus we have now before us three versions of the Draft Constitution each claiming to be in the National Language of India under different names —Hindi Urdu, Hindustani

Shri Ghanashyamsinha Gupta is reported to have said the other day in the Constituent Assembly that there was no such language as Hindustani spoken anywhere in India The Kalelkar Committee which has produced the Hindustani translation claims on the other hand

A democratic constitution which is based upon the will of the people should be expressed in the language of the people It is recognized and admitted by all that Hindustani is such a language.

"Not only is Hindustani the most popular of Indian languages it is the language which as the result of evolution of over a thousand years has become the most supple instrument of expression It possesses a simple grammar a wide range of melliflous and easily pronounceable sounds It differs from Arabic and Sanskrit in both these Unlike Urdu it eschews Arabic rules of word construction and grammatical forms and unlike Hindi it avoids Sanskrit rules which are not in accord with its genius Its sound system which has been developed through centuries, is independent In this system a number of simple and compound sounds are eliminated while a number of new vowels diphthongs and consonants have been added

"Hindustani seeks to enrich itself by the assimilation of words of many origins In this it resembles English and other progressive languages. For all living and vigorous languages throw their net wide and do not confine their loans to one source however rich it may be More important than this is the tendency of Hindustani to assimilate words to its own genius There is a tendency in Urdu and also recently in Hindi to seek to preserve in their loan words the forms and sounds of the language from which the word is borrowed Thus they deny their own identity and do violence to their own nature

There is a further criticism about Hindustani It has been conceded by some protagonists of Hindi (including Shri G S Gupta) that though Hindustani might do as a popular language it "is not fitted for subjects in which scientific accuracy, and precision are demanded" Against this the Kalelkar Committee contends

This is contrary to facts The number of words in the Draft of the Indian Constitution which are common with ordinary popular English is overwhelmingly large With the exception of a few Latin phrases like *Habeas Corpus, Quo Warranto* etc and a handful of words used in special meanings there are no other technical or special words in this legal document If common popular English is good enough for legal purposes there is no reason why popular Hindustani should be condemned All efforts to discover words which will be employed only in legal phraseology and will have no popular use is to place an unbearable strain upon language Such a procedure will make the document both incomprehensible and unreadable

But these would be arguments and counter-arguments, and the ordinary man after hearing both might still feel puzzled like Sir Roger de Coverly and simply say, "much might be said on both the sides"

The deep-rooted ill-will against Muslims and the contributions of Islam in the present half awakened and half-educated people and the consequent reactionary slogan of Back to Sanskrit is taken full advantage of so that the word Hindi appeals to him in preference to the other two But it is necessary that the people should know somewhat definitely what is the form of language which it is sought to be introduced by its advocates They should also be able to compare along with it the attempts of the advocates of Urdu and Hindustani respectively in the same line The best thing to do this is to place side by side translations made in each style and allow the public to say which they are able to understand most I am glad that the Kalelkar Committee has done so in this small pamphlet

It consists of 20 pages only containing about 20 passages and 16 words in parallel columns Small as it is the whole of it cannot be accommodated in the *Harijan* but I select from it a few instances.

Abbreviations used are as follows

O = Original English
Hi = Hindi translation
U = Urdu translation
Hn = Hindustani translation

O—Protection in respect of conviction of offences

14 (1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law at the time of the commission of the offence

(2) No person shall be punished for the same offence more than once

(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself

Hi—दोष निर्धारण विषयक रक्षण

१४ (१) कोई व्यक्ति किसी अपराध के लिये दोषी न ठहराया जायगा जब तक कि वह किसी ऐसी विधि का उल्लंघन न करे जो अपराधारोपित क्रिया करने के समय प्रवृत्त थी और न वह उससे अधिक दंड का पात्र होगा जो उस अपराध के करने के समय प्रवृत्त विधि के अधीन दिया जा सकता था ।

(२) कोई व्यक्ति उसी अपराध के लिये एक बार से अधिक दंडित न किया जायगा ।

(३) किसी अपराध में कोई अभियुक्त व्यक्ति स्वयं अपने विरुद्ध साक्ष्य देने के लिये संबाधित न किया जायगा ।

U—बाज़ सूरतों में सज़ा से बचाव

दफ़ा १४-(१) किसी शख़्स को क़ानून के तोड़ने की सज़ा उस वक़्त तक न दी जायगी जब तक कि वह इलज़ाम जो उस पर लगाया गया हो उस ज़माने के क़ानून के बमूजिब एक जुर्म न हो, और जिसी तरह किसी शख़्स को उससे ज़्यादा सज़ा न दी जायगी जो क़ानून के बमूजिब उस वक़्त दी जा सकती जब वह जुर्म सरज़द हुआ था ।

(२) किसी शख़्स को दूसरी जुर्म की एक दफ़ा से ज़्यादा सज़ा न दी जायगी ।

(३) कोई मुलज़िम अपने ख़िलाफ़ शहादत देने पर मजबूर नहीं किया जायगा ।

Hu—जुर्मों का दोषी ठहराये जाने पर रक्षा

१४ (१) किसी आदमी को किसी जुर्म का दोषी नहीं ठहराया जायगा जब तक कि जुर्म बताये जाने वाले काम को करते समय उसने किसी ऐसे क़ानून को न तोड़ा हो जो उस समय जारी था, न उसे उससे ज़्यादा सज़ा दी जा सकती जो क़ानून के अधीन उस समय दी जा सकती जब उसने वह जुर्म किया था ।

(२) किसी आदमी को एक ही जुर्म की एक से ज़्यादा बार सज़ा नहीं दी जा सकेगी ।

(३) किसी आदमी को जिस पर किसी जुर्म का इलज़ाम लगाया गया हो, अपने ख़िलाफ़ गवाही देने पर मजबूर नहीं किया जा सकेगा ।

(It is to be regretted that in the Hindustani title to the clause, the publishers should have made a bad mistake in the very first step The word "सर is obviously wrong On referring to the original, I found that it ought to have been स)

O—17. Prohibition of traffic in human beings and enforced labour

Hi—१७ मानव-पण्यन और बेगार-श्रम का वर्जन

U—दफ़ा १७ इन्सानों की ख़रीदोफ़रोख़्त और बेगार की मनाही

Hu—१७. इन्सानों को बेचने ख़रीदने और जुल्मी बेगार लेने की मनाही

O—18 No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment

Hi—१८. चौदह वर्ष से कम आयुवाले किसी भी बालक को किसी निर्माणी (फैक्टरी) अथवा खान में सेवायोजित न किया जायगा और न किसी और ख़तरनाक सेवायोजन में लगाया जायगा ।

U—दफ़ा १८ चौदह बरस से कम उम्र के किसी बच्चे को किसी कारख़ाने या कान में नौकर न रखा जायगा, न उसे किसी दूसरे ख़तरे के काम पर लगाया जायगा ।

Hu—१८. चौदह बरस से कम उम्र के किसी बच्चे को किसी कारख़ाने या खान में काम पर नहीं लगाया जायगा न उससे कोयली और खोदने का काम लिया जायगा ।

O—Right to Property—Compulsory acquisition of property

24 (1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law

Hi—सम्पत्तिक अधिकार—सम्पत्ति का अनिवार्य अपहरण

२४ (१) कोई व्यक्ति बिना विधि-अधिकार के अपनी सम्पत्ति से वंचित न किया जायगा ।

U—जायदाद के बुनअलिक़ हक़—जायदाद का जबरिया हासिल करना

दफ़ा २४ (१) कोई शख़्स अपनी जायदाद से ख़ुसी हालत में बेदख़ल किया जा सकेगा जब क़ानून ने जिस का इख़्तियार दिया हो ।

Hu—जायदाद का अधिकार—जायदाद का जबरन हासिल करना

२४ (१) किसी भी आदमी को उसकी जायदाद से बेदख़ल नहीं किया जाएगा जब तक क़ानून इसका अधिकार न दे ।

O—Power of Parliament to provide for the discharge of the functions of the President in any other contingency.

57 Parliament may make such provision as it thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the President in any contingency not provided for in this chapter

Hi—अन्य किसी सम्भाव्यता में प्रधान के प्रकार्य पालनार्थ प्रावधान बनाने की संसद् की शक्ति

५७. जिस अध्याय में अन्तर्हित किसी सम्भाव्यता (कान्टिन्जेन्सी) में प्रधान के प्रकार्य पालनार्थ संसद् जैसा उचित समझे, वैसा प्रावधान बना सकेगी ।

U — किसी दूसरी मिसफाकी सूरत में पार्लमेण्ट की मेजीसूंट के कराबज की अंजामदेही के मुतअल्लिक जिन्तजाम का जिक्रतिआर

दफा ५७।—अगर प्रेजीडेण्ट के फरायज अंजाम देने के मुतअल्लिक कोई ऐसी मिसफाकी मुश्किल पैदा हो जाय जिसके लिये जिस बाब में कोई कायदा नहीं बनाया गया है तो पार्लमेण्ट जिसके लिये जो कायदा मुनासिब समझे बना सकती है।

Hu — किसी भी खास दूसरी सूरत में प्रेजीडेण्टी के काम कराने के लिये जिन्तजाम कराने का पार्लमेण्ट को अधिकार

५७ किसी भी ऐसी खास सूरत में जिसका जिन्तजाम जिस खण्ड में नहीं किया गया है प्रेजीडेण्टी के काम कराने के लिये पार्लमेण्ट जो जिन्तजाम ठीक समझे कर सकती है।

And so on

Let me also give a few phrases and words

O

compulsory —	Hi	अनिवार्य
	U	जबरिया
	Hu	नबरन
acquisition —	Hi	अवाप्तन
	U	दाखिल करना
	Hu	हासिल करना
functions —	Hi	प्रकार्य
	U	फरायज़
	Hu	काम
introduction and passing of bills —	Hi	विधेयक पुर स्थापन तथा पारण
	U	बिल का पेश करना और मंजूर करना
	Hu	बिल रखना और पेश करना
schedule —	Hi	अनुसूचि
	U	शेड्यूल
	Hu	फर्द्दी
authorized —	Hi	प्राधिकृत
	U	मंजूर किये हुये
	Hu	मंजूर किये हुये
authentication —	Hi	प्रामाणिकन
	U	तसदीक
	Hu	सही करना
grave —	Hi	गम्भीर
	U	शदीद
	Hu	गहरे
emergency —	Hi	अत्यावश्यक स्थिति
	U	नागहानी
	Hu	अचानक संकट
restriction —	Hi	आवरन्त्रण
	U	पाबन्दी
	Hu	बाबन्दी
recommendation —	Hi	अभिसंस्तव
	U	सिफारिश
	Hu	सिफारिश
complaint —	Hi	परिदेवना
	U	शिकायत
	Hu	शिकायत
borrow —	Hi	ऋदाग्रहण
	U	कर्ज लेना
	Hu	उधार लेना
dividend —	Hi	लाभांश
	U	मुनाफा
	Hu	बँटवारा
railway —	Hi	अयो मार्ग
	U	रेलवे
	Hu	रेलवे
tramway —	Hi	रथ्यावान
	U	ट्रामवे
	Hu	ट्रामवे
panel —	Hi	तालिका
	U	पैनल
	Hu	नामावली
direct election —	Hi	अव्यवहित निर्वाचन
	U	बराह रास्त चुनाव
	Hu	सीधा चुनाव

It is quite possible to improve upon the Hindustani here and there to make the language graceful and more compact by taking advantage of such Sanskrit or Urdu words as are already in wide use in all the provinces even if they are not altogether simple in form, for instance, words like अगणित, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, दार्शनिक, राजकीय, अपराध etc need not be avoided and so too words like तरक्की, नकलनू, जमाती, काली, विधायी, मजहबी, गुनहगार, etc. Here and there Hindi or Urdu words may be better than the Hindustani ones But no guidance is needed to decide which of the three translations ordinary people and even lawyers and judges would in the main prefer, even after they have become acquainted with the technique of word-formation adopted by the Hindi translators

I agree with the following observations made by the Kaleikar Committee They apply not only to the Hindi translation but to a considerable extent also to the Urdu one

> "It is obvious that language of this description cannot be used by those who are not pandits which in effect goodbyeing vast numbers to the position of the dumb and makes literature the monopoly of a close and narrow oligarchy How this can fit in with a democratic society is a question which the advocates of such language will not find it easy to answer
>
> 'The tendency in all living languages is towards economy, ease of utterance, simplicity of forms and rules .
>
> "It may be repeated again that this is not a reflection upon classical languages We yield to no one in our admiration and reverence for Sanskrit but our pride in the great heritage of our classical languages does not blind us to the incongruity of imposing upon our sweet and homely tongue the tremendous weight which will crush it out of existence
>
> "Mahatma Gandhi and those who share his views on languages are inspired by similar sentiments We look upon Hindustani as a language capable of unlimited development capable of becoming a worthy instrument of self-expression by a free and democratic people embracing all

creeds and races If it retains its simplicity and preserves its essential genius it has in it the making of one of the greatest languages of the world, spoken and used by hundreds of millions rich in literature and at once the medium of poetry and philosophy and of law and science

We appeal to those in whose hands the people of India have entrusted the decision to mould the shape of our ways of future living to consider this question in all seriousness and to find a solution which will enhance our solidarity and strengthen the foundations of democracy

It is just and proper to mention that to Pandit Sundarlal's enthusiasm and perseverance the Hindustani translation is particularly indebted But for his earnestness and diligent labour, the translation might not have seen the light of the day so promptly

The task of translation is always more difficult than that of original drafting If attempt had been made to draft the Constitution in an Indian language directly and the text had not been entrusted to persons pledged to resuscitate particular ancient languages but simply to three different sets of draftsmen one familiar with Sanskrit words another with Urdu words and a third with a fair knowledge of the current languages of the people of several parts of India, I think that even if they had worked independently and presented three drafts the three would have been nearer one another and nearer to the Kalelkar Committee's translation than the present translations Until we begin to draft originally in our own languages, we shall not be able to discover or develop the genius of our spoken languages, and bring originality in our power of expression

As regards the Hindi translation, I must regretfully say that in my opinion it cannot be accepted, except for some terms here or there Its approach to the task, in my opinion is basically (not to say hopelessly) wrong.

About the Hindustani translation, I do not think that it did wise in not suggesting good equivalents for words like Union, State, Province, President Governor Federal Court etc I do not think it is or was necessary to retain these titles. In certain places they could have suggested more than one word, leaving it to the Constituent Assembly to decide which to choose If the test in retaining or changing a foreign word generally applied is that the new word should sit well in the mouth of the people as well as the pandits, no artificiality would come in If on the other hand, the word coined is such that the coiner himself does not make use of it, except for making a speech or a show, it is bad. Of the latter type are words like अधो मार्ग, रथयात्रा, वजन, क्रयस्तम्भ स्थिति, प्रश्न, प्रस्तावमूर्ति, प्रावधान, अभिस्तान etc I doubt how many of even Sanskrit scholars of North, East, West and Central India will be able to pronounce these words accurately and in a way which could be understood through the ear by South Indians including Maharashtra and part of Gujarat Orissa and C. P

Bombay, 16-11-48 K. G Mashruwala

LEST WE FORGET

XI

RACES BETTING AND GAMBLING

(a)

I have often written about the evils of racing But mine was then a voice in the wilderness The alien rulers liked the vice and clothed it with some kind of virtue Surely there is no reason for now clinging to the vice Or shall we retain the vices of the rule, and will its virtues quit with it? (*Harijan* XI-29 August 17 1947 p 284)

(b)

A correspondent writes that the two [racing and betting] go together It is wholly unnecessary for the sake of the love of horseflesh to have horse races and all their attendant excitement They pander to the vices of humanity and mean a waste of good cultivable soil and good money Who has not witnessed, as I have the ruin of fine men caused by the gamble on the race courses? It is time to leave alone the vices of the West and to strive to adopt the best that it has to give (*Harijan*, XI 51 January 18, 1948 p 515)

(c)

[The national] governments can certainly by their own example rob the evil of the stamp of fashion that the bureaucracy has set upon it even to the point of wasting public money on the luxury The princes will copy the example of good manners that [these] governments may set (*Harijan* X-9 April 7, 1946, p 67)

(d)

All I can say is that if it is within the competence of a popular government to put an end to the evil, it should certainly do so (*Harijan* X-28 August 18 1946 p 273)

(e)

In a way it [gambling] is worse than the plague or the quake, for it destroys the soul within A person without the soul is a burden upon the earth [ ]

TOBACCO AGAINST FOOD

This year the Madras Government have allowed to grow Virginia tobacco to an extent of about 3,50,000 acres in the Circar Districts. This tobacco has brought in its train so many attendant evils:

(i) To the extent it is raised, cereals are lost i e 3½ lakh tons of food is lost

(ii) Fodder to cattle about 7 lakh loads also denied Hay which used to be sold at Rs 4 to Rs. 6 a *bandy* is now sold at Rs 35 to 40 In the same way other kinds of fodder are heavily priced

(iii) Fuel is wasted in curing this tobacco, thus contributing to the substantial of the price of firewood from Rs 4 to Rs 30 a *bandy* In the case of coal, heavy industries are affected

(iv) The Manures intended for food crops are diverted to this tobacco crop

(v) Most of the labour [illegible] tobacco work because of its high wage

The Working Committee resolution passed on 15th and 16th March 1946 at Bombay says

'Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever possible (*Harijan* dated March 24th, 1946)

Mahatmaji wrote in the *Harijan* dated 28th April 1946 that cultivation of Virginia tobacco was deplorable

At such a time the obvious duty of a Government should have been not to waste good money or time on tobacco research, but to devote both to reclaiming available land for food cultivation.'

In view of the above there is no virtue in the Madras Government going abegging to the Central Government It is time the Central Government took powers over all money crops and looked into the matter

A KAMARAZU

QUESTION BOX

TEMPLE-ENTRY MISGIVINGS

The article on *Temple Entry* in the *Harijan* of 14th November covers the questions asked below However it will not be inappropriate to reply to them specifically I must at the same time observe that I deplore the purpose behind these questions That the caste Hindus should seek some pretext to keep the Harijans at a distance and that they should fail to realize even today that in associating completely with the Harijans they do not oblige any one but themselves, the society, and the nation indicates how prejudice and ignorance have set themselves thick and hard on our intelligence and sentiments

Q 1 Is it proper for a person to insist upon visiting places of worship belonging to a religion which is not followed by him and in the creeds of which he has no faith? If he does visit them, in what spirit should he do so?

A There is nothing inappropriate in the follower of one religion being respectfully inquisitive of another that is to say, having a desire to know and understand another religion and see its places It is the duty of the followers of such other religion to encourage such desire If such earnest desire to know is considered insistence it is legitimate Of course, according to principles of satyagraha, coercive or violent agitation in pursuance of even a laudable desire is not proper

Q 2. Is it not necessary for a person desiring to visit a place of worship of another religion to observe the rules and conventions prevailing at such place of worship?

A He should observe the rules made in common for all visitors who are not followers

Q 3 Can processions and demonstrations be organized for exercising the right of entry to temples etc.? And, is it permissible to break rules of cleanliness and orderly behaviour under the pretext of right of entry to temples?

A A procession or demonstration with band or music on the occasion of the first entry or on any special occasion is neither new nor improper among Hindus particularly when made in a reverential spirit If organized for the sake of mere demonstration it deserves censure The latter part of the question has already been answered in answer to 2

Q 4 Is it desirable that Government should have power to interfere with religious and social customs and observances?

A A popular Government, under adult franchise has such a right It will carefully weigh the strength of public opinion and the results of its acts before undertaking any measure If they go against the wishes of the people they will not be returned again and the successor popular Government will undo their doings

Q 5 Granting that there is such right is it not still desirable that they obtain the consent of the religion or community concerned before enacting a legislation affecting them?

A Generally the consent may be presumed if consent of their representatives in the legislature is secured If popular opinion is against a proposed measure, it can make itself felt through their representatives and even call upon them to resign on the issue

Q 6 In a sense Hinduism and Jainism are poles apart (e g Jains do not believe in God or a Creator, whereas the Hindus do) How then, can there be a common measure of legislation for both?

A To say that Hinduism and Jainism are poles apart is not accurate The question itself is out of place The question of removing untouchability or of according equal social rights to the Harijans is above religious and social distinctions It is the right of every Indian not to be insulted in his own country and is one of the fundamental rights of a citizen of the Indian Union No question of religion or of theism or atheism is involved in the ostracization of the Harijans It is purely a question of abolishing an inhuman usage It cannot be countenanced in free India I am not a Jain and am a believer in God Yet no one prevents me from entering the Jain temple of Hathesing in Ahmedabad or the temples of Delwada at Mount Abu I can even lodge there during my visit if I need to as I have done more than once The same hospitality and civility should be extended to all other non-Jains (including Harijans) also

Bombay, 5-11-48 K G MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
TO MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY	KAKA KALELKAR AND OTHERS	325
SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT — XI	D M	326
THE WILL OF GOD	K G MASHRUWALA	327
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION — V	M K GANDHI	327
THREE TRANSLATIONS	K G MASHRUWALA	328
LEST WE FORGET — XI	M K. GANDHI	331
TOBACCO AGAINST FOOD	A KAMARAZU	331
QUESTION BOX	K G MASHRUWALA	332

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN, One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3.

Facing Realities

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 40 AHMEDABAD —SUNDAY DECEMBER 5, 1948 TWO ANNAS

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

(1)

The principal languages of India, apart from the dialects, are Bengali Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati Marathi, Telugu Tamil, Malayalam, Kannad, Oriya and Assami Each is the written and the literary language of a large number of people and is prevalent in pretty large areas in the country Of these Hindi in its various styles of Hindi Urdu and Hindustani is the most widely prevalent. The question has been raised as to what should be the language in which the governmental and administrative work of the Union Government of India should be carried on. It has been accepted as a self-evident proposition that one such language is necessary At the same time there is also a desire that each of these languages should be the official language within the area where it is prevalent Each area will thus have two languages to deal with — one for its local or provincial purposes and the other for all India purposes unless the language that is chosen for all India purposes happens also to be the language of that particular area While the desire to have a common language for all India administrative purposes and another language for provincial purposes appears to be natural the implications of such a desire are not always fully visualized

The problem is not a new one It has arisen in the past There was a time when Sanskrit was used for all India purposes throughout the country although it was not language of the common people but only studied by the select few. Not only were poetry and belles-lettres written in that language but also all serious works on philosophy, medicine, engineering, chemistry mathematics astronomy and other sciences were written in that language by every author who aspired to have an all India appeal Law books were also written in Sanskrit Sanskrit was of course the vehicle for sacred literature. I do not know if there ever was a conflict between Sanskrit on the one side and any of the provincial languages which all appear to have derived not only a great deal of the ideas but also of their vocabularies from that source, although it was naturally to a lesser extent in the South where the languages have an altogether different source than in the north and west where provincial languages are said to have very largely been drawn or derived from it

When the Muslims came to India and became its rulers, they used their own language for governmental and administrative purposes but otherwise they let Sanskrit and provincial languages alone. The language of Islam is Arabic It is the language of the Holy *Quran*, the Hadis and a great part of the religious lore of the early Muslims But Arabic was not the language of the Muslim rulers of India who adopted Persian as they were more familiar with it than with Arabic Arabic in India thus has remained more a language of the learned priests and *ulms* rather than of Muslims as a body Persian became the court language and was for that purpose studied on an extensive scale not only by the Indians who had embraced Islam but by Hindus also The Persian language and literature have of course been very largely influenced by the Arabic language and literature but so far as India was concerned, it was more Persian than Arabic which was adopted Persian had become so prevalent that it was adopted as the official language for administrative purposes even by a large section of ordinary people just as we see today many Indians carrying on their private business in English. I have seen the accounts and records of some zamindars kept in Persian language till so late as the nineties of the last century

When the English came they used their own language for administrative purposes and gradually replaced Persian by English and all those classes that had used Persian during the Muslim period and had continued to use it by sheer inertia till many years after the British rule had been established also gradually displaced Persian and adopted English in its place The result has been that English has now been accepted for some years past as the language not only for governmental and administrative purposes but also by business firms and others This was inevitable because ever since English was adopted as the medium of instruction it has gone on spreading until it became the medium not only for all higher education in the universities but also in lower forms of schools Only during recent years when the national movement grew and gained strength that Indian languages began to be considered as media of instruction in schools and today several universities have decided to adopt them although no university has yet completely done so

What the Muslim rulers or the English did in India is what has been done everywhere all the world over when one nation has conquered another or established its rule over another country Now

that foreign rule has ceased the desire has naturally been expressed that all our transactions should be in our own language. But as I have said above there are several languages prevalent in different parts of the country and it is necessary, therefore, to have one language for all India purposes There is no question of forcing any language of any one part of the country on others and thus establishing a sort of linguistic imperialism any more than there is any question of establishing or enforcing a government or administration on any part of the country not acceptable to it It is here that the difference arises between the common language that will be now accepted by the country as a whole on the one hand and Persian or English on the other The common language of today will be voluntarily accepted as such by those people and those parts whose language it is not whereas, there was no choice left to the people when the Muslim rulers imposed Persian and the British the English language But once this point is fully grasped, it will not be difficult to understand its implications in the context of modern conditions. When communication was difficult and quick movement impossible.. the necessity of a common language was not so great or easily seen but modern conditions and means of transport and communications have changed the face of things so much that it becomes very difficult now to keep any part of the country aloof from any other part The Hindu law gave to local customs the same sanctity and sanction as to the *smritis* That was because each area or community grew more or less independently in its own way, of course influenced but not always limited and determined by any overriding law We have thus an infinite variety of customs which do not, however destroy but only illumine and beautify the overall unity The position today is that not only on account of modern conditions but also as a result of the British rule we have great deal of law that is common to the whole country The legislation during the last hundred years or more having been all in English language in all the provinces and many of the States also, is understood and where necessary, studied by lawyers all over the country The judgments of High Courts being all in English are studied, cited and referred to even when not followed by all other High Courts. So also the proceedings of the legislatures of various provinces being largely in English are available to other provinces just as the proceedings of the Central Legislature The question arises that if we adopt one language for the Union Governmental and administrative purposes and each linguistic area is to have its Governmental and administrative work carried on in its own language, where we shall draw the line If legislation in each province is to be in the language of that province then every other province is deprived of the advantage and opportunities of knowing it just as that province is unable to profit by similar legislation in other linguistic areas The court language of each linguistic area will naturally be the language of that area and therefore the judgments of its High Court will not be available for citation before other High Courts just as its High Court will not be able to derive any benefit from the precedents of other High Courts What will be the language of the Supreme Court? That will, I presume, be the all India common language How will the Supreme Court decide appeals against judgments written in different languages? Its judges may not be expected to know ordinarily more than two languages —one of the area to which they belong and the other the common language of India. Will they then go by translation of decisions appealed against? It very often happens in the Final Court of appeal that a judgment appealed against is the last of a series of decisions on a point of law extending over many years and it has happened in the past and it may happen in the future that such a decision is upset thus upsetting the authority of the whole series of decisions How are the lawyers and judges in the District Courts and in the Provincial High Courts to keep themselves in touch with the latest decisions of the Supreme Court? All these questions can be answered only in one way and that is that the administrators, lawyers and judges not only in the Central Government, Supreme Court the provincial Governments and the provincial High Courts but also lower down and members of legislatures should be acquainted with at least the all India common language sufficiently to enable them to carry out their duties It follows that the common language will have to be studied by a large body of persons and if democracy has to function successfully, it should be as widespread as possible if not coterminous with entire population of the country. It follows that apart from cultural purposes the use of the common language will have to grow more and more

Let us look at the same question from another point of view Are our universities which are not unnaturally adopting provincial languages as media of instruction within their respective jurisdictions to grow independently of each other without any intercourse and without any relationship? In what language are our Research Journals to be published? Are they to be in our provincial languages or in the common language? If the former, how are the students teachers and research workers in other linguistic areas to profit by the work done in one area unless they know the various languages? If they are to be in the common language, then all the research workers must possess a pretty high standard of proficiency in that language. How is that proficiency to be attained unless the common language is studied with diligence and its study holds out prospects of preferment? The English language has been studied with great success in India because proficiency in that language was a *sine qua non* for material success in every department of life during the British rule.

Any attempt to reconcile conflicting claims is always a difficult task but it has to be faced Here we have to reconcile the claims of linguistic areas

and all India and if we once concede, as it is accepted by all the different units, that India has to be mentatued as one single unit the claims of all India have to be admitted If that requires a curtailment of what are considered to be the rights of particular regions and areas, that has to be put up with. For political purposes this has been accepted and not only in the Draft Constitution but also in the existing Constitution Act of 1935 the fields of the Centre and the Provinces are meticulously defined and limited In matters of overriding importance the Centre's supreme position is whole-heartedly accepted So it must be in the case of the common language also Its limitations may be defined but that it has a wide field to cover cannot be denied. It necessarily follows that the system of education should also be so revised as to fit in with this purpose.

29-11-1948 RAJENDRA PRASAD

(To be continued)

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—XII

The following is a brief report of one of the speeches of Shri Vinoba delivered on Friday, 1-10-48 during the Gandhi fortnight

He had on the previous day, said Vinobaji drawn the attention of his audience to the condition of Indian labour *vis a-vis* the charkha That day he wanted to say a thing or two about Harijans. He had received that day a telegram from Bikaner where too, they had been celebrating the Gandhi Jayanti The telegram disclosed that some workers had taken part in cleaning and sweeping Harijan localities as a part of the Jayanti programme This act had been regarded by some leading members of the society as an offence and they had passed an order forbidding them from visiting the local temple The friends thus penalized had gone on a fast in protest Shri Vinoba wanted the audience to imagine what amount of agony the attitude adopted by the *savarnas* would cause to Gandhiji's soul who had tried all his life to become a Harijan and prayed to be born the humblest among them if he must be born again

Shri Vinoba reminded the audience of one of his previous post prayers speeches in which he had said that in the North they had not carried on temple-entry agitation as in the Madras province. His statement was at the time challenged in the Press The Bikaner incident justified his statement In allowing Harijans, who were their own kith and kin, to the temples, the *savarnas* conferred no boon on the former but simply stood for their sin of having forcibly kept God a devotee away from Him

The opening of temples to Harijans was by no means full atonement He had been asked by Harijans if he would be satisfied with their mere entry to the temples Shri Vinoba's reply was that he looked upon the temple entry only as an earnest of the caste Hindus' pledge before God not to rest till they had placed their Harijan brethren on the same level as themselves in all matters Justice could not be expected to be done in other matters if even temple entry was not effected Vinobaji desired to exemplify his remarks by an instance nearer at home As they were aware, he was staying in the Bhangi Colony at New Delhi A visitor looking from outside would see it surrounded by an imposing wall on all sides But within the walls there was so much congestion and filth that life was intolerable The *bhangis* had complained about it and put up their demands but till then little had been done to meet them That was the plight of Delhi — the Capital of India and of a Harijan locality where Gandhiji himself had stayed for a long time!

Shri Vinoba referred to a recent visit of Shri Jagjivan Ram, India's Labour Minister, to the Bhangi Colony The Minister had exhorted the Harijans to rely for their elevation upon their own efforts He had also advised them to give up the occupation of scavenging Shri Vinoba had supported that advice. He had done scavenging work himself for years But that was in villages He doubted if he could do it in a city The gutters and the latrines and the filth of cities was unbearable.

If people were to live with Harijans and work with them they would know where the shoe pinched Instead people were content to throw a few crumbs at them. That was insult added to injury He recalled an incident in which a rich man, on having escaped some misfortune wanted to entertain a number of refugees with a feast The latter told him they did not need his rich dishes If he wished to help them he had better take charge of a number of orphans who were there in their midst But the rich man was not prepared for that The refugees declined his invitation Shri Vinoba considered the refusal to be proper and correct The people's behaviour towards the Harijans was similar If they gave them food it was only the leavings! And all that happened in free India! It was no wonder that the South African Whites adopted a similar attitude towards Indians there People must go and live among Harijans and have personal experience of their plight Then alone would they have identified themselves with them and then alone would they be able to serve them in the real sense

Vinobaji after addressing the meeting, left for Jaipur to lay the foundation-stone of Gandhi Nagar

D. M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

GANDHIANA

(A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)

Compiled by

P G Deshpande

Nearly three thousand books in various Indian languages and in English have been classified and listed in this Bibliography

A title index also is included.

Pages 254 Price Rs 3-4 0, Postage etc. 0-8-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

December 5 1948

FACING REALITIES

Our great Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has always emphasized the necessity of facing "realities", and I agree with him. When people with different outlooks and aims meet together with a strong urge to find a solution, they all intuitively begin to face realities. When faced with realities it not infrequently happens that a great revolution, in practical terms, achieves no more than a change of hands. In the initial stages there are some apparent reforms which appear to be radical but when things settle down, there is not so much of "the old order changeth giving place to new".

The reason is that there are two sides of facing realities, namely, physical realities and moral realities. And when we look only to physical realities to the neglect of the moral realities, revolutions or change of parties achieve nothing substantial in the long run. It is only when we face the moral realities also that we are able to bring about a lasting change in the order.

Another reason for the persistence of the old order consists in two kinds of the spirit of the people trying to face the realities. When we face hard realities, and our spirit withers in the face of difficulties and we feel like the inevitableness of surrendering to them, then shall only the old order persist. It will establish itself in spite of our unwillingness and pangs of conscience. But if the harder the adverse realities, the stronger gets our will to overcome them, particularly when the physical realities are in opposition to the moral realities of the situation, then the only concession which we would make to the physical realities would be what necessitated for achieving the moral end by non-violent and pure means and for allowing the parties to be deprived of their profits an opportunity to adjust themselves to the new situation smoothly and equitably.

Let me illustrate my thesis. Take for instance the question of *Vanaspati*. The physical realities are that great influential parties are interested in the continuance of that trade, that there is also a section of people who will willingly (though however foolishly) accept it in the absence of ghee, not only that but the armies might even resent its substitution by even purified odourless oil, though healthier and cheaper. On the other hand stands the great moral reality that it is an immoral trade in the sense that its capacity to give a large profit is mainly due to its use as an adulterant with genuine ghee. The trade has become a veritable teacher of fraud and dishonesty. It has lowered the moral sense to even a greater degree than drink and adultery, for it has degraded even those, who will neither drink nor commit adultery, maybe not even smoke or take tea. This is a great moral reality which faces us, and to surrender to the physical realities is to succumb to them. Facing a reality does not involve abject surrender to it like a defeated army. It means seeking a strategy to overcome it in a practical, non-violent but sure way, so that morality is encouraged and not fraud and dishonesty. The moral loss to the nation is a greater calamity than the economic loss of a particular trade, or the tastes of some consumers.

The same remarks apply to the control policy. Physical realities might be conflicting on both sides: one set of hard facts might be favourable for a regime of controls, another for that of lifting them. What shall guide us in making our choice? My humble submission is that the moral realities must be allowed to guide us. And there is little doubt that on the moral side the controls act only as a demoralizing agent in India. Far from controlling, they encourage all sorts of dishonest and fraudulent practices and compel even honest people to lower their standard of honourable conduct and faithful service. A person is not a good citizen merely by the fact that he does not deceive or pay bribe or *bakshis*, does not himself adulterate articles or delivers less than the due measure or charge black-market price or does not purchase in the black-market, if by reason of the very policy and administration of controls he adopts the policy of maintaining silence at the dishonest acts of his co-citizens, colleagues or superiors. And not a few clerks and *gumastas* and neighbours have to be unwilling tools or witnesses of dishonesty or recipients of articles and moneys tainted with such practices. The system is incapable of helping the growth of a moral sense in the citizen, and the longer it is maintained the greater are the number of people who unconsciously and by slow degrees become accustomed to a lower grade of moral sensibility. The rising generations have already begun to accept dishonesty as a usage of society, in the same way as a child in a vegetarian home accepts vegetarianism as such and one in a meat-eater's home accepts that to be so.

The debasing influence of controls can be illustrated by a number of specific instances. At another place in these columns a couple of them have been mentioned. They show that when morals are already at a low level and the courage to resist an irregular expectation of a superior is lacking, controls are a curse to the nation. We must face the moral realities. More than even the food shortage and lack of industrial development is the moral shortage, and in devising controls or encouraging industries, greatest importance should be attached and place of honour should be given to the moral effect on the nation and even while they are maintained, means and methods should be explored of ending them as quickly as possible.

Bombay, 23-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

DEBASING EFFECTS OF CONTROLS

A correspondent writes

'I am a cultivator myself and also a social worker My co workers as peasants and myself feel that the regime of controls sought to be imposed after it was lifted in pursuance of Bapu's incessant efforts is highly demoralizing It is lowering the standard of honesty and duties of citizenship Let me give an instance

"Other day a cultivator of my village went to the Control Office to declare the names and other particulars of the members of his family to take a permit for storing the necessary quantity of grains etc Among other things, he declared the age of his child to be nine years I knew that it was only six I asked him that since the boy was not yet sent to the school, how could he mention the age to be nine? He said that the boy appeared younger than his age on account of ill health Now this was all bunkum. The fact was that the food quota of a child of nine years is greater than that of one of six by 3 maunds and 24 seers per annum and he wanted to store more food than that allowed by the control rules that allowed by the rules being certainly less than what is necessary for a hard working peasant A peasant's monthly requirements are certainly more than 30 seers for a male and 22½ seers for a female, and a grower of food cannot but seek ways of defeating rules which do not allow him to have his full meal, while he has food in his granary"

There are also a number of dishonest and fraudulent practices associated with ration officers themselves For instance, at various places, instead of being weighed out, the grain is measured out, because it allows marginal saving for the shop, gur is so weighed that something sticks to the scale pan a similar trick is played with sugar, even adulteration, I am told, is practised

Now it may be contended that even if all these complaints are absolutely true, they have all existed even before controls that none of them are inventions of the control office if, at all, they have been copied from what existed in the market True But the difference lies in this when there is no control the customer has the choice of selecting his dealer of the quality and quantity of his articles, and also of negotiating the price Then it is easier to complain against a private dealer than against government officers The controls make it a monopoly trade, in which there are all controls on the purchaser and none on the seller Even with stock in hand the rationing clerk has been found turning away the purchasers with the answer that the stock has been exhausted and they should come on the next distributing day With an insistent and not to be easily deceived purchaser he somehow seeks a quantity sufficient for him. Later he confesses that he had some stock, but it was needed for a particular officer or influential individual and pleads his helplessness because of orders

Bombay, 25-11-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

AKHIL BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

In an article that was published in the *Harijan* of the 15th of February last Gandhiji had expressed a wish that the Congress should turn itself into a Lok Seva Sangh now that the political activity of the past has resulted in a measure of independence and that it should now work in the constructive field to bring Swaraj to the masses in terms of self-sufficiency of the villages Such a change of policy and constitution was not acceptable to the Congress

To give effect to Gandhiji's wishes and to co-ordinate the work of all the institutions which have drawn their inspiration from him, the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has been formed It consists of one representative each from ten constructive bodies and five co-opted members made up as follows,

1. Shri Dhiren Mazumdar, Akhil Bharat Charkha Sangh,
2. „ J C. Kumarappa, Akhil Bharat Gram Udyog Sangh,
3. „ Radhakrishna Bajaj, Goseva Sangh,
4. „ E W Aryanayakam, Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
5. „ Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Hindustani Prachar Sabha,
6. „ Jivanji D Desai, Navajivan Karyalaya,
7. „ A. V Thakkar, Harijan Sevak Sangh,
8. „ Laxmidas Shrikant, The Western India Adivasi Workers Federation,
9. „ Gulzarilal Nanda Hindustan Mazdoor Sabha,
10. Dr Dinshaw Mehta, The Nature Cure Trust
11. Shri Krishnadas Gandhi Co-opted
12. Acharya J B Kripalani „
13. Shri R. R Keithan „
14. „ N Ramaswamy „
15. „ Vallabhbhai Patel „

At their meeting held at Maganvadi, Wardha, on the 14th and 15th of November a Constitution has been drawn up Shri Vallabhbhai Patel was elected one of the Secretaries and Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj was elected Treasurer

To draw up a programme of work a committee consisting of Acharya Kaka Kalelkar, Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj, Shri Krishnadas Gandhi and Shri J C Kumarappa was appointed

The Sangh, by its constitution is establishing new precedents It is to have no permanent president but each meeting will elect its own chairman to conduct business At the discussion on the subject there were two points of view clearly represented One felt that a strong president will enable the Sangh to direct its activity in a clear cut channel and attain good results The other point of view was that a president is no doubt an asset in getting through a definite programme but he often overshadows the younger men and hinders their development Even at the cost of some efficiency and the risk of making mistakes, it was thought it is necessary to give

opportunities of development to the younger generation if we aim at educating leadership Accordingly it was decided to select office-bearers also from amongst the younger set of constructive workers

While this Sangh will advise and guide the other constructive bodies it will not infringe on their administrative autonomy It will draw on them for technical skill and establish its own centres which will initiate work in all departments of constructive work as indicated by Gandhiji.

We wish this Sangh god-speed in their onerous undertaking They will need all our goodwill and co-operation Persons who wish to help financially may send their gifts to the Treasurer Radhakrishna Bajaj Gopuri Nalwadi, P O (Via Wardha, C P)

J C KUMARAPPA

WHY DO WE PAY TAXES?

Government is but an agent for the people to enable them to carry on their business in a better way than they themselves can There is no purpose in keeping up a government if the people can manage better without it.

Taxes are paid to government to enable them to function for this particular purpose The obligation to pay taxes carries with it the right to hope that the government will function for the people On the government side, on the other hand the right to collect taxes carries with it an obligation to spend them for the benefit of the taxpayer

Under the imperialistic regime, obligations to the people did not receive due consideration But now that we have governments which claim to be popular they should serve the interests of the people

For instance, for the farmer, government should supply water, stop erosion, disseminate weather forecasts and render other facilities for the production and distribution of commodities If plantains are to be grown if necessary government should have agencies properly arranged to make available saplings to the growers and so on all along the line

So in the case of village industries, government should render similar help in production and distribution, and should also as much as possible, become a consumer Only by these means can a government help functionally the economic life of the people If paper is made by villagers, the raw material should be made available and the paper so made should be patronized by government offices

It is for these functions that the people are prepared to share part of their income with the government. This is really the purpose of public finance A government that does not render these services to the people has no moral justification to collect taxes nor is there any moral obligation on the citizen to pay taxes The citizen is entitled to ask what the government has done in return for the taxes he pays

In many provinces sales tax has been imposed on cottage industry products, though government renders no help to them and in preference to such products, uses foreign or mill made goods When a government does not use hand made paper and renders no other help in the manufacture of the paper it can have no right to collect the sales tax on the sale of hand made paper If it does it is both immoral and an impediment to the economic life of the people

Even as regards public service, the villages get only a raw deal. The police cluster round the ministers like flies on dirt but they are never to be found in rural places or small towns to protect the people or to prevent crime The police are not the paid servants of the ministers They are there to protect the public and are paid out of public funds Their greater duty lies in serving their true masters—the taxpayers—and not in hanging round their colleagues—the ministers

We hope with the awakening consciousness of the citizens these required adjustments in a democracy will soon be made and government will begin to function as a helper of the people rather than as a parasite on the production of the masses Until such time as the expenditure of governments represents the fact that they are conscious of their great responsibilities and are striving to carry them out, it would be but proper to exempt all cottage and village industries from the imposition of sales tax unless government feel it their duty to suppress these industries to extinction. In all conscience, these have been neglected long enough and have been sponged upon during the British regime Are we not entitled to relief under governments run by our own nationals?

J C KUMARAPPA

EARTH HOUSES—IV

It is better to have the same composition of soil for the entire building The volume of rammed earth work to be done should be calculated beforehand For every cubic foot of rammed work 2 cubic feet of loose earth or 1½ cubic feet of compact soil (*in situ*) should be made ready The dug up soil should be broken up and preferably screened through a 1" mesh strong iron sieve wire net or expanded metal. Screening is necessary, when the soil contains big pebbles, or hard and dry lumps difficult to moisten After screening, sand and gravel are added, if required, then the entire thing is spread in a layer about 3-4 inches thick and moistened with a watering can, giving a fine spray After moistening the earth is mixed up again, arranged in a heap and covered up with some waterproof cloth or with moist gunny bags and allowed to remain so for a few hours or overnight

Rammed earth is heavy and bulky and therefore the soil should be found as near the building site as possible When a single house is built, the soil can be taken from the refuse and the latrine pits etc When laying out and building big colonies, the transport of soil should be as much as possible avoided The simplest way of getting abundant and handy supply of earth is to sink the roads and lanes 3-6 feet below the ground and to use the

excavated soil for building the houses This procedure has several advantages good drainage of the building sites, elevated position of the houses reduction of the cost of fencing nearness of the soil excavation to the building site etc

The cost of the rammed earth wall depends almost entirely on the cost of labour and on the skill it has acquired. Rammed earth is ideal for a family house, when free labour is available Then there is no cheapest way of building

When the work has to be done by contractors or departmentally careful planning of the movement and handling of the material and moulds is essential as the advantages of a free raw material can be easily lost.

Let us turn now to the description of tools used in the rammed earth work They are of the simplest design and can be easily prepared in a village by the local craftsmen and out of local materials except iron. The tools consist of moulds to ram the earth in and of rammers to ram the earth with

The traditional rammer had a V edge, 60 to 120° and it was argued, that due to the wedge a lateral pressure is exerted which makes the material fill the mould more closely Experience has proved, that even better results have been obtained with flat rammers provided there is at least 2 lbs of weight behind each square inch of flat surface Cast iron or iron cubes 3 x 3 x 3 inches, fitted with a wooden handle 1½' diameter and 6 feet long will be just right. Such rammers will weigh about 15 lbs Whenever iron is not available, a hard wood shaft cut at one end 3' x 3' square and shod with iron will serve the purpose, provided the weight is sufficient

A 15 lbs rammer should be lifted to the level of one's knees and let fall. It is very important to strike hard and uniformly, to avoid soft pockets All neglect in ramming will result in a very poor wall while conscientious work will result in a wall of spectacular hardness and tenacity

MAURICE FRYDMAN

NOTES

What Is the Village?

During the debate on the draft constitution Dr Ambedkar's reply to this question was ' a sink of localism and a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism ' Partially, of course, this may be true, just as to the question " What is Gandhiji " ? the answer " He is dust and ashes strewn in innumerable rivers " may be ! But is this the whole truth ? Or does it even represent a substantial part of it ? In fact from a certain valuation of life and living we may hold these answers to be bare misrepresentations

The village used to be an economic unit and the real producer of wealth by man's co-operation with Nature By our mad rush for everything Western we have interfered with the composition of this unit which has affected its nature and productive capacity

The whole of a nation's culture derives its inspiration from village life India today is what she is because of our neglect of our villages We cannot blame the villages for our shortcomings. We can only make amends for the past by turning our attention to villages

As long as the villages are left in the unenviable conditions we find them in today, there can be no hope for our country as our foundations will remain rotten. The village is the unitary organism of the body politic and its state of health will affect the whole nation. It is the training ground of our future statesman It is the hand that feeds the nation economically If it is to make its valuable contribution to the rebuilding of our nation, it must be restored to its pristine glory and function. It must remain an integral unit of our political, economic and social life

Cost of Living

A Globe agency message tells us that the cost of living in India is 80 per cent higher than in the U K., 110 per cent higher than in the U S A. and 150 per cent higher than Canada

India, generally speaking, is an agricultural country that produces most of its requirements of food Lately it has been importing about 6 per cent from outside. The United Kingdom imports about 60 per cent of its food articles Yet its cost of living is so much lower! Does this not indicate gross mismanagement at Government level which calls for a searching enquiry ?

Rural Development in C. P. and Berar

The Government of C P and Berar are considering opening a few Rural Development Centres To decide on these it is necessary to take into account the willingness or otherwise of the villagers concerned To ascertain the attitude of the villagers a Committee of the Rural Development Board consisting of Shri A. M Makade Minister for Rural Development, Shri R K. Patil, Minister for Food, Beohar Rajendra Singh and Shri J C Kumarappa toured from the 5th to 10th November They explained to the villagers gathered from 10 to 15 villages round about each of the four suggested centres what this scheme meant, how they will have to co-operate subordinating their individual interests to the common good, and cultivate their lands according to plan, calculated to provide a balanced diet to the people of the selected region and how their dealings will have to be made through a well-organized Multi-purpose Society

Even though the assembled villagers in their hundreds, evinced considerable interest and were agreeable to launch on this scheme the committee advised them to go back to their own villages and discuss the whole matter with their fellow farmers and elders and then report their conclusions Local regional committees with representatives from the villages concerned were formed to carry on the consultative work.

J C. K.

A TERRIBLE TYPHOON

Bombay experienced for about twenty hours from Sunday (21st November) night to Monday afternoon a typhoon, which is said to have broken all previous records of its terrible intensity Details are still lacking of the loss of life and property caused by it in Bombay and abroad The hard experiences of that night and the following day, which people whose shelters were made uninhabitable or destroyed, suffered, can be described only by those who went through them. A good many of these will never be known by the world Perhaps the hardest lot was of the people in the refugee camps It might seem that they were ordained to pass through over and over again the bitter days of their drive out from Pakistan, as if Nature did not wish to be less cruel to them than the authors of ideologies responsible for uprooting them from their ancestral homes

Compared to the permanent loss and afflictions suffered by many, the temporary suspension of all traffic communications, and non-availability of milk, food, light etc. might be regarded as very trivial discomforts They may well be dismissed like letters 'read and filed' Even the more permanent loss to life and property will in course of time become a memory of the past, and people will somehow readjust themselves to the changed conditions in as best a manner as possible More terrible catastrophes than these have been so suffered and forgotten by man.

What is really important and lasting is the effects which such calamities have upon the conduct and character of men coming under their influence The type of energy which they generate, the nature of emotions, passions and sentiments which they raise the kind of activities which they stimulate and the permanent impression which they make upon men's minds—individually as well as corporately—are the more substantial items of human culture. On whether a great calamity enthrones God or Satan in men's hearts depends whether men, individually and socially, stand to lose or gain by it.

Thus, the rapidity and energy with which Bombay tried to restore order in the great derangement created by the storm stands to its permanent credit. The quick removal of large trees, boulders and debris from the roads and making them passable, the reparation of electric cords of tramways, railways and lights and putting much of them in working condition by Tuesday, the rescue of men entrapped in the sea, or under trees or debris and the commencement of these activities while the storm was still furious is a display of human energy, valour and activity of a highly creditable type.

The various civil and military services of Bombay, their officers and staff deserve our warm congratulations for the work done by them So also deserve to be congratulated those men and women, in private life, whose spirit for service stimulated them to leave their own comfortable homes while the storm was still raging or immediately on its getting mild to seek out people from their delapidated or water-filled houses and provide them with safer shelters and meals I understand that at one of the suburbs of Bombay a band of women workers collected food from house to house and distributed it among about 1500 poor on Monday and Tuesday Similar good acts must have been done by others also at other places It is immaterial whether they have been taken public notice of or not. It is sufficient for one's own moral development and satisfaction and for human evolution to know and feel that they took part in an activity worthy of a human being The experience of gratification and contentment is its own reward.

On the other hand there are those whom such universal calamities lay low An evil urge impels them to acts of self-aggrandizement in the midst of adversity all round They regard it as an opportunity for committing house-breaking and theft, or charging exorbitant prices of articles badly needed by everyone at such time —, say, candles or foodstuffs The stimulus to such anti-social propensities must be reckoned among the list of more permanent loss to human culture It develops a character in which the desire for wealth and material happiness and comforts is so supreme that it declares,

हत्वार्यकामानस्तु गुरूनिहैव भुञ्जीय भोगान् रुधिरप्रदिग्धान् ।

"We shall slay our elders and superiors here and enjoy health and happiness stained with their blood"

It is the Devil's urge ruinous and ultimately detrimental to themselves, and always injurious to society

There are two courses from which man might choose when there is wide-spread prosperity or adversity To the enjoyment of happiness, he might choose to allow others to precede him by placing himself at the back of all, and in adversity to throw himself in the forefront saving others as much as possible This is Godwardness—Goodness—Humanity The contrary way is in the enjoyment of happiness to elbow out others and push oneself in the forefront, and in adversity to save oneself and even profit by the unhappiness of others This is the way of the Devil. All honour and salutations to those who even in face of adversity keep steadily Godward

Bombay, 24-11-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS

		PAGE
A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA	RAJENDRA PRASAD	333
SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—XII	D. M.	335
FACING REALITIES	K. G MASHRUWALA	336
DEBASING EFFECTS OF CONTROLS	K. G MASHRUWALA	337
AKHIL BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH	J C KUMARAPPA	337
WHY DO WE PAY TAXES?—	J C. KUMARAPPA	338
EARTH HOUSES—IV	MAURICE FRYDMAN	338
A TERRIBLE TYPHOON	K G MASHRUWALA	340
NOTES		
WHAT IS THE VILLAGE?	J C. K.	339
COST OF LIVING	J C K.	339
RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN C. P AND BERAR	J C K.	339

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN, One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Jaipur Congress

Reg No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 41 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY DECEMBER 12 1948 TWO ANNAS

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

I have been asked

'How is it that Harijan papers have not written or published appeals and information regarding this fund oftener and that Vinobaji Pyarelalji Kaka Kalelkar yourself and others who are Gandhiji's old associates have not issued appeals for the collection of this fund? Is there any name for your silence?

'2 Do you agree that the efforts for its collection and the response of the people is very meagre? That Bombay knows for its munificence has not subscribed as much as 21 lakhs till now though in the past it [illegible] been known to have far exceeded this amount for [illegible] causes than this, at a time when the rupee [illegible] nearly four times more valuable than now? The same is the case in other parts of India

3 Should not legislation be resorted to assist this fund since it is not subscribed to voluntarily?

ANSWERS

It is a surprise to me and I doubt not that it will be so to the colleagues mentioned by the questioner that such a doubt should have been entertained But since it has been, and as it is possible that several others may also have been harbouring similar doubts let me say it at once that there should be no room for such doubt The fund is marked out for Gandhiji's Constructive Programme, for the cause to which our personal lives are dedicated. We are intensely interested in its collection as we shall be in its proper application. It is in our personal interest that is for the sake of the causes to which we are pledged that the fund collection should be entirely successful Those who issued the appeal for the fund and have been working for its collection have been our trusted leaders and elderly colleagues, and its secretaries are active members of constructive work associations Their appeal did not need any reinforcement from us, who have all along our life worked more or less outside of too much public gaze, and are fully occupied in discharging the duties falling to our respective shares

The Harijan papers generally come out too late for publishing such appeals which are usually forwarded to the various Press Agencies and are published far in advance in the dailies all over India. Their republication after their wide publication elsewhere is hardly necessary

Let it be understood clearly that we all wish the people to subscribe to the fund magnificently and generously.

2 That the collection and the response are very meagre is but too true It is difficult for me to assess the cause accurately It is for every man who has not paid his contribution already to say why he does not feel inclined to pay

3 Howsoever poor the collection may be nothing should be done by legislation It will be an insult to Gandhiji's memory If the people have no inclination to pay let them rather not pay a pie than pay anything compulsorily I do not like that Government machinery should at all have been employed for this purpose Some legislation has already been passed to induce people to be charitable. This is hardly creditable to the donor or the donee and certainly not to one whom we have voluntarily accepted as our Bapu

Bhartrihari has said There are three ways open to a property holder to donate it in charity consume it for his own comforts or to lose it by destruction, robbery etc He who does not donate or consume it will ultimately lose it in the third manner' We have seen the truth of this several times over during recent times. An Indian proverb says— 'The Bania steals pies, God picks up his rupees" Another wise sage has said What you donate you save what you consume for yourself you spend what you hoard you assign to the lord of destruction.'

Bombay 29-11-48 K G MASHRUWALA

To Lovers of Gandhian Literature

Arrangements have been made to have a Navajivan Stall in the Sarvodaya Exhibition which is being organized at Jaipur on the occasion of the Congress Session The Stall will open from 14th December Books by Gandhiji and others will be available there They will be in English Gujarati Hindustani and Marathi

Current issues of the Harijan papers will also be for sale at the Navajivan Stall No 73

All interested in Gandhian literature are requested to pay a visit to the Stall.

JIVANJI DESAI

SPURIOUS MEDICINES

Referring to the article *False and Obscene Advertisements* a doctor sends for my information a copy of the following resolution passed by the Newspapers Proprietors' Association in Great Britain

1 No advertisement will be accepted which is claimed to be effective in Bright s disease Cancer Tuberculosis Diabetes Epilepsy Fits Locomotor ataxia, Disseminated sclerosis Osteo arthritis Spinal, Cerebral and Venereal diseases, Lupus Paralysis, or for the cure of Amenorrhoea, Hernia, Blindness Rheumatoid arthritis and for procuring miscarriage, or for the treatment of habits associated with sexual indulgence or for any ailment connected with these habits

2 No advertisement will be accepted from any advertiser, who by printed matter orally or in his advertisement undertakes to diagnose any condition or to receive a statement of any person s symptoms with a view to advising or providing treatments by correspondence

3 No advertisement will be accepted by containing a testimonial, other than limited to the actual views of the writer or any testimonial given by a doctor other than a recognized British Medical Practitioner

4 No advertisement will be accepted containing illustrations which are distorted or exaggerated to convey false impressions

5 No advertisement will be accepted which may lead persons to believe that the medicine examined from any hospital or official source or in any other than the proprietary medicine advertised by the manufacturer for the purpose specified, unless the advertising agent submitting the copy declares that the authority of such hospital or official source has been duly obtained

These rules are now in operation in all the newspapers in Great Britain Also an advertisement will be submitted to medical scrutiny and products advertised to chemical analysis if this is considered necessary

The doctor adds

If proprietors of newspapers follow a similar policy or if our Government pass an act to give effect to it our poor and ignorant people would be saved millions of rupees which they waste by becoming victims of fraudulent advertisements. Swindlers who exploit the ignorance of our credulous masses through advertisements not only deprive them of their money but often harm their health beyond measure

I am a Chief Medical Officer of a T B hospital I have come across many such cases during eleven years of my experience Many a T B patient approach these advertisers lured by their advertisements or buy their costly medicines. After spending in six or eight months time all their resources, they repair to the public hospital in a pitiable plight. These cheats often bribe some money and secure bogus testimonials dressed up attractively If the newspapers refuse to advertise such stuff they would help in stopping their nefarious trade.

With the doctor I can hope that proprietors of Indian newspapers will follow the precedent set by their British co-professionals Government also can and should interest itself in this matter and take necessary measures to stop fraudulent and harmful advertisements

Bombay 16 11-48 K G MASHRUWALA

GANDHIJI'S TEACHINGS IN TAMILNAD

[Shri Satyan of Wardha sends the following report of an Ashram visited by him in Tamilnad I take the report on trust —K. G M.]

There are many institutions in Tamilnad where workers are endeavouring to implement Gandhiji s teachings Gandhimkatan in Kallupatti is one among them Kallupatti is a small village having a population of two and a half thousand It is nearly twenty five miles away from Madura on the Madura-Saptur bus route Buses to Srivilliputtur also ply on the same road The place is far away from the railway line and is aloof from urban influence.

Gandhimkatan Ashram was founded in 1940 by a silent and untiring worker Shri Venkatachalapathy to whose efforts the institution owes much for its success From the very beginning the institution is independent without expecting much financial assistance from outside Some workers who have faith in Gandhiji and who really wish to carry out his constructive programme in their life joined him in his work He himself settled down in the Ashram keeping aloof from power politics His family also co operated with him in his venture Today because of other works he is not able to stay there, but all the same he is giving his thought and attention to the development of the institution Shri R. Guruswami, who is an ardent follower of the Mahatma was the first to join him On account of his capacity of organization and management he has been made the Ashram manager There is another Guruswami from Kolpatti who is a tanning expert His brother Shri Radrappaswami is also a member of the Ashram. Now the Ashram is a congregation of good workers. Workers are trained for different items of constructive work and assigned to different places. One is impressed with the ability of Shri Venkatachalapathy to organize good workers, give training and make them dedicate to silent service to the country A visit to the Ashram will reveal this fact

The first work the Ashram has undertaken is *khadi* Ginning, carding spinning and weaving are included in the daily programme of the institution There is visible poverty in the villages round the Ashram Charkha was in vogue even before the advent of Gandhiji It is Shri Venkatachalapathy and his colleagues who are responsible for its resurrection Ammapatti village four miles from the Ashram, is supposed to be one of the best production centres belonging to the A I S A.

The Ashram is also running a good workshop on a small scale for producing spinning equipment Charkhas, *taklis* carding bows and other implements are manufactured here.

The villagers will [illegible] Ashram are managing a dairy on so[illegible] lines Through it cow's milk, butter and [illegible] made available in plenty to the villagers. D[illegible]nut villages have also taken up similar dairy work

"There is a tannery maintained on Gandhian lines like the Gosaya Charmalaya at Wardha Raw hide is tanned (chrome tanning) and the leather is used for making slippers suit cases purses wallets bags etc in the institution itself This is the only one of its kind in Tamilnad

'The Ashram has its own basic school and Shri Srinivasan a trained basic teacher is in charge of it He is efficient and capable. The school is three years old There are three grades and the strength in each grade exceeds 25 In the third grade there are fifty students and hence it is divided into two sections with two teachers From the strength of the school one can easily imagine how popular the school and the new education are Though the students are poorly clad and ill fed they look healthy clean cheerful and smart Students take home whatever they grow in the school garden The students of all grades are very inquisitive and put questions to people who visit the school with a view to gaining more knowledge and the school is unique in this respect The first grade students do craft work for 2 hours while the others devote 2½ hours They produce single or double twist yarn according to need From July to September the income for the three months for the third grade is Rs 101-12 6 Last year the same students earned Rs 190 In the 2nd grade This goes to prove that a basic school can be self-supporting if the craft is taken up with seriousness and earnestness

"The Ashram has also its bee keeping industry and there is scope for its full development Only hand pounded rice is being used in the Ashram Shri Guruswami, the manager is editing a Tamil monthly *Gram Rajya* specially for villagers explaining the various aspects of constructive work. Tamil nadu best workers who follow Gandhiji in their life are its main contributors

"The Ashram atmosphere is excellent the basic school children and the trainees are much influenced by the environment All do manual work ranging from cooking to scavenging Punctuality and discipline are well maintained and there is orderliness in every programme of the Ashram The order is self evolved and not imposed from above There is no paid servant in the camp

'The institution has a good prospect of becoming a leading Gandhian Ashram in Tamilnad giving facilities to many youths of the country to be initiated into Gandhism'

Gandhi City

I have received suggestions to support a demand for renaming New Delhi after Gandhiji I regret I am unable to do so Not that there is anything wrong by itself in naming the Capital of India after Gandhiji but if a place named after him was to be made the Capital of India I should think that the Capital itself should be shifted from New Delhi to a city to be built after Gandhiji's ideas which New Delhi is not

Bombay, 29-11-48 K. G M

INTOXICATION OF OFFICE

Apropos of the intoxication of office, to which not a few among the recently-raised-to-authority in our Central as well as Provincial Secretariats have succumbed I would like to recall what Gandhiji said to me several years back. It was the 18th February, 1940 Gandhiji had come to Shantiniketan on a two-day visit In the evening, while out for his usual walk I had the privilege of accompanying him No sooner had we returned to 'Shyamali' where Gurudeva Rabindranath had lodged him than all of a sudden, as he got ready for the evening prayers, he exclaimed Had I known that assumption of office would demoralize so many of our good workers I would never have advised it" And I watched his face It was tense with acute inner travail

I have no idea of the mental background to his observation But during the walk he had been absolutely silent From this I concluded that he must have been undergoing some sort of crucial churning within

Be that as it may what intrigues one however is the phenomenon or process, which transforms, as it were overnight, a voluntary server of yesterday into a 'tin-god' of today It would appear that the moment such a server occupies a seat of authority he cannot resist the temptation, unless he has spiritual stamina of identifying his ego with his office so that the former may fatten on what is fed on Consequently his angle of vision and apparatus of attitude are at once changed And henceforward whoever comes into his ken or contact with him becomes mere grist for his will-to-power And then begins the interminable, insidious battle between his own personality and those of others.

Now personality is only a mark of the *real* man The latter therefore *disappears* out of the picture as the battle of personality *versus* personality rages hot and hard In other words, the occupant of office becomes more of a chair or a quill which he uses, than a sensitive, sympathetic human being

What is the cure for this "corruption"? It is the cultivation of the *real* man, as against that of the illusory ephemeral entity called the personality This will enable him to look upon his office as an opportunity for greater service rather than, as unfortunately happens so often as an opportunity for feathering his own nest. Only if he would impress his consciousness with the truth that "the worker dies but the work remains he will be saved from many a pitfall, which his power feeding personality invariably opens up for him Then the common adage "All power corrupts" will be replaced by the to-he-devised ideal, "All power elevates" For after all power, too like peace, is an aspect of the Divine

G M.

HARIJAN

December 12 1948

THE JAIPUR CONGRESS

The Fifty-fifth Indian National Congress will have begun and completed its deliberations during the next week I do not know what ideas or programmes are on the notebook of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya

The Congress meets for the first time after Gandhiji s death No doubt sincere and generous tributes will be paid to him It is likely to be a touching scene Perhaps Hindi-Hindustani will raise a warm controversy. There might also be hot debates on the question of linguistic provinces and the relations between the parliamentary and non-parliamentary Congress bodies, as also between office-holding and non-office-holding Congressmen It is possible to enumerate about half a dozen other controversial subjects

But in my humble opinion unless the Congress earnestly realizes and resolves to remedy the fundamental maladies which have attacked the national life and the Congress organization, the discussions may not succeed in finding solution to any problem The maladies are

1 We have discarded God from our life and allowed influences of political commercial electoral and other considerations and various academic isms to prevail over truth honesty service and actual happiness of fellow beings and other virtues of essential human culture The result is that we have discarded simplicity and become lavishly fond of luxuries and comforts provided by modern science, and in our hurry to enjoy them have lost consideration of our present means and have sacrificed even primary essentials of life The neglect of villages and villagers follows directly from this

2. The present diarchy in the Congress is a great handicap in all its activities Either the name Congress ' should be restricted to the parliamentary organization- or to the non-official organization of the people The latter should be an independent body not competing for or holding government offices as an organization It should control government only through the force of public opinion it builds up and represents This can be done only through working directly and unofficially among the people through constructive activities. This does not mean attitude of non-co-operation with or permanent opposition to government There might be and except rarely should be full and free co-operation without subservience A great many of the evils which have crept into the Congress organization will disappear if the two functions become separate Gandhiji suggested that the non-parliamentary organization might adopt the name Lok Sevak Sangha It deserves to be seriously reconsidered

Setting ourselves right on these two points will modify our outlook on various controversial subjects and enable us to find their correct solutions

Bombay, 4-12-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA (II)

The need and implication of a common language for India being established, the question that arises next is what language can be that common language It is suggested in some quarters that English has already acquired that position and there is no reason why it should not be continued and why it should be displaced by any Indian language It is true that English is at the present moment doing what such a common language is expected and intended to do It has also the advantage of having a rich and flexible vocabulary and it is understood over a large part of the world and has acquired an international status and utility which it would be difficult for an Indian language to acquire With all this advantage, however English has not taken root in this country and once the State patronage which it has been enjoying is withdrawn, it will cease to make that widespread appeal which it does today Besides, any foreign language will be exotic in all parts of the country and no part of the country as a whole can acquire it in a way in which it knows its own language So English will have to be studied and its study kept up by an artificial State help it will never take root and will never be the language of the masses of any part of this country whereas any Indian language will be the language of at any rate, some part of the country and will be the language of all the classes and masses of that part of the country It will also have affinity with a number of other provincial languages and thus easily assimilable by the people in those provinces also Our choice must, therefore be confined to an Indian language It does not mean that we shall have to cease learning English altogether For all international purposes English will have to be studied It will also have to be studied for the rich heritage it has got in the shape of its vast stock of literature—scientific, philosophic and literary But then it will have to be studied by a few and the intensity of its study will also depend upon its utility for the particular use to which it has to be put. Even today many Indians learn other foreign languages for enabling them to study scientific and research journals and for other similar purposes

Among the Indian languages the choice will naturally fall on the language which is most widely known and understood and Hindi or Hindustani by whatever name we may call it, is the obvious choice It has a good literature, it has capacity for development and it is allied to all the languages of Northern India and can be easily learnt by people speaking and knowing any of them. Even the South Indian languages have a large admixture

of words of Sanskrit origin particularly Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam It must however, be recognized that the vocabulary of Hindi or Hindustani will have to be greatly enriched to make it a vehicle for expressing all kinds of modern thought — scientific, legal administrative political, engineering, industrial etc This is the case with all the other Indian languages Further the common language of India has to be made as easy as possible for regions where it is not known and understood. It is therefore necessary that Hindi or Hindustani cannot afford to adopt a policy of boycott of words which a purist will consider to be of foreign or doubtful origin Before trying to coin a new expression the first attempt must naturally be to find out an existing word which has become or can easily become assimilated The provincial languages are also developed languages and have much to contribute to Hindi or Hindustani from their vocabulary and there is no reason why an expression which is common in one or more of these provincial languages should not be acceptable to Hindi or Hindustani. Not only words in use in literary forms of expression but even the dialects can contribute a great deal As has been pointed out by Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi the village dialects are living languages and have been constantly coining very expressive words to meet new requirements I may mention as an illustration how verbs are made out of nouns in dialects of Hindi-speaking parts where literary Hindi would express the same idea by bringing in or adding another verb Thus from *mati* (earth) the verb *matiana* has been derived which means both washing a pot after besmearing it with earth or covering something with earth Similarly from *hath* (hands) we have *hathiana* (take in hand) but usually expressing — taking in hand unlawfully or grabbing From *lat* (foot) we have *latiana* which means kicking From *pith* (back) the verb is *pithiana* which means pushing from behind, etc A language does not lose but gains by addition to its vocabulary whatever the source of the additional word may be and any growing language is bound to have considerable additions to its vocabulary from year to year If we examine the various editions of a common popular English dictionary like Chamber's Dictionary which have been brought out during the last 50 years, we shall see what a tremendous difference there is between an edition 50 years ago and one published today As a matter of fact, apart from the additional words incorporated in the body, every edition has an appendix or supplement containing a large number of words which are in the process of gaining currency and have not become altogether assimilated Hindi or Hindustani, therefore will have to adopt a most liberal policy of taking words which can be assimilated whatever their origin may be In course of time words will acquire different shades of meaning and the language will become more and more expressive. It is therefore necessary to lay down as a fundamental rule of growth of the common language, that it shall not boycott but keep its door open for words of foreign origin foreign meaning words not belonging to it but in use in other languages either in India or outside'

It would therefore, seem that the dispute whether the language should be Hindi or Hindustani is futile The grammar and structure, which give to a language a speciality, are the same both for Hindi and Hindustani except perhaps for some minor differences which can be ignored The only difference is in vocabulary and if we make it a point not to exclude but to include whatever is available the controversy would cease to have any meaning and content

With all this, however there will still remain the necessity for coining a great number of words having technical significance They will not be found in any of the current languages of India and taking them from non-Indian languages may become difficult and burdensome whereas a coined Indian word may soon get assimilated What is to be the source from which this addition has to come? So far as I can see, there is only one source which is common to all Indian languages from which they all have borrowed freely in the past and are doing that today except perhaps Urdu and that source is Sanskrit It cannot therefore, be denied that whenever a new expression has to be coined to express an idea for which there is no word current in any other Indian language, it must be derived from the very rich source of Sanskrit There is no escape from this. This will have to be done by Hindustani no less than by Hindi Even Hindustani cannot afford to go to Arabic or Persian for this purpose

So the conclusions that we arrive at are these

1. A common language for all India purposes is necessary

2. That common language will have to be studied on a fairly extensive scale by people all over the country whatever their own language may be

3 That language cannot be English but will have to be an Indian language

4 Of Indian languages Hindi or Hindustani is best fitted for this purpose

5 But Hindi or Hindustani will have to give up the policy of boycott of words of foreign origin and to make its door open for entry of words from other languages

6 These additional words must come in the first place from the various provincial languages and from dialects Even words of purely foreign origin may not be altogether excluded

7 In view of the above, the controversy between Hindi and Hindustani is futile

8 With all the additions to the vocabulary that can be made with the help of other languages, there will still remain the need for coining a large number of words to express modern ideas very largely of a technical nature and the source from which these additional words have to be derived is Sanskrit.

2-12-'48 RAJENDRA PRASAD

(Concluded)

VARIOUS DOUBTS ANSWERED

[In 1932 33, I had the fortune of visiting Bapuji in Yeravda Jail in company of Shri Maathahn, Lady Thackersey and Mascahoko The following undated letter Bapu wrote to me on my return to Saharanti —Prof P G Mathew]

' Unrevised

' My dear Mathew,

' I have your three letters. Reason has its place, only it must not usurp the heart If you will go through any twentyfour hours of the life of the most reasoning man you know you will find that most of his acts done during that time are done by feeling, not by reasoning The moral is that reason once developed acts automatically and rejects what is superstitious or immoral if the heart is sound Reason is a corrective and is in its place when it remains at the door ever watchful, never moving And this function, I claim, it does perform at the Ashram Life is duty i e. action When this is reasoned away reason has become a usurper and must be dethroned

"Now for your second letter I do not say that vocation should be, I say that it is, regulated by birth even as our colour and many things are I have stated a fact in nature, not opinion It is conservation of energy and necessary for an ethical man But the law means only this that we are born with the tendencies both physical and mental inherited from our forefathers immediate and remote The tendencies can be changed and ought to be when the inherited ones are evil or when necessity of service, not self, requires the change

' Either partner at any time has the right to abstain Mating must be an absolutely voluntary act When therefore, either party definitely desires to abstain for life the other is free to seek another partner, if he or she cannot restrain the carnal appetite But this happens only when marriage is not a matter of real love i e has never been a marriage in its true sense—marriage is a permanent friendship between persons of opposite sexes and therefore though it allows physical connections between them it has an ever increasing tendency to subjugate their animal passions. When there is such friendship, there is no breaking of the knot when voluntary physical satisfaction is unobtainable. There is no question of superiority or inferiority What is lawful for one is not always so for all But this I know that a man of God has no time for satisfying animal passions and thus loses all taste for them. In this sense celibacy is a superior state

' There can be no question of my or anybody else's allowing or disallowing marriages I can only say that it is wise to restrict the field of choice —subject to this, this form of friendship like any other has no limitation But since in this form there can be only one friend for life, search becomes easier and less attended with risk if the field is restricted and familiar and yet not too familiar

"Suicide is generally a sin even in Jainism It is obligatory when a man has to make his choice between sin and perdition as when he is about to violate the chastity of a woman and has left reason enough to know that he can escape the inferno by putting an end to the physical frame Fasting has been somewhat abused at the Ashram but the abuse can never become infective since it is not easy to abuse it. Hunger is a peremptory taskmaster

You cannot have too much of real *ahimsa* but the average Jain has made of it as of fasting a travesty The average Jain only knows the husk of *ahimsa* and misses the kernel *Ahimsa* is endless love for all life and therefore an eternal readiness to give up ones life for saving others

I hope this will find you in peace But you will not get the real peace till you find full satisfaction in some permanent act of service

Love
BAPU

FONDNESS FOR ENGLISH

A correspondent writes

"The fondness for English does not seem to abate still in government and semi government administration For instance the other day I had an occasion to go to the Secretariat I found that most of the sign boards meant for the guidance of the public were in English only Similarly I saw an English sign board in the local police office It purports to give information for the public of the municipal rates and taxes to force locally But it is all in English! I humbly feel that immediately on the attainment of independence all sign boards ought to have been rendered in Nagari and Urdu characters (and not in the local scripts), and all information meant for the local public put up in the local language and script Let it be done even now

' The word Home Guard has been translated as ' *Griha Samrakshak Dala* This literal translation is so long and clumsy that most people cling to the English word If it had been called simply ' *Rakshak Dala* , it could have easily sat in the mouth But apart from the difficulty of the word, the fondness for English above referred to is also responsible for the prevalence of the English name '

The fondness is not confined to government and semi-government administration Non-official and purely 'national' organizations are also not free from it So many institutions, organizers of public meetings and even individuals celebrating domestic functions like marriage etc. issue their invitations in English The other day I was surprised to receive a letter (in an Indian language) from the office of the Reception Committee of the forthcoming Congress at Jaipur with a letterhead printed in English Mind, it was not in the Roman script but in English language and in that only

But I am patient. I am sure this is going and will disappear, though it might be necessary to remind the people about it now and then as this correspondent has done

Bombay 23-11-48 K G MASHRUWALA

BAPU MANDAP

It has been proposed to organize an Art Gallery of the photographs of Mahatma Gandhi in the *BAPU MANDAP* which will occupy the most prominent place in the Sarvodaya Exhibition The Art Gallery is intended to present Gandhiji's photographs in the different stages and phases of his whole life amid his multifarious activities Friends are requested to send such of those photos as are in their possession to the Sarvodaya Exhibition These photographs will be returned to the owners, if they so desire after taking copies of them

It is well known that there is a huge volume of literature on Gandhiji and his work in the different languages both Indian and foreign We intend to collect and exhibit in the Mandap as much such literature as is available All publishers and authors are kindly requested to send a copy of each of their publications with a slip attached mentioning the title of the book in Hindi or English It may not be possible to return the copies to owners

All these valuable collections of photos and books at the Sarvodaya Exhibition will be presented to the Gandhi Memorial Museum which is being contemplated under the Gandhi Memorial Trust.

All photos and books intended for *BAPU MANDAP* should be carefully packed and sent by registered post addressed to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Pradarshini Gandhi Nagar Jaipur

KRISHNADAS GANDHI
Secretary,
Sarvodaya Pradarshini

RESOURCELESS SUBJECTS

Referring to *Lands for Politicals* in the *Harijan* of October 31st a political sufferer from U P writes

It is very necessary for the Government to help those who are destroyed root and branch by the ruthless measures of the Government and are physically unfit as a result of imprisonment and tortures and have a responsibility of maintaining minor and aged dependents The help should not be in the form of any compensation for their political sufferings but as the resourceless subjects of a free country

I fully know many cases of demoralization for want of such help Of course those should not get help who discredit the Congress by exploiting the occasion but those who deserve should not be ignored Your comment therefore, does not justify those cases who asked then all in 1942 and previous to that To come to their rescue is the moral duty of the present Government

I have my full sympathy for the political sufferers I know several who have come to a miserable plight for having taken part in political movements from time to time The Congress owes a duty towards them. But the Congress should be distinguished from the Congress Governments The correspondent has made self-contradictory arguments But I shall not try to refute them It is sufficient that he [illegible] that the help should not be in the form of [illegible] for their political sufferings but as the resourceless subjects of a free country

If this is conceded, then the field of help becomes extremely wide and is not confined to victims of political repression Their number in our country will be a legion Happy would be the day when the Government that is the people of India attain the strength of taking care of all their resourceless fellow-beings It would be possible only when the great gulf between the highest income and personal property is brought within narrow limits and the people adopt a scheme of life and training and civilization quite different from the current one With the present civilization and its trends, it does not seem possible that indigency could be abolished It will mark the establishment of *Rama Rajya* and the dawn of *Sarvodaya*

Bombay, 17-11-48 K. G MASHRUWALA

SELF-CONTROL vs. GOVERNMENT-CONTROL

Your excellent article in *Harijan* dated 21st November *Controls for Sarvodaya* and the sentence "To remove Government-control let us resolve to exercise self-control", prompt me to inform you of the system of "voluntary price control" which was tried by me when I worked as a Director of Civil Supplies under Government of Bombay The essential features of this system are

1 Maintenance of fair price shops at which prices are fixed jointly by a representative each of trade the consumer and the Government and revised from day to day,

2 The prices are published

3 The number of fair price shops are increased as the demand and facilities increase, As long as goods are in short supply owing to either shortage in production or transport or distribution such price control becomes difficult but the necessity of such control is all the greater The remedy is not an elaborate control in distribution through Government Departments which tends to become more expensive and arbitrary, but co operation in making available the existing stock at a price which is fair A strong and reliable committee with large powers in matter of fixing the prices, consisting of only three representatives, one of the trade one of the consumer, and one of Government should fix the price of each of the commodities in universal demand If it is given facilities for overcoming difficulties of transport, it can do greater service than detailed control in distribution There should be a committee for fixing prices of food grains, foodstuffs like ghee milk, sugar etc cloth and other articles of daily necessities like firewood charcoal footwear etc Public opinion should mark out those traders who do not bring down prices to the level so fixed. The existence of such committees in local areas and the publicity given to these fair prices in the local newspapers, and the maintenance of fair price shops by the combined efforts of representatives of trade consumer, and Government would go a great way in control

nl prices. No elaborate regulations or legal enactments are necessary when the citizens combine by voluntary self-control to eradicate high prices, and take practical steps to supply the goods at the prices which are reasonable and fair

26-11-48 'HOPE'

QUESTION BOX

GANDHIJI'S INSTITUTIONS

Q. Would you please give a list of the institutions founded by Gandhiji or inspired by his teachings?

A It is possible to give a list of such institutions only as were founded by Gandhiji or if not actually founded by him those which worked more or less directly under his guidance It is difficult to give a list of all those independent institutions which are inspired by his teachings Probably there are scores of such institutions both small and big Subject to correction I list below institutions of the first two types on such information as I could gather with the help of my colleagues

1 *Satyagrahashram* Sabarmati Founded on 16 5 1915 in a rented bungalow at Kochrab a small village near Ahmedabad It came to the present site on about 25 6 1917 Its name was changed by Gandhiji into *Udyog Mandir* in November 1928 In July 1933 Gandhiji disbanded the *Udyog Mandir* handed over its movable property to public use and offered land buildings and crops to Government On Government declining to accept the offer he made them over to the Harijan Sevak Sangha, New Delhi in September 1933 Since then the Ashram is known as the *Harijan Ashram*

2 *Barhariya Gujarati Shala* (National Gujarati School) Satyagrahashram Sabarmati, (1915), now defunct

3 *Harijan Ashram* Godhra, (1918),

4 *Dakshina Bharat Hindi (Hindustani) Prachar Sabha*, (1918), Tyagaraja Nagar Madras 17

5 *Navajivan Press* P O Box No 105, Ahmedabad (1919), Gandhiji took over the *Young India* a bi weekly of Bombay in April 1919 After the establishment of the *Navajivan Press* in October 1919 the *Young India* began to be published as a weekly from Ahmedabad The Gujarati weekly *Navajivan* began in September Later on the Hindi edition too was added

The press and the weeklies had a chequered career They are a faithful record of the National Movement of that period. All the weeklies stopped in the beginning of 1932

6 *Majur Mahajan* or the Labour Union, Mirzapur Road Ahmedabad (1920)

7 *Satyagrahashram* Wardha (1920), under the guidance of Shri Vinoba Bhave. The enthusiasm of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj and the guidance of Shri Vinoba backed by the always available advice of Gandhiji were responsible for the founding closing or re shaping of the following institutions at Wardha and its suburbs

a *Kanya Ashram* Wardha closed in 1935
b *Mahila Ashram*, Wardha 1935
c *Gram-Seva Mandal* Nalwadi (Wardha)
d *Gosevа Charmalaya* Nalwadi (Wardha)
e. *Mahavogi (Leper) Ashram*, Dattapur (Wardha)
f *Gosevа Sangha*, Gopuri Wardha, 1941
g *Gram* [illegible] Wardha
h [illegible] Wardha
i *Paramdi* [illegible] (Wardha) headquarters of Shri Vinoba [illegible] past

8 *Gujarat* [illegible] Ahmedabad (1920)

9 *Suarij* [illegible] Bardoli Dist Surat (1922)

10 *Gandhi Seva Sangha* Wardha (1923) founded by Shri Jamnalal Bajaj its first president

11 *All India Spinners Association* Sevagram (Wardha) (1925) It was started by a resolution of the All India Congress Committee at Patna on 22 9 1925 under its auspices, *Khadi Vidyalaya* Sevagram

12 *Akhil Bharat Gosevа Sangha*, Sabarmati (1928) now at Wardha

13. *All India Harijan Sevak Sangha* Kingsway New Delhi (1933)

14 The *Harijan* — English (1933)

The *Harijanbandhu* — Gujarati (1933)

The *Harijansevak* — Hindustani (1933) The English *Harijan* was the first to be published under Gandhiji s all but nominal editorship from the Yeravda Central Prison Poona. Translations followed a little later They continued with a suspension of more than a year till August 1942 They have been resumed since 10 3 1946 with the addition of the *Harijansevak* in the Urdu script

Besides these four weeklies the Navajivan publishes books in Gujarati English, Hindustani Marathi and Urdu.

15. *All India Village Industries Association* Magan wadi Wardha (1934) This was started by a resolution of the Indian National Congress Under its auspices.

a *Gramseवak Vidyalaya*, Wardha
b *Magan Sangrahalaya*, Wardha (1946)

16 *Sevagram Ashram* (1936) Gandhiji began to stay at Segaon since 30 4 1936 On 5 3 1940 the village was named by Gandhiji as Sevagram

17 *Hindustani Talimi Sangha* Sevagram (Wardha) (1938) This was started by a resolution of the Indian National Congress

18 *Hindustani Prachar Sabha* Wardha (1942)

19 *Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust* Bajajwadi Wardha (1944).

20 *All India Nature Cure Foundation* Poona (1946)

21 *Nisargopachar Ashram* Uruli Kanchan Dist Poona (1946) K G Moshruwala

CONTENTS

		PAGE
GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND	K. G MASHRUWALA	341
SPURIOUS MEDICINES	K G MASHRUWALA	342
GANDHIJI'S TEACHINGS IN TAMILNAD		342
INTOXICATION OF OFFICE	G M	343
THE JAIPUR CONGRESS	K G MASHRUWALA	344
A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA—II	RAJENDRA PRASAD	344
VARIOUS DOUBTS ANSWERED	M K. GANDHI	346
FONDNESS FOR ENGLISH	K G MASHRUWALA	346
BAPU MANDAP	KRISHNADAS GANDHI	347
RESOURCELESS SUBJECTS	K. G MASHRUWALA	347
SELF CONTROL vs. GOVERNMENT CONTROL	HOPE	347
QUESTION BOX	K. G MASHRUWALA	348
NOTES		
TO LOVERS OF GANDHIAN LITERATURE	JIVANJI DESAI	341
GANDHI CITY	K G M	343

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year—Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

For Unity

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

HARIJAN

VOL XII No 42 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY DECEMBER 19 1948 TWO ANNAS

QUESTIONS FOR AUTHORITIES

The following questions have been put to me by several correspondents Some of them have been coming to me for a long time I have refrained from expressing any opinion on them for want of proper material I put them off for a long time in the hope that the authorities concerned would explain their position But it has not yet come I think I must nor postpone further giving ventilation to people's queries I shall be glad to publish authoritative answers to them if received

1 The principal attack is against the salary of about Rs 20 000 per month drawn by the Governor General Most of the questioners have expressed surprise that perhaps the most frugal and the simplest leader of our country should be made the recipient of an indefensibly high salary, to reside in an immensely big palace and move about with an unnecessarily large number of escort

2 The Bombay Governor's salary is another criticized item He has voluntarily reduced his salary from Rs 10 000 to 5 500 per month but it is still I understand about Rs 3 500 per month more than that drawn by other Governors

3 The salaries to Indian Ambassadors range from Rs 3 000 to Rs 12 000 per month *plus* representation allowances It is alleged that they spend a good deal on giving entertainments Not only so but even liquor is served at these parties What is the justification for these salaries as also for the use of liquor? Is it in accordance with India's prohibition policy?

4 The minimum fee for an admission ticket at the Jaipur Congress is Rs 10 It is too heavy for the poor population of India For besides the ticket charges visitors have necessarily to bear various other expenses for boarding lodging travelling visit to the exhibitions etc The heavy charge effectively shuts off the humble ones of India, and makes that august assembly a reserve for the well to do The session is expected to cost Rs 50 lakhs Taking a present rupee at one fourth of the former value the expenditure still means nearly 12 to 13 lakhs It shows that the style of the Congress is year by year progressing towards more and more luxurious comforts and shows Each succeeding Reception Committee seems to feel that it must outdo its predecessor in providing a more luxurious show Now that the Congress rules India, it is able to manage it But is it justifiable? Does it benefit India? If so how?

5 It is also asked why the Congress should have chosen this cold time of the year for holding a session in the north of India The season itself will add to the expenses of the visitors Woolen clothings and coverings in the present times mean a few hundreds per head Besides people of South India may not have a proper idea of the intensity of the cold in the north They are likely to come insufficiently protected and take ill Why has the old resolution to hold the Congress session in March or thereabout been abandoned?

I hope the authorities concerned will satisfy the popular curiosity

Bombay 5-12-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH

I have received recently some literature about this institution It has come to me from more correspondents than one with a request that I should recommend the removal of the ban against it. I was inclined to maintain silence about it in the *Harijan* as I had no material before me to enable me to conclude that the Government ban against it was unjustifiable It appears, however that some sympathizers of this institution have been working on its behalf at least in Gujarat Under the circumstances it is necessary to express my opinion publicly

I regret to say that I have misgivings about the alleged innocence and loftiness of the aims and objects of this institution This opinion was formed long before Gandhiji's death, in fact, since about 1940 During my imprisonment in 1942-44, I had an opportunity of looking into a few Marathi magazines in which this institution was discussed both by its friends and critics I also used to get information about it in Wardha My misgivings about it became stronger every time Of its slogan 'Love for Hinduism and Ill-will towards None', my opinion is that the last half is not true It has, from all that I have heard about it and read of its literature ill-will and dislike for Muslims

Some of my dear and respected friends had sufficiently come under its influence to feel sympathetic towards it and they tried to attract me towards it I warned them not to make a mistake It was not appreciated then Their views have changed since, and they regret having given some kind of support then Under these circumstances I feel unable to plead on behalf of the R. S. S.

Bombay, 6-12-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

CONSCRIPTION FOR SERVICE

[The following is another letter on the subject of conscription for service. In editing it I have omitted certain portions, not absolutely necessary for elucidation, to save space. The letter, of course, does not touch that aspect of resistance to conscription to which Mr Horace Alexander has referred in the letter published in the *Harijan* dated 14th November, 1948 —K G M]

In answer to your question, Do you think I have departed from pacifism in my answer to the question on compulsory training?' I answer quite simply, 'No!'

I can give you only my own point of view, not that of an European pacifist, which, I am afraid I do not know My own has grown as a result of the study of Gandhiji's philosophy during the many years that India has been home

Conscription as clearly stated by you in the *Harijan* of the 9th May does not imply either the necessity to carry arms or to engage in the violence of war

There is plenty of work to be done in India which has no bearing whatsoever on war Especially at this time when the country is undergoing the pains and difficulties of its new birth, every able bodied man and woman should be ashamed to live a life of ease and comfort made possible only by the keeping in subjection and ignorance the vast majority of the country Those days are gone. The moral and mental forces of every son and daughter of India should be 'conscripted' to serve the country in that capacity to which the individual is most fitted The man or the woman who is not directly or indirectly engaged in some work of creation or of service, is living on the labour of others

The *true* conscientious objectors are far fewer than at first appear How many are willing to undergo the hardships such a life imposes? It is not any outside authority which can prescribe the disciplines It is a matter of *self* discipline

Those who would get the full import of the life of the *satyagrahi* will do well to read *and to study* what Gandhiji has written Fearlessness is the corner stone of the temple of Truth — fearlessness which gives the *satyagrahi* a living faith in the Divine Law No longer can he entertain anxiety for the consequences of his acts His interest is with the action only not with the fruits Not to lie — not even to misrepresent in business or take what seems a legitimate enough advantage of one's competitor not to play the hypocrite and pose for something better than we know ourselves to be, and perhaps consent to live on an income derived at least in part from investments in war supporting industry, to be humble but courageous to be as stern with ourselves as we are lenient to the weaknesses of others to speak the truth in the face of the world's opposition if necessary, to know neither caste nor class distinction, ready to call the craziest sot our brother, and finally to practise a religious tolerance, nor let a difference of opinion [illegible] from another — no it is not easy. We [illegible] the lonely man and woman in all truly great men have been lonely The Buddhas and the Christs have been lonely Gandhiji was a lonely man

If a man finds no prudent companion who walks with him, in wise and lives soberly let him walk alone taught Lord Buddha It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool

Nor can we take life however indirectly save and except as it becomes absolutely necessary to sustain the health and life of man We cannot become lunatics lest in seeking to avoid violence", we end by killing ourselves! Since it is on the plane of the mind that all action takes place even to wish our adversary ill is already a violation of the law of *ahimsa*. Yet conscientious objectors think of killing exclusively in terms of wars and murder How many of them refrain from eating meat? How many spare the life of mosquitoes bananas at some later date they may (or they may not) sting them? How many others find recreation in fishing or in shooting harmless birds? To kill in order to sustain life is not the same as killing for sport And so much that passes for necessary killing might be avoided were we to change our habits of cleanliness and sanitation so that cockroaches rats and rats which infest so many of our Indian homes would never be attracted to us.

Finally, how many think that not to take the life of the physical body fulfils the demands of *ahimsa*, and fail to consider the wholesale slaughter of innocent reputations and fair names with all the consequent sufferings that results from idle gossip whispered innuendoes or a wilful silence when a strong stand taken might save more than a mere life? Such an application of *ahimsa* may be far beyond many of us but as teaches Patanjali 'Realization comes from dwelling on the ideal to be realized!

Let a man become a true votary of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* as it was understood and taught by Gandhiji and there will be no danger of his being conscripted to kill. When he has reached the necessary stage of self-purification his *karma* will remove him from the fields of physical murder The Law is not subservient to the whims of governments and men.

But for the sake of argument let us suppose that the *dharma* of a true *satyagrahi* necessitates his being conscripted in the army there are other duties than that of killing which may fall to him And suppose that even he is given gun and ordered to shoot the nation's enemy — he has still the power of choice — no man living can force him to commit that murder if he honestly believes it is wrong He himself may be shot, but what of it? He will not be the first to die for his principles And whether we die today or tomorrow matters very little since die we all shall and death comes as a release and

as a blessing to one who meets it in the fearless performance of his duty *Ahimsa* demands physical and moral martyrs—*no coward can practise ahimsa*

You ask about the import of conscription in Europe It differs with the country In Germany and Italy before the last war, conscription meant just one thing preparation and eagerness for war In Switzerland where there is no such thing tolerated as conscientious objection, the ideal is just the opposite Every able bodied Swiss must undergo his military training After the prescribed years of concentrated training are passed, men are obliged to go out for a period of training every year Every Swiss citizen is a soldier He keeps his equipment, gun, ammunition and uniform, in his home Far from seeking war, the Swiss is determined to remain free and independent whatever wars may rage like angry seas against his country's borders. Such has been his military training that it would never occur to him to use his gun against his neighbour Periodically his equipment is inspected by government authorities he regards it as a sacred trust I believe that very much the same idea exists in Scandinavian countries

Such conscription far from having prepared Switzerland for wars of violence has enabled her to maintain her neutrality throughout two great European wars.

In India today we need vast armies of social workers, we need men and women trained to go out into the villages and live and labour with the peasant—*as the peasant* The great difficulty is that those who have any training shy clear of village life with its hardships and primitive amenities. This must be overcome The "conscript army" of workers must be fired with a passion to sacrifice themselves for it is only through complete consecration and a self forgetfulness that their offering may become a sacrament

Such was the ideal of Gandhiji Such was his life He was a practical idealist though he knew that the ideal could not be realized Like the moth even may enter the Light but to reach the Sun of Perfection is not for mortal man. 'Non violence presupposes ability to strike" he wrote " if we do not know how to defend ourselves our women and our places of worship by the force of suffering, i e non violence we must if we are men be at least able to defend all them by fighting."

"Difficulty abnegation, martyrdom death, are the allurements that set on the heart of man," wrote Carlyle

Then let only those get relief from military training and service who have a conscientious objection to violence *and absolute faith in satyagraha* If that faith is true and pure, they will not object to being conscripted for such training and the rendering of such service as could be compared with the hard life and service of persons in the military

Cologny-Geneve,
Switzerland, 18-9-48 DONALD C TOWNSEND

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M K Gandhi)

VI

SWADESHI

At the Ashram we hold that Swadeshi is a universal law A man's first duty is to his neighbour This does not imply hatred for the foreigner or partiality for the fellow-countryman Our capacity for service has obvious limits We can serve even our neighbour with some difficulty If every one of us duly performed his duty to his neighbour, no one in the world who needed assistance would be left unattended to Therefore one who serves his neighbour serves all the world. As a matter of fact there is in Swadeshi no room for distinction between one's own and other people To serve one's neighbour is to serve the world Indeed it is the only way open to us of serving the world One to whom the whole world is as his family should have the power of serving the universe without moving from his place He can exercise this power only through service tendered to his neighbour Tolstoy goes further and says that at present we are riding on one another's backs, it is enough only if we get down This is another way of putting the same thing No one can serve others without serving himself And whoever tries to achieve his private ends without serving others harms himself as well as the world at large The reason is obvious. All living beings are members one of another so that a person's every act has a beneficial or harmful influence on the whole world We cannot see this, near-sighted as we are. The influence of a single act of an individual on the world may be negligible. But that influence is there all the same and an awareness of this truth should make us realize our responsibility

Swadeshi therefore does not involve any disservice to the foreigner Still Swadeshi does not reach everywhere for that is impossible in the very nature of things- In trying to serve the world, one does not serve the world and fails to serve even the neighbour In serving the neighbour one in effect serves the world Only he who has performed his duty to his neighbour has the right to say 'All are skin to me But if a person says 'All are skin to me' and neglecting his neighbour gives himself up to self-indulgence, he lives to himself alone

We find some good men who leave their own place and move all over the world serving non-neighbours They do nothing wrong, and their activity is not an exception to the law of Swadeshi Only their capacity for service is greater To one man only he who lives next door to him is his neighbour For a second man his neighbourhood is co-extensive with his village and for a third with ten surrounding villages Thus every one serves according to his capacity A common man cannot do uncommon work Definitions are framed with an eye to him alone, and imply everything which is not contrary to their spirit When he observes the law of Swadeshi, the ordinary man does not think that he is doing any service to anybody He

daily [illegible] on [illegible] when this is inconvenient One [illegible] that Swadeshi is the law of life will observe it even on such occasions Many of us at present are not satisfied with the quality of goods made in India, and are tempted to buy foreign goods It is therefore necessary to point out that Swadeshi does not simply minister to our convenience but is a rule of life Swadeshi has nothing to do with hatred of the foreigner It can never be one's duty to wish or to do ill to others

(Translated from Gujarati by V G D)

(*To be continued*)

HARIJAN

December 19 1948

FOR UNITY

When last February the question was discussed as to whether the *Harijan* should be continued or not I strongly favoured its discontinuance, and the starting of another paper on much the same lines but with this difference that it would be just our own effort without using the title, style and fame of the little paper so completely associated with, and sacred to Bapu It had seemed to me unthinkable that the *Harijan* should continue in its original form, and when the decision was taken to carry it on I could not bring myself to write for it For years and years every word that appeared in the *Harijan* passed before Bapu and none of us not even Mahadev escaped the stroke of his editing pen How often have I sat near Bapu and watched him reading through articles written by others for the *Harijan* At such times he was completely concentrated He never needed to re tead, or cogitate, but would just quietly pass his pen through words, sentences or whole paragraphs as he went along and write a word or two of his own in their place Sometimes Mahadev would be sitting by watching these operations on his own writings and there were moments when a little grunt of astonishment or gentle disappointment would escape him when he saw the relentless pen passing through sentence after sentence And then, when Bapu would begin writing down his corrections Mahadev would lean forward with keenest interest to see what Bapu could be saying which would express, in a few words, a deleted paragraph !

Such thoughts and sacred memories had deterred me from writing all this time, in spite of the pleasure it would have given me to support so old a friend as Kishorlalbhai, who, against overpowering odds of bad health, has heroically carried the burden of editorship on his frail but tireless shoulders But recently when I emerged from Pashulok, and spent some ten days in Delhi I was disturbed to find the extent to which cohesion was lacking amongst us Nobody could tell me where Vinoba had gone Kumarappa had vanished no one knew where, Kripalani was [illegible] Pyarelal's programme was unknown and [illegible] torch — and our activities seem to be [illegible] as ourselves Bapu had been [illegible] lower round whose physical form we all [illegible] in common devotion Are we to lose [illegible] because the bodily presence has passed away ? That would indeed be a tragedy of tragedies for the first and the greatest memorial we can [illegible] to Bapu is unity of purpose and action amongst ourselves Our weekly paper naturally should be [illegible] meeting ground and it is for that reason in spite of the sentiments expressed above that I feel the need to come back again to these columns

On all sides there are [illegible] and policies which we had never dreamed of for Free India in the old days In this welter of [illegible] and delusion it behoves those of us who *believe* to hold together to the end We are like ship-wrecked sailors clinging to a raft in a mighty storm while clutching in our hands a priceless treasure But there is a Star above to which our raft is hitched and so long as we hold fast, no waves can drown us or peril prevent us from reaching harbour with our priceless treasure, the Word of Truth

Pashulok, 2-12-48 MIRABEHN

[I am sure the readers will welcome the return of Mirabehn — K. G M]

SETTLEMENT OF THE MEO PROBLEM

After detailed consultations with Shri Triloksinghji (Government officer in charge of the work) in connection with the rehabilitation of dispossessed Meo Muslims of the Gurgaon district (East Punjab), Shri Vinoba addressed a meeting at Nuhu where they had been waiting to hear him.

He told them in brief what had transpired between him and Triloksinghji and assured them that most of the hurdles that beset the path of negotiations had been removed. The old order he said under which they were looked upon and treated as subjects by the officers of the British rule was now over under Swaraj, which meant their own government Every officer of the new State was now a servant of the people and they were his principals And provided they looked upon the State as their own and were loyal to it he assured them that they would be treated exactly on a par with the rest of their countrymen The Government were anxious that all their hardships should be removed and they should be rehabilitated in a satisfactory manner One of their main hardships he knew, was in respect of the payment to be made for the lands allotted to them He was glad to announce that the Government had appreciated their difficulty and dispensed with the payment He therefore exhorted them to avail themselves of the concession, occupy the lands and start working without delay As for their dessed that non Meos such as Khazzadas Sayada Shaikhs and others should also be rehabilitated along with them, Shri Vinoba informed them that the scheme under discussion was restricted for the benefit of the

Meos only, but he [illegible] that there was a s[illegible] Muslims also and th[illegible]

Referring to the [illegible] should have been allow[illegible] allotted to refugees he [illegible] had occurred they would [illegible] if any of the lands reserve[illegible] allotted to refugees the [illegible] lands in lieu of them. The [illegible] much responsible for them as for the refugees. T[illegible] would also get the houses available in Palwal [illegible] other places without difficulty

Other hardships too which they were undergoi[illegible] the speaker continued would be tackled by th[illegible] local officials In a fit of madness both Hindus an[illegible] Muslims wrecked vengeance on one another Ate[illegible] enough ruin was wrought they began to turn sane. The Hindus then began to realize that the Muslim[illegible] were their brethren The Muslims too had felt the fo[illegible] of Pakistan and were anxious to migrate leav[illegible] their hearths and homes A brief experience m[illegible] illusioned them and they realized that their interest lay in staying in their own places

He was told that village officials took bribe[illegible] He was not surprised Such practices debased both the giver and the taker He who gave the [illegible] an opportunity to be corrupt in order to serve his immediate personal end was as much a sinner as the man who took bribe He was also told that the Meos were somewhat of a criminal tribe He did not give credence to the story The Meos were a community of agriculturists The tiller of the soil to his mind walked always in the fear of God When a draught occurred he did not repair to the Commissioner but prayed to God who alone was the giver of relief He had thus something of a direct relation with God. He could not belong to a criminal tribe He was sure that the Meos would falsify the charge against them by their conduct and engage themselves in agriculture forthwith

One of the audience interrupted to say that they could do so only when they got the lands Shri Vinoba admitted that it was undoubtedly so He had tried his best to secure lands for them as early as last May but the Government machinery as they knew well moved slow and even urgent business often took time to be transacted God's agents, the seasons and the rain however did not wait for men's unpreparedness and functioned with regularity So they were late for the season The blame was on his sole not theirs He nevertheless hoped that they would give a good account of them by their industry in agriculture [A voice We will]

Continuing Shri Vinoba said he had heard their grievances and also told them what was being done for them With regard to several minor complaints they would do well to settle with local officials who were there to serve and help them Besides Shri Satyam the speaker's representative was in their midst for the last six months He was their whole time servant He would mediate between the officials and them and fear neither

[illegible] against [illegible] If they [illegible] but after [illegible] and bhumi [illegible] their case [illegible] losses [illegible] officials [illegible] or those dis[illegible] moss for a year [illegible] alive If they [illegible] All Qui Gorgin [illegible] displaced [illegible] discharge your responsibilities truly [illegible] generated under momentary [illegible] forgotten like an evil dream It is [illegible] of our people—their weakness as [illegible] lness—that we blame Fate for [illegible] them

[illegible] to the Meos he said that he [illegible] come before the authorities [illegible] ability and would with equal [illegible] with the Meos to be patient For [illegible] virtue and yielded great results [illegible] Holy Quran extolled patience as one [illegible] ties when it said [illegible] things to those that practise patience

D M

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

COMPULSORY SERVICE FROM BARBERS

A reference to *veth* (enforced service) by the potters of Gujarat has already appeared in the *Harijan* The following letter from Shri Purushottam Parekh Secretary to the Committee for the Removal of *veth* appointed by the Gujarat Navi Brahman Sabha relates to *veth* which the *nayis* (barbers) are required to perform in Gujarat Their demands appear to be quite just and there should be no difficulty in complying with them

There are in the villages of Gujarat only two castes which have to undergo the harassment of *veth* (enforced service) from amongst the so called *antyajas* (art sau settlers) They are the potter (*kumbhar*) and the *nayi* (barber) Everywhere it is compulsory for the *kumbhar* to fetch water But I shudder to describe the humiliating duties which the *nayi* is forced to render for a whole day.

'In the early morning he is required to present himself before the officer visiting the village He waits upon him while he cleans his teeth and washes his mouth giving him tooth stick water etc. Then he fetches milk and makes tea for him, and sweeps the premises That over he gives a massage to the officer and then the bath and afterwards washes his clothes Then he has to fetch from the market articles required for his mid day meal He has also to wash the utensils used by him during cooking and taking food Then at 3 p m he has to attend upon him again, for his evening tea This entails the bringing of milk, sugar and tea powder boiling the decoction, serving it to the officer and again cleansing the vessels Thereafter he must find cots beds, and covers from various places in the

village for the officer a sleeping arrangements at night and arrange them properly Then he brings again articles needed for the evening meal, and again cleanses the vessels He has also to keep ready and kindle the lamps in the evening and when the officer retires to bed at night he has to shampoo his legs. Thus it is nearly at midnight that he returns home after performing all these tasks. Thus for centuries past there prevails in the large States of Gujarat this tyrannical *vath* by the village servants. The only return for this is an annual remuneration of Rs 8 to 10.

There are usually about 10 to 15 houses of potters and barbers each in a village and the members of both these castes have to suffer this unbearable harassment We wonder how long it will be allowed to continue even with Congress leaders in office!

I suggest that a paid *nayi* should be appointed for the village and so too a blacksmith a carpenter, a *kumbhar* and others The blacksmith and the carpenter are not required to perform any duty when Government officers visit the village, but these artisans are necessary for the service of the peasants of the village, and when the villages were founded, they were expressly made to settle down there and lands were assigned to them These lands must be deemed their rightful heritage

It is the *nayi* and the *kumbhar* who have to perform the *vath* The *kumbhars* have to supply free of cost earthen pots and fetch water In the same way over and above the work of shaving and other services connected with the barber's profession *nayis* have to render the above mentioned services All these can be got done by payment of wages and no one would have any objection if it is got done from a person of any other caste or community He may be even a *dharala* or a *waghri*, a *bajania* or a *mali* a *kunbi* or a brahman — whoever is willing to do it for the payment of wages offered Instead of this this compulsory service is being exacted from these communities by the rule of the rod There have been agitations in the past to do away with it and it should now be done away with forthwith, and compulsory enforcement of *vath* must be penalized by law

Hundreds of years ago when the villages were founded these communities were made to settle down there for the social and economic benefit of the people of the village concerned and in consideration of their services they were given small rent free pieces of land in perpetuity in the village for their subsistence These communities live in villages even today, and serve a useful purpose in the economic life of the people But it is believed that the system of *vath* by *nayis* and *kumbhars* was introduced during the British regime Hence there is no connection between these services and their occupancy rights. All the same a *vasavya* (artisan settler) who is unwilling to perform the *vath* would be prepared to pay the ordinary assessment if Government thinks it proper to demand it, as the price for doing away with this type of slavery

Bombay 9-11-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

(From the original in Gujarati)

NEW EDUCATION

[The new session of the Nai Talim Bhavan (Basic Training College) at the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram was inaugurated by Prof Humayun Kabir, Secretary Education Department Government of India The proceedings began with community prayer in the Mahadev Bhavan, where the students and workers of the several institutions of constructive work joined

Shri Ashadevi Assistant Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh welcomed Prof Humayun Kabir, explained the fundamental principles according to which the work of *Nai Talim* was carried on by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Sevagram and introduced the students province-wise The total strength of the trainees is 101, and they have been deputed by the different provincial governments and States

1	The Government of Madras	12
2	The Government of Assam	27
3	The Government of Orissa	9
4	The Government of Bihar	8
5	The Government of Cochin State	6
6.	The Government of Mysore State	6
7	The Government of Udaipur State	7
8	The Government of Panna State	1
9	The Government of Patna State	1
10	Candidates deputed by different institutions of constructive work throughout India	22
		101

She was followed by Prof Humayun Kabir, who gave a short talk on the work of Basic Education and symbolically inaugurated the Training Course by lighting a lamp to represent the light of knowledge which should spread throughout India through Basic Education His speech is reported below]

I am deeply grateful to the organizers of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh for giving me the opportunity of participating in the inauguration ceremony of the Graduate Teachers' Training Course in the New Education I have come to Sevagram after nine years The first time when I was here, Bapu was among us and his influence pervaded the whole place His influence has for a long time pervaded the whole country. Someone said that out of dust he made us men I can think of no better description of his service to India.

Of his many gifts to the nation I think, the experiment of New Education is one of the greatest. This experiment aims to create a new type of individuals in our society The whole effort of education is to make new individuals, to shape new human beings who can contribute to the wellbeing of the society The experiment of New Education serves to prepare new individuals by teaching young people to live together as a community on the basis of co-operation, love and truth

There are many defects in our system of education The British built that up for their own purposes They wanted men who could help them in carrying on the administration. They were not

very much interested in the education of the rest who constitute the vast majority of the people

I would refer specially to two defects of our existing educational system. It has created a bifurcation in our lives. The so-called 'educated' and the so-called 'illiterate have been sharply differentiated one from the other Present-day India is divided socially economically, and politically Of even greater danger is this bifurcation of India into the literate and illiterate. If we go to the villages we see that the so-called educated' man does not even know how to talk to the so-called 'illiterate The illiterate also does not sit with the so-called educated man. The educated man did not often behave properly with the illiterate and neglected them. This is seen in all parts of the country Bapu saw the danger of such bifurcation and introduced this new system of education It aims at reconstructing the social structure and bridging the great gulf which was created I know that you who have come here are workers, who have faith in this work and the work can be done only when there are honest and sincere workers

The other great defect of the old education was that it was one-sided It developed the intellect, or perhaps not even the whole intellect, but only the linguistic ability of the pupil The New Education aims to make education comprehensive so that it may lead to the all round development of the individual The emphasis on linguistic skill in the old system was inevitable A foreign administration required linguistic experts and did not need whole men. Now that India has attained her political freedom we must reconstruct our social structure. This can be done only through a new type of education Bapu introduced this New Education to train new individuals, new human beings Whenever people start anything new they are in a minority It may even be a minority of one in hundreds You, who have come here, will get back and may have to work in a minority of one among hundreds, but you must not lose heart for what the minority think and do today the majority do tomorrow if the minority follow the truth and have the right spirit

Some may say that the New Education has only just begun It has not attained finality I would say that the New Education will have finality. As Shri Ashadevi said just now, only a beginning has been made The vast task lies ahead and everyone must strive for all we are worth. In her words let our spirit be like that of Newton when he said that he was only playing with the pebbles on the shore and the vast ocean of knowledge lay unexplored before him

I am glad that you have come to take training in New Education from the place where it originated You will, I am confident, catch the spirit of the work and take it to your own places It is the spirit in a teacher that makes all the difference to education No system can succeed if the teacher is not of the right spirit. India is facing a number of problems today and is undergoing terrific changes It is the duty of the teacher to build up our nation's social structure so that we can take our rightful place in the world. Rome was not built in a day If we want to build our nation, we have to go slowly and steadily and never lose heart So it is with the ideals of this New Education If a system alone could work gramaphone records would have taken the place of the teacher Education is a process of mental enlightenment Just as one lamp lighted up another lamp the illumination in the mind of the teacher illumines the mind of the pupil and there is greater light for both because of this co-operation. It is the spirit of the teacher that alone can carry out the ideals Every teacher should feel it his duty to take active and timely step in the reconstruction of India's communities. We want to build a society, where equality will rule, where hatred will be stamped out where honesty will be the order of the day

I think the thing I have liked best here is that you have tried to create such a community You had only read about co-operation, sympathy and self-help Here you are practising these virtues Where this true character of a school is revealed, that it is an epitome of society, the education cannot but be fruitful And in Sevagram we have a small world-community, a community representing all parts and languages of India I am confident, your stay here will instill in your minds a sense of the community of all Indian, and not only Indian, but all peoples of the world, and help you to train young citizens of India as citizens of a common world

I again thank the organizers of this Training Course for giving me an opportunity to take part and to inaugurate your training course

Prof Humayun Kabir also entered the following remarks in the Visitors' Book of the Hindustani Talim Sangh before he left Sevagram

"I am grateful to Shri Ashadevi and Shri Aryanayakam for the opportunity of seeing *Nai Talim* at work in the home of its origin I feel that the name they have chosen for the institution — Anand Niketan or Abode of Joy — expresses the spirit of the new learning Children learn not only through activity, but through joyful and creative activity, that has an immediate as well as a remote social significance. It is one of the first experiments in community living that I have ever seen, and I feel that its spirit should pervade education throughout India

"I am greatly impressed by the economics of the organisation. It has made universal free education for the masses capable of immediate realization and though it may be difficult to reproduce elsewhere all the conditions that one finds in Sevagram, the lessons of its experience should serve as an eye opener to educationists all over the country

"Two features in the *Nai Talim* which immediately strike an observer are the quiet self-confidence' and the 'sense of discipline' of the children They are more self assured because they have the joy of achievement in their work. They

[illegible] because they [illegible] learn [illegible] but there can be no [illegible] and discipline

[illegible] Gandhiji [illegible] to India and [illegible] Vinoba [illegible] and Ashramites and Aryanayakanis are carrying [illegible] his plans in his spirit

PROPOSITIONS TO SAVE INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Prof S R. Bhagwat, a great Poona worker in the cause of Rural Development puts forth the propositions summarized below for saving India's independence

1 India must solve without any more loss of time the immediate problem of carefully conserving increasing and developing to the maximum extent and within the shortest time possible all her available natural resources and power-sources with the sole object of making herself self-sufficient at least as regards food clothing and other essential necessities of decent standard of human life for everyone of her citizens

2 Educated patriotic Indians especially highly trained engineers and scientists — should unhesitatingly and boldly cast aside all the demoralizing methods and paraphernalia of narrow parochial professionalism — the area on of hypocritic foreign domination for a century and more and put their personal interests with the wider interests of India and the welfare of her struggling masses

3 It is urgently necessary to closely and relentlessly examine the present standards and methods of work and codes of specifications and regulations from the point of view of their suitability to the present conditions of her masses viz poverty ignorance lack of stamina and stamina power and condition of her vast [illegible] neglected and uncared for masses and leading for want of clear and [illegible] and elevation on the part of her intellectuals

4 Utmost effort is necessary to bring get out of the vicious circle viz

1 higher and higher prices and cost of living

2 more and more wages salaries and emoluments

3 higher and higher taxation

4 greater and greater starvation [illegible] and disorganization of the producers of real wealth

5 further and further neglect deterioration wastage and destruction of soil and natural resources

6 lesser and lesser produce of necessities of life

[illegible] to emergency programme [illegible] to stop further neglect [illegible] destruction of soil and [illegible] carefully planned [illegible] distribution of all available [illegible] also electrical and [illegible] forming a well-fitting [illegible] of the long range [illegible] of Rural Reorganization [illegible] on sound lines

[illegible] The present day trend of red tape administration through multiplication of specialised departments and their slow development rate so many watertight compartments is not only not suitable to the conditions at present prevailing in India but is positively hurtful to the organisation of the masses and a strong disciplined and self-reliant nation of patriotic and dutiful citizens

Prof Bhagwat proposes to convene a conference of such of the members of the Associations who appreciate the importance of these propositions in the first fortnight of January 1949 preceded by a short study tour in the valleys taken up by Mr S R. Bhagwat for the work of Regional Development

Those interested should correspond with him at address 232 Sadashiv Peth Poona 2

K G MASHRUWALA

Birthday

I think it would be a good thing to reserve birthday celebrations for children to whom really birth is an interesting mystery As for men of my age work matters and not a date in the calendar

C R.

GANDHIANA
(A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)
Compiled by
P G Deshpande

Nearly three thousand books in various Indian languages and in English have been classified and listed in this Bibliography

A title index also is included

Pages 254 Price Rs 3-4-0 Postage etc, 0-8-0

CONTENTS

		PAGE
QUESTIONS FOR AUTHORITIES	K. G MASHRUWALA	349
RASHTRIYA SWAYAM-SEVAK SANGH	— K G MASHRUWALA	349
CONSCRIPTION FOR SERVICE	DONALD C TOWNSEND	350
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION—VI	— M K GANDHI	351
FOR UNITY	MIRABEHN	352
SETTLEMENT OF THE MEO PROBLEM	— D M	352
COMPULSORY SERVICE FROM BARGERS	K. G MASHRUWALA	353
NEW EDUCATION	HUMAYUN KABIR	354
PROPOSITIONS TO SAVE INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE	K G MASHRUWALA	356
NOTE		
BIRTHDAY	C. R.	356

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Sarvodaya Exhibition

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 43 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY DECEMBER 26 1948 TWO ANNAS

THE SERVANT OF MAN

[I understand from Shri Kshitish Roy Editor, the *Visva Bharati* that the following song of Shri Rabindranath Tagore was written specially for the Christmas service held at Santiniketan in 1939

I recollect how deeply C F Andrews was moved (this was the last Christmas service he ever conducted) as this song was sung by our school choir It was rendered into English by Amiya Chakravarty and published in the January 1940 issue of the *Modern Review* The English rendering was sent to me first by a correspondent as a cutting from the *Bharat Jyoti* K G M.]

এক দিন যারা মেরে ছিল তারে যিশু
রাজার দোহাই দিয়ে,
এ যুগে তারাই জন্ম নিয়ে এ আজি
মন্দিরে তারা এলে এ ভক্ত সাজি।

ঘাতক হেঁকে ডাকি,
"মারো মারো" হাঁকে হাঁকি,
গর্জন মেশে স্তব মন্ত্রের স্বর।
মানবপুত্র গভীর ব্যথায়
কহিল "হে ঈশ্বর!
এ পান পাত্র নিদারুণ বিষে ভরা
দূরে ফেলে দাও দূরে ফেলে দাও ত্বরা॥"

Those who struck Him once
in the name of their rulers
are born again in the present age

They gather in their prayer halls in a pious garb
they call their soldiers
'Kill Kill' they shout.

In their roaring mingles the music of their hymns

While the Son of Man in His agony prays, 'O God, fling, fling far away this cup filled with the bitterest of poisons

Rabindranath Tagore

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K. Gandhi

Translated by Dr Shushila Nayyar

Price Rs 0-10-0 Postage etc 0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA—CLARIFICATION

Shri K G Mashruwala has asked me to clarify two points arising out of my articles recently published in the *Harijan*

I LANGUAGE OF HIGH COURTS UNIVERSITIES ETC

With regard to the first he writes

On the question of the language of High Courts and the medium of instruction in Universities do I understand you correctly that you are of the opinion that it should be the common language of India in both the cases, and not the provincial language?

Subject to change of opinion on further consideration my present feeling is as follows

(i) "The number of judgments to be appealed against before the Supreme Court, or deserving of being reported in Law Reports is generally very small In the first case it would not be very difficult to have the necessary records including judgments of the High Court — translated into the common language Even otherwise a good many original documents and records of proceedings of lower courts would have to be translated as at present Translation into the common language is much easier than into English

"With regard to Law Reports, it could be arranged I feel, to have report-worthy judgments authoritatively translated into the common language if they are not so already They will be very few out of the several delivered from day to day To avoid possible mistakes of translations, either the original judgments might also be reported, or there might be a double series one in the provincial language and the other in the common language.

(ii) "But this does not mean that the provincial language alone should prevail in the High Courts Both in High Courts and Universities both the common and the provincial languages should prevail equally All students and professors in universities, and legal practitioners and judges in Courts, who speak the provincial language must be permitted to use that language But with regard to those coming from other provinces, while they should be expected to understand and follow the provincial language they should be at liberty to express themselves

in the common language. As judges and others [illegible] in the provinces will be expected to [illegible] good and sound knowledge of the common language (indeed much superior to what many have of English today) they should not have any difficulty in following it. This would enable universities and the judiciary to draw upon the talents of other provinces. All Indian academies in whatever province located should of course use the common language. This will decide whether the common and the provincial languages run a parallel course abreast or one gains precedence over the other in some parts while the contrary is the case in others. In any case the common language will not be neglected.

(iii) This should solve the legislative problem also. Even if all legislation throughout the Union is originally passed in the common language its translation into the local languages will be necessary for the information of the public. While university students, lawyers and others might be expected to have a good command over the common language the same cannot be said of all legislators. Their convenience demands that legislation should be originally in the provincial language in the provincial legislatures. But every province should also publish its common language translation and in case of multi-linguistic provinces or for those legislators who prefer to speak in the common language there should be no obstacle in doing so.

In any case translations are unavoidable. Either you have to translate for the public, or for ex-provincial purposes. It would help the development of the provincial languages side by side with the common language if the original work is in the language of the province.

I think I have sufficiently indicated in the first article that the study of the common language will have to be intensified. I envisage a time when every person in India claiming to be educated will know at least two languages, namely the common language and the language of his own region. In a vast country like India this is the only possible solution if any kind of uniformity has to be maintained or rather if the country has not to be broken up into more or less independent units each having a language of its own which will be different from that of other regions. It will, therefore be necessary to intensify the study of the common language throughout the country. It may not be necessary for the universities all over the country to make the common language the medium of instruction but there is no doubt that a great many of their students will have to study the common language diligently if they hope to serve the country and keep themselves in touch with things of common interest all the country over. Lawyers, judicial officers, members of legislatures and teachers in superior grades must know the common language if they hope to be able to discharge their duties satisfactorily. As I have said, we cannot have research journals in about a dozen languages. Apart from the cost involved the utility of such journals will be greatly diminished if not destroyed even for this country, not to speak of their being used in foreign countries. If they are conducted in the common language they will be available to all research workers in the country at least and if they are of a standard high enough to command respect of scholars outside the country, the common language will be studied by foreign scholars also for keeping themselves up-to-date by studying Indian research journals. Therefore, what I contemplate is that as the study of the common language advances and deepens it would be utilized more and more in all spheres of activity where the appeal has not to remain confined to the limited regions but is addressed to the country as a whole. I do not know and cannot say at this stage when if ever it will be possible for all the High Courts to accept the common language for their purposes. If that is not accepted then in that case there is no doubt that their important decisions on law, as also under the like contingency, all the laws passed by the legislatures in the different regions will have to be made available in translation in the common language to the rest of the country and the accuracy of the translation will have to be guaranteed by the authorities concerned. Unless at least this much is done it will be impossible for the different regions to keep themselves posted with the affairs of the other provinces. I also contemplate that in every province there will be some newspapers in the common language which will circulate all over the country just as English newspapers do today.

If all this has to be done, then there is no escape from the fact that universities and other educational institutions should be able to give instruction in the common language of a pretty high order so that university students who care to go in for high administrative posts, for a political career and for high scientific and technical attainments, journalism etc. should be able to attain high proficiency in the common language. For this purpose study of the common language as a second language will have to be made compulsory from the high school stage onwards in every province and its study will have to be encouraged in every way.

No one need be frightened by this. I think Indians have a genius for learning languages and once this position is understood they will not take much time in mastering the common language whatever their own language might be. English is completely a foreign language and yet the very first generation of students after its introduction showed high proficiency in it. Ever since then proficiency in the English language acquired by Indians has not increased, knowledge of the English language has spread only in extent not in depth. There is therefore, no fear that if systematic instruction is started, any particular region will be left behind in the race of life. Such apprehension as there may be can easily be removed by some device for removing undue advantage which any particular region may have in this respect.

11 THE USE OF SANSKRIT

Shri Mashruwala's second reference is as follows

"The knotty and controversial point with regard to the eighth clause of your excellent conclusions is not that several new words will have to be drawn from Sanskrit, but the type of the words and the way in which they will be drawn or coined from that language You must have seen my comments on the *Three Translations* of the Draft Constitution in the *Harijan* (28-11-48) on this point. I strongly feel that the coined words should be such as would fit in well with the structure and genius of our spoken languages and be lovable for their simplicity to ordinary men, women, and children of all provinces for their sounds and pronunciations They must avoid pedantry and love for ostentation in style as much as possible"

I have suggested in the eighth conclusion of my article Sanskrit as a source from which we shall have to draw if we have to coin new words I agree that in this matter pedantry should be avoided and as far as possible coined words should fit in with the structure and genius of the spoken language and be lovable for their simplicity How far that will be possible it is difficult to say but there is no doubt that our efforts should be in that direction

Wardha, 10-12-'48 RAJENDRAPRASAD

EARTH HOUSES—V

The forms for the rammed earth work are just two parallel planks rigidly held together at a fixed distance, corresponding to the thickness of the wall to be built These planks have to be powerful to withstand the enormous pressure of the rammed earth, which has to be seen to be appreciated But since one form enough to build a house can be used again for building several houses, its cost is not excessive A well-made and carefully maintained form will last easily ten years even when constantly in use.

There are three ways of building houses out of earth and the forms are made accordingly

1 Ramming the entire house in as big sections as possible and aiming at a monolytic structure.

2 Ramming big (say 6' x 3' x thickness of the wall) blocks on the wall itself

3 Ramming small blocks of about ½ cubic foot each separately and building the house with

The bigger the form the less settings are required for the building of the house and the quicker is the progress of the work. But big forms are heavy and difficult to handle and also more expensive It should not take more than 3 to 4 people to set up a form.

Any hard, strong non-warping and non-cracking wood will do, but for permanent forms wood resistant to white ants should be selected

A single form of two planks or "sides" is sufficient for building a wall, but for ramming of corners a double form is required There are also triple forms for ramming of T joints, but nowadays the practice is to insert the partition walls after the main walls are completed.

The form the description of which will follow, will be found suitable for the building of small houses up to 1000 sq feet of plinth area When making bigger or smaller forms it is advisable to change only the length, but not the height of the form

A form will consist of the following parts

1 4 sides 8' x 3'6" x 2",

2 16 cleats 3'6" x 6" x 1",

3 16 braces 3'10" x 4" x 4",

4 2 end plates 3'2" x thickness of wall x 1

5 Several hundred distance pieces 2" x 2" x thickness of wall,

6 1 corner piece 3'2" x 4" x 4" or more according to the radius of the rounded corner

7 32 bolts 5/8" diameter x 32" long with square head and threaded 12",

8 64 washers 2" x 2" x ¼" with ⅝" hole.

9 32 5/8" nuts square or 32 wing nuts,

10 3 corner clamps

1 Sides Take 2 planks plane on both sides, tongue and groove Cut to 8' x 3½", join with glue Smoothen inner surface, test for flatness Apply linseed oil on both sides, twice

2 Cleats Take 1" planks plane one side, cut to 3½" x 6" until on outer sides of forms 24" apart, outer cleats flush with edge.

After nailing the cleats, drill holes 3/4" diam 6" apart along the bottom edge of the sides 4" from the edge The holes to fall on the middle lines of the cleats the first and the last 3" from the ends.

3 Braces Cut 4" x 4" timber 3'10" long, plane four sides drill 3/4" holes in the middle 4" away from end cut out slots 3/4" x 4" from the hole to the end

4 End plates Cut 1" plank, unplaned into lengths equal to the thickness of the wall. Put side by side to give 38" length Join with 2 cleats 38" x 4" x 1" nailed on. Take a 38" x 4" x 2" piece, bevel off the smaller sides Nail on the end plate to the middle on the other side than the cleats

5 Distance pieces Cut 2" x 2" wood into lengths to the thickness of the wall No planing

6. Corner piece Cut wood to 32" x 4". Cut across on the diagonal scoop out ¼ circle Change dimensions according to radius of curvature.

7 Bolts Take 5/8 mild steel round cut to length of 32", or more, if walls thicker than 18" are required Thread 1", jam on a square 5/8" nut and rivet or weld Thread the other end 12" long

8 Washers Take 2" x ¼" mild steel, flat, cut 2" lengths, drill 3/4" holes

9 Nuts Square nuts ready made For wing nuts take ½" x 1½" x 9" mild steel flats, bend 2" at one end to form 150° with the rest drill and tap for 5/8" screw at the shorter end

10 Corner clamps Take mild steel pieces 18" x 1½" x ½" Mark off A—1", B—7", C—11", D—17" from one end. Bend hot in the same direction to form the following angles at A—90°, at B—135° at C—135°, at D—90° Drill 3/4" hole in the middle of the BC section For each clamp a 5/8" x 6" bolt will be required with standard nut and washers The threaded portion should be 3"

MAURICE FRYDMAN

HARIJAN

December 26 1948

THE SARVODAYA EXHIBITION

[The following is a translation of Shri Vinoba's speech made while opening the Sarvodaya Exhibition on 11th December 1948.]

You have assigned to me the task of declaring this Exhibition open and I have great pleasure in doing so By itself the Exhibition is just like a drop in the ocean which India is But it is a drop of nectar capable of giving life and vitality to the villages of India

This Exhibition represents the devoted effort of several workers About five hundred workers belonging to various constructive institutions came over here from all parts of the country and this Exhibition is the outcome of their devotion and intelligence.

About six months ago a meeting of constructive workers belonging to the various institutions of Wardha was held there In the course of discussion it was suggested that it was not enough to serve the villages through these institutions alone Our workers should go from village to village to establish direct contact with the people Some of us should be spared for this kind of service This has not been possible till now because the workers are unable to give up their normal activities. But it is these same workers who came here to build up this Exhibition About a hundred workers have come from Wardha also They had to be torn away from their normal work This in itself should be enough to impress upon you the importance which they attach to this Exhibition I hope that the visitors to this Exhibition will profit by the labour of these workers I hope they will all study this Exhibition carefully with a view to discover its practical utility for our individual and national life

But one may well say that it is one thing to hope and quite another to reasonably expect the hope to be fulfilled About a million people will gather here during the next three or four days They will merely cast a hurried glance at the hundreds of things exhibited here Can you reasonably expect them to study or even see carefully under such circumstances? I concede that there is substance in this objection though I feel that there is use even in lakhs of people seeing these things in a cursory manner But I agree that this use will not be in proportion to the labour that has been invested

However those who have organized this Exhibition have done so with the enthusiasm born of a keen sense of duty I have been something of a mathematician and therefore I have not taken much part in such exhibitions in order to conserve my energy But this time I have come at the insistence of friends whom I could not resist And there is one more thing that has brought me here in spite of myself It is the name of this Exhibition — the name *Sarvodaya* You know that after the passing away of Gandhiji constructive workers from all parts of the country assembled at Sevagram and formed a loose sort of organization to be known as the *Sarvodaya Samaj* Wherever I go people ask me, What is this *Sarvodaya Samaj*? What kind of organization is it? I explain to them 'It is not just an organization It is a mighty word expressive of a revolutionary idea A powerful word is mightier than institutions Organizations do not possess the power that great words have Words have the power to make as well as to unmake Words elevate, words also degrade men and nations We have adopted one of these great words of tremendous power What does it signify? We do not want the rise of the few not even of the many or for that matter the rise of the greatest number We are not satisfied with the greatest good of the greatest number. We can be satisfied only with the good of one and all of the high and the low, of the strong and the weak the intelligent as well as the dull Only then will we be satisfied This word *Sarvodaya* expresses this lofty and all embracing sentiment

If you look at this Exhibition in this light you will find much to learn in it In the khadi section there are such simple and handy instruments which can be used for all processes from the ginning of cotton to the weaving of cloth. Even the use of gut is not necessary The *Nayee Talim* (Basic Education) section will convince you that your children can become efficient and intelligent producers of wealth There you will see several handicrafts which can be easily introduced in an average village Then there are models of several types of latrines which will improve not only the health and hygiene of the village but also its standard of decency and its production in terms of wealth.

Some people remark that this is an age of large scale production What use can it have for our small toy-like instruments? I tell them I am not satisfied with production only on large scale, or even with production on a larger scale but only with production on the largest scale Let us however, be clear as to what we mean by this production on the largest scale In my judgment it is only these small instruments which are capable of production on the largest scale because they need millions of people to use them In your large scale industries you can employ only a million or two million hands You can feed at the most a million or two million mouths But these small instruments require hundreds of millions to handle them They feed countless millions Will you call this small scale production? Tukaram the great saint of Maharashtra said My wealth and my store of food are not so limited as could be contained in a safe or a granary My property and wealth have been stored in every house. So vast is my wealth " The man who is proud of the pile that he keeps locked up in a steel-box or deposited in a bank has a small mind and a cramped

soul He whose wealth is [illegible] every house is rich both in wealth and [illegible] The man who compares a drop of rain with water stored in a cistern and belittles the value of the tiny drop betrays poor understanding The tiny drop of rain irrigates the entire earth giving fresh life to every blade of corn that grows Therefore it is mighty in spite of its littleness This Exhibition represents this revolutionary outlook The economy of village industries is the plan of universal production on the largest scale in its true sense

Some people ask us, 'Why do you organize these exhibitions under the auspices of the Congress? Why can you not start on your own? Has the Congress any use for your village crafts and even your *Sarvodaya*?' I tell them that I do not know exactly where the Congress stands with regard to these questions If it makes its position clear in this session we may be able to know But this much I can say with certainty that if we have come here as proteges of the Congress we are taking a great risk I see that Congressmen have begun in right earnest to squander all that they have earned by their past sacrifices They do not think of adding any new sacrifices to their credit They are rather anxious to cash their old sacrifices and live on them The desire for enjoyment is on the increase There is no end to malice and envy, and there is scant regard for truth I do not say this in a spirit of fault-finding I myself have been an humble servant of the Congress, though I always kept away from office But wherever the Congress had any use for my services I rendered them readily for what they were worth I am therefore making this statement with a feeling of sorrow in my heart. We who have gathered here should have the courage to bring the Congress round to our way of thinking We want to become one with the whole country We shall therefore go not only into the Congress but wherever we are allowed to go we shall place our views and our programme before the people They will accept what they deem useful We shall go about our work in the spirit of humility which inspired the great Narada Narada went to all the three worlds He went to the gods to the demons as well as to men. We shall also go to every community and to every place to which we have access If we are influenced by this spirit we shall be able to render valuable service both to ourselves and to our country We do not want to live under the patronage of any institution nor do we want to depend on the patronage of the powers that be. No revolutionary thought has ever been successfully propagated through the power of the State Power at best can give people a little peace and certain amenities that make life comfortable We should not expect any State to do for us anything more than this The great Buddha gave us a revolutionary thought but he did not use political power for the propagation of his thought On the contrary, he had to bid good bye to political power Gandhiji also did not want the power to rule for the propagation of his ideals He wanted *Swarajya* i e Self-rule *Rajya* is not the same thing as [illegible] is the rule of every [illegible] one In *Swarajya* [illegible] The power of the State spreads all over and withers away There is no occasion for its exercise It is this *Swarajya* which we must seek to realize Be our part in it to work in a spirit of sacrifice and absolute devotion to our work.

There is one more aspect from which I regard this Exhibition as important and useful. About five hundred workers have applied themselves to the work of building it up with single-minded devotion This has provided them with an opportunity to work as a team Hitherto they have been working independently in their own institutions Here they have been required to take a comprehensive and synthetic view of the whole plan This has provided them valuable training in corporate life and collective effort If as a result of this work they imbibe mutual affection and respect for one another develop an unshaking faith in truth and non-violence, a spirit of enterprise and self confidence and the capacity for intelligent approach their stay here will have served its purpose

I once more express the hope that those who visit this Exhibition, will try to study carefully all the exhibits as well as the different processes that are being demonstrated With this hope I declare this Exhibition open

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

MILK FOR BOMBAY

During the war period the last regime began the practice of purchasing milk for Bombay from, among others the Kheda district The practice still continues and that district supplies to Bombay 1200 lb of milk every day The Government has given a monopoly for this business to a co-operative society which includes among its share-holders the well known Polson Dairy

The Government purchases milk at as 0-3-3 per lb. and sells it to the public of Bombay at as 0-7-0 per lb The company collects milk from agriculturists at rates ranging from as 0-2-6 to 0-3-0 per lb It is said that the arrangement leaves to the Government a margin of Rs 3000 per day

The old code of ethics in India banned the sale of milk To give milk in exchange for price was regarded low The result was that milk could only be consumed at home and if there was a surplus it was utilized for extracting butter There was no ban on the sale of ghee or butter Since milk could not be sold, calves were allowed to suck their mothers genetously There was plenty of butter-milk in every house that produced milk and it was freely distributed to those who had none The reprehensible practice of selling milk has brought in a number of evils But this is not a subject I can dilate upon here. I confine myself to the question of the rate of milk

It must be recognized that the price of milk must be so fixed that the person who produces it by his labour should get sufficient return from it to enable him to maintain the animal in good condition and to obtain a living wage for himself for

the labour bestowed by him I have received complaints on behalf of the agriculturists of this district on this score Shri B B Patel of Borivi sends me figures to show that on the rates fixed by the Government there is an annual loss of Rs 469 nearly per buffalo of even the best kind in Kheda According to him the cost price of milk should not be less than as 0-5-6 per lb The price of as 0-3-3 per lb therefore is a destructively heavy loss I got his accounts examined by the Secretary of the Gujarat Goseva Sangh The Secretary reports that if the agriculturist had not to purchase grass and pay for grazing charges this cost price would be as 0-4-4½ per lb If he had to pay for these out of his pocket the cost would be higher He further says that the accounts of the Agricultural Institute of Anand seem to indicate that its cost price comes to as 0 4-9 per lb He is of the opinion that the rate should never be less than as 0-4-6 per lb But he adds that his figures are based on the basis of a good and well-cared for buffalo He confesses that it is as wrong to take good and well-kept buffaloes for making this calculation as it is to take the weakest ones The calculation should be based on buffaloes seen in the houses of most of the keepers and maintained in the usually accepted mode It is only when these owners get some return for their labours that they could be expected to improve their animals as also their mode of maintaining them He also says that the cost of fodder and other things have risen higher since

Whatever way you look it is clear that the present rate is inadequate. The Government has sufficient margin for the purpose It does not seem necessary to raise the price of milk in Bombay in order to give the rise If administrative charges come to as much as as 0-3-9 per lb after milk worth as 0-3 3 per lb then there must be something very wrong in the system of administration

The price is only a part of the problem My attention has been drawn to one more danger which has arisen from this milk business The agriculturists of Narsanda (Taluka Nadiad) complain that in order to facilitate speedy collection of milk from the producers the Government has framed a scheme for building a circular road to reach the various villages The scheme does not utilize the present roads but proposes to build an entirely new road cutting through large tracts under cultivation It will break several large fields into smaller ones, destroying various fruit-trees coming on the way and will utterly destory some poor cultivators who will be unnecessarily deprived of their lands under compulsory acquisition.

This is a striking example of how gigantic cities like Bombay become the cause of destruction and ruin to villages With a big city like Bombay a monster scheme is needed for keeping it healthy and well-provided. It means considerable expense And as all the expenses cannot be recovered from the consumers themselves the villages are made to suffer The ultimate solution for this is, of course strong village Panchayats They should have the capacity to resist their own exploitation. But this is possible only when the Panchayats become free from group politics corruption and dishonesty When the Panchayat becomes as they say, the mouth piece of God, i e of righteousness, truth, justice and equality then alone would they acquire the strength of resisting injustice and exploitation

Bombay 16-12-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

FIRKA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

The Firka Development Scheme was the outcome of the recognition that an all-round improvement of rural life demanded high priority among the activities of the Government. The villager had lost the initiative to organize and develop himself and the society around him and had to be awakened to his duties and responsibilities as a citizen of a free nation His habit of looking to Government for every small work which could be done quickly and satisfactorily by a little co-operation in the village had to be changed. The main objective of the scheme was therefore to stimulate initiative among the villagers to organize their economic and social life on co-operative lines with a view to make them self-reliant and self-sufficient The scheme will therefore have to be judged with reference to the extent to which it has succeeded in restoring this initiative and self-reliance to the villagers

The Firka Development work was taken up in 1946. A definite scheme was drawn up by a Committee of experienced constructive workers only in October 1947 and was introduced in the 34 selected *firkas* containing 2,839 villages as an experimental measure A new technique had to be adopted for the implementation of the scheme in view of the psychological revolution which it aims to bring about The work of the various departments of the Government had to be properly co ordinated to secure the maximum advantage The progress of the scheme was therefore inevitably slow at the beginning and is conditioned by the availability of a large number of workers with the new outlook. The results so far achieved have however been encouraging and the Government feel that an impartial observer visiting the areas where the scheme has been worked will not fail to be impressed by the change in the mental outlook of the villagers. The Government have started two camps for training workers and have planned to give this training to all workers employed under the scheme It is hoped that these workers when they return to their *firkas* will be able to turn out more useful work

Apart from this silent revolution which the scheme is slowly bringing about in the mental outlook of the villagers the work actually done to improve the amenities in the selected *firkas* has been substantial Works are generally carried out only where the

villages bring in their contribution either in cash or in the form of labour Emphasis is also laid on the execution of the works by the villagers bene fitted to the exclusion of profit earning outside agencies The amenities provided make a long list. The following are the more important of them

COMMUNICATIONS

Estimates for work valued at Rs. 29 68 255 have so far been prepared in respect of 780 items. 153 miles of new roads have been laid 19 roads or *vazies* have been repaired or improved 33 culverts, 12 dams and 7 foot bridges have been constructed two foot-paths have been formed and work on 21 roads is in progress.

WATER SUPPLY

Estimates valued at Rs 13 77 217 in respect of 682 works 91 new wells have been sunk and 143 old wells repaired Work on 231 new wells is in progress 20 drinking water sheds have also been constructed

SANITATION

A regular campaign to clean villages has been initiated and workers and villagers are jointly taking part in it in several *firkas* 50 new latrines about 16 of which are of the Wardha type were constructed and 120 dust bins were provided

PUBLIC HEALTH

Nine hospitals and one leprosy clinic have been brought into existence

EDUCATION

166 day schools and 172 night schools have been opened. 79 reading rooms and 19 Central and 181 Branch libraries have been started.

ELECTRICITY

The villages in the *firkas* have been given priority in the extension of electricity 8 villages of Palladam *firka* 2 villages of Kunde *firka* 2 villages of Sbermadevi *firka* and 8 villages of Thirumangalam *firka* have had the benefit of electrical supply so far Several schemes for the extension of electricity to villages in the *firkas* have been sanctioned and are under execution As and when materials are available they will be pushed through

OTHER ITEMS

Two animal husbandry units have been brought into existence 46 stud bulls have been supplied 16 poultry units started and 11 radio sets installed

It will be seen from the above that some appreciable progress was made. The greater part of this was done during the current year

The nature of the experiment is such that it cannot yield spectacular results in a short time

The Government welcome constructive and well-informed criticism of their scheme and invite the active co-operation of the public in their endeavour to make villages stronger healthier and more prosperous and the real inheritors of the newly won Freedom

(*From a Press Communique of the Madras Government slightly abridged*)

LEST WE FORGET

XII

SPIRITUALISM

I never receive communications from the spirits of the dead. I have no evidence warranting a disbelief in the possibility of such communications. But I strongly disapprove of the practice of holding such communications The practice is harmful both to the medium and the spirits, assuming the possibility of such communications

XIII

THE IDEAL LAWYER

The duty of a lawyer is always to place before the judges and to help them to arrive at, the truth never to prove the guilty as innocent

XIV

ANIMAL SACRIFICES

It is defaming God to offer animal sacrifices in temples What God wants if He can be said to want anything, is the sacrifice made by a humble and contrite heart

XV

VIVISECTION

My soul rebels against vivisection Why should I have to practise cruelty on lower animals which I would never practise upon myself ?

XVI

VEGETARIANISM

(a)

It is part of my religious conviction that man may not eat meat eggs and the like

(b)

A man eating meat but living in fear of God is nearer his salvation than a man abstaining from meat but blaspheming God in every one of his acts

---

Harijans as Domestic Servants

A correspondent writes

Those who advocate the removal of untouchability must set an example by removing all their domestic servants from their service and replacing them with Harijans, because example is better than precept This is sure to bring a complete change in the minds of temple authorities and set at rest the antagonistic atmosphere now prevailing Otherwise it would clearly show the hollowness of their preachings and austerity

While I endorse the suggestion, there is no necessary connection between temple-entry and the employment of Harijans as domestic servants In fact, the latter will follow more easily and imperceptibly when Harijans have freely begun to associate with caste Hindus in religious and social functions. The writer perhaps does not know that till the end of the last century the so-called high-caste Hindus, like Brahmans and *banias* did not take water or tea served by domestic servants of a lower caste, though not Harijans Now they may be observed as engaged in preparing and serving even food The writer does not also seem to know that actually Harijans have begun to be employed as domestic servants in many homes.

Bombay, 5-12-48 K G M

A FOURTH TRANSLATION

In addition to three translations of the Draft Constitution I understand from Shri Rajendrababu that there is a fourth one published by Shri Rahul Sankrityayan Shri Rajendrababu has kindly forwarded to me a copy of Shri Sankrityayan's translation of the portions referred to in the article *Three Translations* I reproduce them below

१४. १. अपराध दंड विधायक रक्षा

कोई व्यक्ति किसी अपराध के लिये तब तक दंडित नहीं किया जायेगा, जबतक कि वह किसी ऐसे विधान का उल्लंघन न करे, जो कि आरोपित अपराध के करने के समय प्रचलित रहा हो और न वह अधिक दंड का भागी होगा जितना कि अपराध करने के समय प्रचलित विधान के अनुसार किया जा सकता हो ।

२. कोई व्यक्ति दुबारा अपराध के लिये अेक से अधिक बार दंडित नहीं किया जायगा ।

३. किसी अपराध में अभियुक्त कोई व्यक्ति स्वयं अपने विरुद्ध गवाही देने के लिये विवश नहीं किया जायगा ।

१७. मनुष्य का क्रयविक्रय और बेगार बलात् काम लेने का प्रतिषेध

१८. चौदह वर्ष से कम आयुवाले किसी भी बच्चे से किसी भी कारखाने या खान में काम नहीं लिया जायगा और न उन्हें किसी दूसरे जोखिम के काम में लगाया जायगा ।

२४. सम्पत्ति प्राप्ति का निराबाध अधिकार

१ कोई व्यक्ति विधान के अधिकार के बिना अपनी सम्पत्ति से वंचित नहीं किया जायगा ।

५७ किसी योगायोग में राष्ट्रपति के कार्य सम्पादन के लिये बन्धान बनाने का अधिकार

जिस अवस्था में बन्धान न किये किसी योगायोग में राष्ट्रपति के कृत्य के सम्पादन के लिये, पार्लमेंट जैसा उचित समझे वैसा बन्धान बना सकेगी ।

Let the reader himself judge how far the translation is successful If words which have been used in a definite sense for a long number of years are given a new meaning there is great danger that they might create confusion The word *vidhan* is current in modern Hindi in the sense of *constitution*, as distinguished from *law* To use that word now in the latter sense as Shri Sankrityayan has done will lead to such confusion He has coined a new word बन्धान for *provision* This is a current Gujarati word and means *habit* particularly of some drug or drink e g opium-habit tea-habit etc.

In my humble opinion as a general rule effort should be made to bring in use a new word only when a correct word has been wrongly coined (e g स्थगित in the sense of *postponed*) or there are no current words to express exactly the idea or experience suggested by the foreign word. The word *emergency* has been translated in a variety of ways for several years now by phreses like योगिक की हालत अेक का असंग, संकट का समय, कठोराई का मामला They give a correct suggestion of the situation The word योगायोग is incapable of doing that I believe it means, *as (good or bad) luck would have it* or *by co-incidence* I do not understand this fondness to bring into use pompous and artificial style in our literature The attempts will not succeed. In the mouths of the people these words will become corrupt and unrecognizable योगायोग might become योगायोग on the one hand and योगायोग on the other And the spelling of the [illegible] shifted into योगायोग !

I earnestly [illegible] simple and unartificial in [illegible] we must also be in other walks of life [illegible] shall we be able to identify ourselves with the life of the masses

Bombay 13-12-48 K G MASHRUWALA

TRACTORS DANGEROUS TO SOIL

[For the improvement of agriculture and for growing more food we are after imitating Western methods blindly without making adequate provision to counteract the after-effects of the processes involved In this connection I send herewith a small note that appeared in the September 25 1948 issue of the *Science News Letter* a weekly summary of current science, published from Washington

I am a student of Cornell University and only recently I visited the place where these particular studies were made I hope those concerned with the improvement of agriculture in our country will try to see that the use of tractors for growing more food is done more judiciously after taking into consideration all the factors such as the one mentioned in the note — M S PATEL]

The change from horses to tractors on American farms has increased the danger of soil abuse

This is the conclusion of three soil scientists of the U S Soil Conservation Service at Cornell University who have completed a study of the effects of organic matter and erosion on soil packing in New York State

A soil low in organic matters when subjected to the compacting force equal to the rubber tire of a two-plough tractor, may pack to a point that water will move through the soil very slowly Dr John Lamb Jr said On the other hand, organic matter protects the subsoil against compaction The amount of organic matter and intensity of the packing force help determine the amount of moisture a soil can hold.

The packing force used in the soil tests was equal to a tractor or empty truck

Among the results For each of the soils studied, the sample with the highest degree of packing was lowest in organic matter

With more and more heavy equipment coming into our farm-lands today we need to be more concerned than ever about maintaining a high organic-matter content in the soil 'Dr Lamb advised.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE SERVANT OF MAN	RABINDRANATH TAGORE	357
A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA—CLARIFICATION	RAJENDRAPRASAD	357
EARTH HOUSES — V	MAURICE FRYDMAN	358
THE SARVODAYA EXHIBITION	VINOBA	360
MILK FOR BOMBAY	K. G MASHRUWALA	361
FIRKA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT		362
LEST WE FORGET — XII TO XVI	M. K GANDHI	363
A FOURTH TRANSLATION	K. G MASHRUWALA	364
TRACTORS DANGEROUS TO SOIL		364
NOTE		
HARIJANS AS DOMESTIC SERVANTS	K G M	363

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs. 8 or 11 sh. or $ 3

The Wrong Approach

Reg. No. B3002

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 11 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY JANUARY 2 1949 TWO ANNAS

MAINTENANCE OF WORKERS

In my opinion it is absolutely necessary for the regeneration of villages to have a band of honest full time workers in every village But experience shows that those who have worked sincerely have been extremely poor economically It has become impossible for them to maintain their families Circumstances have compelled many an earnest worker to seek lucrative employments Their helplessness has contributed to the lowering of their previous standards of upright and unselfish conduct There is a temptation to seek appointments in various committees and offices for the allowances attached to those positions The zeal for service necessarily diminishes Several of these workers would be able to maintain a high standard and capacity to serve the masses if there was an organization which would make them free from the anxiety of livelihood Unless such a scheme is worked out at an early date sincere and able workers will become rarer than they are now As a result people will lose their confidence in the Congress. It is necessary therefore to pay immediate attention to this matter

The above is summarized from a letter It is representative of an opinion widely held There is substance in it We need millions of full-time workers There cannot be a very large number of them of the type of Shri Ravishankar Vyas, Appa Patwardhan Timappa Nayak and a few others who are practically *sannyasis* in the cause of the country A great majority need some material prop to enable them to stand firm to their post But the question is how and by whom should they be maintained?

There are several all-India, provincial or local institutions of life-workers in the country Some of them maintain great workers, others small The Servants of India Society, the Servants of the People Society, the All India Spinners' Association the All India Village Industries Association, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh the Go Seva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh the Kasturba Trust have all maintained full-time workers The Gandhi Seva Sangh also did it for several years The Gandhi Memorial Fund and the Sarva Seva Sangh might also be expected to do something of that kind in future But even if there were fifty more institutions of the kind still they would be able to provide only for a handful of them out of the lakhs that the country needs and that too they will do with great difficulty

Such life-workers institutions have their own limitations The chief of these is that they need large funds The collection of funds and subscriptions for the institution often becomes the only activity of some of its best members Thereafter, they cease to be direct workers and become what are called 'organizers' i e collectors of funds

Then, large funds necessitate the search for large donors Often the institution becomes a protege of a couple or more of rich patrons Rich people are not without their philanthropy and appreciation of service, and they often give not only generously but also with faith and love. Still it should not be forgotten that the existence of a very rich man in the midst of thousands of indigent people is itself indicative of an inequitable social organization However virtuous philanthropic and large-hearted the donor might be, his acquisitions cannot be free from taints of injustice exploitation, dishonest practices and the like If he himself is personally incapable of all these, perhaps he tolerates them in his partners, assistants and staff perhaps he has inherited wealth amassed by such means Absolute honesty, hard work and frugality do not allow the acquisition of too much wealth in a short time. His unstinted generosity and patronage to the institution casts its influence on the character of the best of its workers The worker may have the reputation of being a fearless critic, but he will instinctively guard that the particular patron is excepted' If the patron is more calculating and shrewd than a man of faith and noble sentiments, his large donation may just be a mode of investment. And he often dominates over the institution and its members in the same way as he does over his firm and its staff One of the causes for the decline of the moral fervour of workers' institutions and their members is their dependence upon rich men for their maintenance

Then on the one hand, according to the prevailing currents of thought rich men will be subjected to greater legal restrictions year after year The pace may be rapid or slow but they will find their profits rates of interest, amount of personal property etc becoming reduced with the advance of current trends Their mode of earning money will

[illegible] bitter [illegible] to achieve [illegible] influence of the rich in a [illegible] ideas which they put forth before the public are adverse to the interests of the wealthy And when at the same time they approach a rich man with their subscription lists, the latter has a feeling that by subscribing to these institutions he nourishes his own opponents This is one of the reasons for the decline in the enthusiasm of the rich to give liberal donations to workers institutions

On the other hand, the masses have become subject to false expectations and have imbibed wrong habits of thinking People want good workers among them, but they feel that they should be maintained either by Government or as at present by institutions with large funds collected by the workers themselves preferably from outside their own village Another section on the other hand thinks that full-time workers maintained by institutions do not provide good models Being assured of their daily needs they can afford to spend their time in spinning sweeping scavenging khadi-weaving etc Men who have to labour from morning till night for earning their daily bread cannot engage in these pastimes They want workers who will serve the village while they work for their own bread and without calling upon the people to take part in their spinning and scavenging programmes Can there be any wonder that the worker and the service should both suffer in such environments?

So if the people want good workers to serve them they must take interest in the worker and co-operate with him in the services rendered by him That is to say

1 The ordinary people — men of modest means — should look upon the maintenance of trusted and good workers as their own concern The workers must not be obliged to become proteges of the wealthy

2 A good way of avoiding this is for the people to start their own funds and to put a limit to the maximum amount to be accepted from a single donor Some institutions put down a minimum I suggest the contrary The minimum might be a pice, as in the well-known Paisa Fund of Lokmanya Tilak or the collections of Gandhiji for Harijans But the maximum must be limited say according to varying circumstances, to Rs 5, or 10 or 25 No subscription in excess of the maximum should be accepted from a single individual

3 The practice of taking money-subscriptions only should also be given up Subscriptions in kind should be encouraged

4 No condition requiring an institution, building ashram etc to be named after a donor or his personal friends or relatives, or to accept a donor or his nominee as a trustee in consideration of the donation should be accepted

5 The wants of the worker must be considered on the same footing as of the people interested in retaining him It should not be that the burden of being too simple and frugal and self-denying be all laid on the worker while the people should have the liberty to crave for luxuries and ease. The people must feel that the proper maintenance of their worker is their own concern

6 The worker must on the other hand realize that the vows of poverty and service are incompatible with the raising of a large family *Aparigraha* (non-possession) unaccompanied with self-control is a curse to the family and society This truth has been sorely neglected in our country, with the result that there are often workers with as many as half a dozen children to bring up The only result that can follow from this is want poverty neglect ill-health premature death and ultimately surrender to temptations for positions that will bring money even at the cost of principles, or dependence upon a patron or two

If the thoughtful section of the towns and villages as also the workers begin to work on these lines, the problem of workers of high and independent character would become easier of solution Otherwise the temptation to take advantage of the Congress Government for cashing past services is inevitable

Bombay 21-12-'48 K. G MASHRUWALA

Clarification of the 'Clarification'

A small error in the printing of quotation marks in Shri Rajendrababu's article *A State Language for India — Clarification* (*Harijan* 26th Dec 48) is capable of creating a wrong impression

There should not have been the mark for 'quotation over at the end of the first paragraph (p 357) i e after the word *language* The next paragraph, beginning with the word '*Subject* should have been shown as a part of the quotation

The result is that paras (i) (ii) and (iii) on pp 357-8 represent *my* feeling and not Shri Rajendrababu's, as is likely to be supposed and has been evidently supposed by the office translation of the Gujarati and Hindustani editions Shri Rajendrababu's clarification begins with the para beginning 'I think ' on p 358

Bombay 26-12-48 K. G M

SOME BOOKS BY PROF J C KUMARAPPA

	Price	Postage etc
Public Finance & Our Poverty	1-8-0	0-2-0
Clive to Keynes	0-12-0	0-2-0
Christianity — Its Economy & Way of Life	1-8-0	0-2-0
Practice & Precepts of Jesus	1-8-0	0-2-0
Survey of Matar Taluka	2-0-0	0-10-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SARVODAYA EXHIBITION

Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju Chairman of the Sarvodaya Exhibition Committee Jaipur before requesting Shri Vinoba to declare it open gave a short history of the Exhibition from 1934 onwards He explained how the Exhibition had come to be associated with the National Congress and how it had its scope changed from time to time At one time it was what was called a *Swadeshi* Exhibition organized by the Reception Committee of the Congress itself. In 1934, the work of organizing it was formally entrusted to the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries Association and its scope was confined to Khadi and Village Industries It was known by that name for some years Later on the Hindustani Talim Sangh and the Go Seva Sangh gave their respective contributions to it but the name was not changed Having regard to the fact that its sphere and object was coextensive with the items of the Constructive programme, and its aim was the same as that connoted by the word *Sarvodaya* it was decided this year to call it the Sarvodaya Exhibition

Gandhiji had defined the field and objective of this Exhibition as follows

> If we desire and believe that the villages should not merely exist but should wax strong and prosperous then rural simplicity is the only proper mentality for India. If this is conceded, there is no place for city-life articles shows and luxuries in our exhibitions The exhibition must not become a *tamasha* (merriment show) and a means of making money for the Congress. Nor should it become a means of advertisement for commercial houses There should be no selling and purchasing in it The Exhibition should be a place for acquiring knowledge and be extremely interesting as such It should stimulate in the villagers a desire to learn some village industry after they return to their homes The Exhibition must also show the evils that have enveloped villages the ways of removing them and the progress made from time to time in the Village Movement

The exhibition movement, Shri Jaju said had always tried to keep the above goal before it, though the organizers were fully conscious of their insufficient success They had now the further handicap of having to work without the guidance of Gandhiji, whose originality and power to inspire was their great strength.

The organizers had given the place of honour to the good of the villagers Shri Jaju declared. There was certainly a difference between the city and the village outlook though at times it became difficult to draw a clear line between the two The trader also inevitably came in, with his particular interests The question of art also gave rise to different views. The organizers had to use their own discretion in these matters and had to shut out some exhibits and shows. It was possible that they might have used their discretion erroneously about some items Shri Jaju was happy to say that the Exhibition Committee had received full co-operation from the Reception Committee in their work

The pro[illegible] ones in not [illegible] tion area Nor was [illegible] important point in [illegible] production for him [illegible] n stand that only after vill[illegible] d they sell their surplus pro[illegible] nt they had removed the [illegible] the Exhibition area This arrangement [illegible] visitors [illegible] concentrate their attention upon the processes shown They will not be distracted by articles displayed for sale The Exhibition was not going to be a paying proposition to the Reception Committee

All the branches of the A I S A as also other institutions had participated in organizing the demonstrations The total number of workers volunteers demonstrators, (men women and children) had reached one thousand at the time Shri Jaju was speaking Having regard to this large congregation the Committee felt that they should during the period live a joint community life in their daily routine So they all ate and worked together managed their conservancy and other arrangements and met together for prayers Khadi was insisted upon in clothing and only cow's milk and *ghee* were consumed Village made articles had been used to as great an extent as possible in the construction of the Exhibition compound in the articles brought into use. Village life was prominent also in the entertainments The visitors would see only rural dances dances and musical performances of the various provinces

A few new features had been introduced into the present Exhibition The Go Seva section and the demonstration of manures were new additions They included charts bearing upon the food problem and also such matters as artificial *versus* dung manure tractors *versus* bullock cultivation hydrogenated *versus* natural oils and *ghee* silage compost etc The section had been arranged with the help of the Government of India and the Go Seva Sangh The former had also organized the Health section Its sub section relating to Leprosy particularly deserved notice There was a section relating to indigenous medicines and herbs another dealt with the problem of village sanitation The lady workers and students of the Kasturba Trust the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and Nature Cure Institutions had all exhibited their particular works There was also a special section relating to Rajputana culture

The Committee wanted to raise the model of an ideal village, but they had not been able to do much in that direction All that they could raise was a model hut for a cultivator and some statistical charts The Bapu Bhavan was an interesting section Various pictures and things used by Gandhiji had been exhibited there, and it was arranged to hold congregational spinning in that section Various leaders were expected to take part in the spinning

The Exhibition stood for a particular ideology The country had become independent politically But the Swaraj had still to be built up. It did not yet stand upon the strength of the people, in the sense that the people had not yet begun to take part in the reconstruction work. The Government too was not quite

consistent in its policy. It [illegible] to help Village Industries, and at the same time it was pushing forth all these industrial schemes which competed with Village Industries e g textile mills oil mills sugar mills *vanaspati* plants and so on. The Government was not quite clear about its duties towards villages. They should also distinguish between the production of luxury articles and of articles of absolute necessity. The old proverb राजा कालस्य कारणम् — the king creates the age, i e. the cultural epoch was as good to day as it was in the past. The king should be understood to mean all those who effectively controlled the State.

The Exhibition was not a mere survival. It was an educative demonstration with a particular moral and message. They all wanted to reach the ideal of Rama Rajya which Gandhiji had placed before them. Shri Raja hoped the visitors would take the fullest advantage of the Exhibition by studying it minutely and seeing if it attempted to work in accordance with Gandhiji s ideals in a faithful manner and if so will feel inspired to work in the same direction.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

HARIJAN

January 2 1949

THE WRONG APPROACH

The Central Government, under the Industries and Supply Ministry, has organized a Cottage Industries Board. Amongst other things in their terms of reference they have stated that one of their purposes will be to co-ordinate cottage industries with the large scale industries. They had asked the All India Village Industries Association and the All India Spinners Association to send two representatives each to this Board. These two associations considered the question and felt that as the Congress Economic Programme Committee's Report stated that the large-scale industries should be co-ordinated to the needs of village industries the present position under the terms of reference is contrary to the policy outlined in the Economic Programme Committee's Report, and therefore, they felt that it would not be possible for them to send their representatives to this Board unless their terms of reference were altered to be in alignment with the Congress Economic Programme Committee s recommendations.

2. In short it means that the Cottage Industries Board as at present constituted would shape and organize the handloom industry so that it may consume the yarn spun by the mills! This is what co-ordinating cottage industries to large-scale industries means. On the other hand our position would mean that if the village blacksmith requires iron and steel for cart tyres the Tata Iron and Steel Company should produce the necessary material. It will be seen, therefore that the purpose of the existence of the Cottage Industries Board is to help the large-scale industries. This is definitely a wrong approach. The village industries are to afford an outlet for the village people. It forms the backbone of their economic activity outside agriculture. That being so it is necessary for us to give priority to village industries and the large-scale industries should exist mainly to supply the needs of village industries. Any other approach will only lead to exploitation of the masses through large-scale industries.

3. The Cottage Industries Board met at Cuttack in the second week of December last. Amongst their decisions one was to help the growth of cottage industries both to meet internal needs and for the benefit of the export trade and recommended that each Trade Commissioner s Office abroad should have a show-room for cottage industry products. This decision, though it fits in with their terms of reference and their policy, is contrary to our ideas. Developing an export market at this stage is antagonistic to the interests of the villagers while the large-scale industries will welcome the dollar exchange that may accumulate as a result. Already the poor people s money which accumulated in the form of sterling securities are being utilized for the benefit of industrialists and this programme of the Cottage Industries Board will increase this disparity.

4. Besides the villagers are not financially educated enough to look after distant markets. The result of this will be that they will play into the hands of middlemen who have all along been exploiting their ignorance. As things are at present, under the conditions obtaining today village industries would do well to concentrate on production for consumption rather than for export especially to foreign markets. It does not mean that we shall not produce anything in the form of curios. But the curio trade is a very small fraction of the production of village industries. What the villagers need are metal vessels, clothes to wear and small household requisites. Even these are largely obtained from either large factories or from abroad. All these requirements could well be met by organizing village and cottage industries to supply the needs of villagers.

5. The village industries today have largely been ousted by a policy that had been followed by Imperialism and the present policy also appears to take the control out of the villagers themselves. This will be inimical to the interests of the villagers. We should discourage distant markets but develop home markets and home consumption. In this connection we would suggest that the Cottage Industries Board makes it a point of itself using the articles made by village industries. For instance, khadi handmade paper and other stationery. It can well begin with this and it can also recommend to other Government offices that such things as are manufactured by villagers should be used by them. Let charity begin at home. We hope therefore that the Cottage Industries Board will take into consideration the limitations of the villagers and organize their programme accordingly.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

PRAY END THIS CONTROVERSY

Our National Language has been variously called Hindustani, Hindvi Hindi Sadhu-ki-bolr Rashtra-bhasha etc in order to avoid being involved in a battle of names some have tried to eschew all names by simply calling it the Common Language the National Language the State Language and now the Federal Language It is high time this controversy was ended. It is unnecessary to enter into the connotation and history of the different names which have been tried so far Those of us who have been using the word Hindustani are not enamoured of any particular name as such It is the contents of the language which ought to matter and not the name

Mahatma Gandhi used the name Hindi from 1909 onwards but made it clear every time that Hindi included Urdu The Congress on the other hand at the instance of Shri Purushottamdas Tandon definitely accepted the word Hindustani in its celebrated resolution of 1925 Hindustani served as a vinculum bracketing Hindi and Urdu It was only after the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan had narrowed the definition of Hindi that Gandhiji found it necessary to accept the word Hindustani It has to be conceded that Hindustani has a wider connotation than Hindi as matters stand today Unfortunately Hindu nationalism and Hindu communalism have joined hands today and the word Hindi has become suggestive of that spirit The result is that Muslims and other non Hindu communities have a feeling that the word Hindustani gives them a place in the political and cultural life of India while the word Hindi does not We would give up the name Hindustani for any other name on earth provided it wins the confidence of the non-Hindu communities and makes them feel that that word does not exclude contributions of India's non-Hindu culture and language Any name would do which gives the National Language a wider content than that which has become associated with the word Hindi It should be a language spoken by the common people of the North but at the same time it must be easy enough to be understood by the people of the East the West and the South

To those who agree about the contents of the language—and I know several sober champions of the word Hindi who agree to the same definition being given to Hindi as I give to Hindustani but who just have a greater liking for the word Hindi—my appeal is that they should dissociate themselves from the movement which is aimed at restricting its scope to sanskritized Hindi by boycotting all words of non-Hindu origin The Hindi translation of the Draft Constitution for India is a standing monument of what the boycott movement can lead us to.

Let the champions of the Hindi movement make it convincingly clear that Hindi does not stand for exclusive Hindu culture that it wholeheartedly accepts the ideal of a secular democracy in which all religious and cultural units have got their rightful place and that [illegible] discrimination against any particular community nor against any distinctive outlook on life and they will be able gradually to bring all people round to their viewpoint under the banner of Hindi In the meanwhile they would do well to accept the word Hindustani which they themselves once raised to the high pedestal of the name for the National Language

The problem of the script need not detain us for long It is admitted on all sides that *nagari* shall be used wherever Hindustani is written or printed for the use of all The use of *urdu* as a secondary script for some years at least is a physical necessity and recognition of this script will help nationalist Muslims in the country in their effort to dilute the heavily loaded *Urdu-e-mualla* into the easily understood *Urdu Gulabi* which is very much near to the Hindustani of our conception

It has been suggested that the responsibility of publishing Government notices proclamations etc in the Urdu script also should not be thrown on the Central Government, but should be made the concern of the Provincial Governments like those of U P and Bihar Personally I should have no objection to it if this duty was not neglected or diluted by those Governments But how can we forget that these Governments have definitely adopted the opposite policy? It must be somebody's concern to see that those who to-day can use only the Urdu script do not feel neglected, handicapped or ostracized But above all let us see to it that what was meant to be a unifying and cementing factor does not divide the whole country in the two hostile camps

We of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will of course carry on our policy of spreading the Common Language representing a common culture, under the name of Hindustani and we would earnestly request all far seeing well wishers of the country to learn both the scripts

KAKA KALELKAR

[Note In response to Kakasaheb's appeal discussion on this topic is closed in the *Harijan*—K. G. M Bombay 24-12-'48]

SOME USEFUL BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

	Price	Postage etc
An Autobiography	7-0-0	0-13-0
Key to Health	0-10-0	0-2-0
Non-violence in Peace & War Vol I	7-0-0	0-10-0
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi	2-0-0	0-8-0
From Yeravda Mandir	0-8-0	0-2-0
Hind Swaraj	0-8-0	0-2-0
Self-Restraint V Self-Indulgence	2-0-0	0-8-0
Women & Social Injustice	3-0-0	0-8-0
Delhi Diary	3-0-0	0-10-0
The Nation's Voice	3-0-0	0-10-0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Govt (1942-44)	2-8-0	0-7-0
Constructive Programme	0-6-0	0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

SHRI SUNDARDAS DAY

The following is a summary of Shri Vinoba's address at Narayan (Jaipur) on 9 11 48 at a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of Bhakta Sundardas

Shri Vinoba confessed that he was not used to attend gatherings interested in propagating the teachings of particular sects For he felt that narrowness invariably followed sectarian presentations They had just heard it said that Dadu Dayal the great founder of their sect did not desire that he should be made the founder of a sect and yet it had so happened But if a sect had formed it could also be dissolved Dissolution of the sect did not mean the discontinuance of the tradition and knowledge left by him but of the narrow sectarian wall built around him Sect in the best sense of that term meant dissemination of the knowledge received from the Master In that sense a sect would continue but it would not bear the name of that guru Masters had always laid stress on the spirit and not the name and the form If the followers looked upon the guru as embodied in a name and a form instead of drawing knowledge they extracted nescience from the guru and his teachings

Hence Shri Vinoba continued they should not form a sect in the name of a guru Now that there was a sect already in existence he advised its followers to discontinue the public use of the guru's name and to give up the external forms Let them remember him and keep him in their hearts and without the use of any name spread his mission through their sets and sect Let them mingle with the masses as sugar does with milk and sweeten the life of the entire society through their unseen sweet deeds. When the river disappeared into the ocean or when the drop merged into the sea it became the ocean itself

Enough of principles, Shri Vinoba said were universally taught and their truth was accepted not because they were propounded by Euclid The best way of dissolving a sect therefore was to assimilate the teachings of the Master until they became identified with them so that they could give them to the world as their own They need not seek to pass them off under the label of some great name Until they had made the teachings their own there was no obligation on them to pass them on to others It stifled growth and inner development

If so it might be asked why then did Vinoba come to their gathering at all? His reply was that Sundardas did not belong to the followers of the Dadu sect alone He was not attached to the body which might live or die His outlook was universal and free from attachment His teachings and philosophy were as much the speaker's as theirs He therefore attended the celebration as a sympathiser and an associate

Continuing the speaker said to celebrate the Master's birthday by holding a gathering and collecting a crowd was easy But it was inconsequential. What was of real worth was to present his teaching [illegible] would uplift them from [illegible] mundane and spiritual [illegible]

They [illegible] to their nation But [illegible] their glory or the confusion of [illegible] brought them any [illegible] For [illegible] (self government) [illegible] (self) If they were indifferent to the [illegible] of the self they could hardly [illegible] The pity was that they [illegible] the Government than to [illegible]

After practising [illegible] long period in carrying on a great [illegible] just think how much falsehood [illegible] had pervaded their public life. Let the [illegible] a nation which rested and trade [illegible] was on the verge of moral death

In his teachings Sundardas had emphasis on the need for safe [illegible] He had also stressed the need for [illegible] One should take from society just [illegible] to maintain oneself But what they [illegible] all around was that everyone tried to [illegible] neighbours and thought that it was the [illegible] if he succeeded in doing so He even [illegible] (offering) to God in case of success To such a one, God was no better than a District Magistrate capable of being pleased by bribe or flattery Where people measured God's grace in terms of money it showed to what extent the nation had fallen These pious people considered that the fruit of God's worship was worldly pleasures He would prefer a sceptic or an atheist to such a 'believer' as this. They could not blame the youth for their non belief if the so called believer not merely valued God but even assessed Him negatively

The rich recognised God only as the Lord of the Lakshmi — goddess of wealth and would have none of Him if He was to renounce her So it was necessary to practise contentment which the great saint had practised The *veda* sang the glory of agriculture which demanded physical labour for that above all was the real source of all plenty and wealth कृषिमित् कृषस्व वित्तं रमस्व बहुमन्यमानः (Plough the field, and enjoy the wealth regarding that as plenty). Sundardasji had asked them to be content with such wealth as could be produced by such productive labour

Lastly Shri Vinoba referred to the practice of *Ramanama* Essentially *Ramanama* was symbolical of a resolve A firm resolve was strength Through a resolve man realized God To the resolute there was no defeat आये आये जिणीसे स्वाम (We shall be victorious at every step) They did not know despair Even calamity was to them but a test of their faith Pleasure and pain like the Siamese twins were a pair of inseparables to be accepted or discarded together People generally warned friends against danger In Shri Vinoba's opinion it was equally necessary to warn them against happiness There was equal possibility of one losing one's control in both the cases even as a running train demanded

[illegible] I [illegible] on a level road [illegible] against [illegible] on level ground Hence [illegible] the sure [illegible] popularize the practice of *Rama* [illegible] It was [illegible] best for all of them to turn to saints to meet their moral and spiritual shortcomings as they tended to a carpenter for repairing their [illegible] However delapidated the body the mind being was always sound and pure It ever went all for [illegible] had the potency [illegible] this truth clear to the devotee It taught him that he is [illegible] and indivisible

Summing up Shri Varahi asked the audience to practise self purification co-ordinate and *Rama* [illegible] to mingle with the people as sugar did in milk [illegible] spread their Master's spiritual message [illegible] of sect

D M

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

SUPERIOR TO MILITARY TRAINING

It is indeed heartening to hear that to the depths of India's life and [illegible] is being achieved How far short [illegible] Western [illegible] finally winning of battles [illegible] when it comes to human relationships [illegible] life is again reconsecrate not only once but millions of times in the hearts of those of the lower as Jesus means to be consecrate in His followers Bishop Fisher (formerly of India) once said that Gandhi was the only real Christian in India I thought that was a strong statement but I believe he was very near the truth [illegible] It is as if the story of Jesus is again enacted on Indian soil There is a profound reverence for Gandhi here at home among those who are intelligent But more are still muddle headed afraid to disarm, afraid to hurt a minimum They are after universal military training for all boys of eighteen

So writes one of the many friends of India and admirers of Gandhiji One might give plenty of evidence of how thousands in the West are looking to India today for a lead on the path of peace and away from the throes of damnable war

But so many of our leaders also seem to be muddle-headed Let us not judge of the days gone by Let us not easily point fingers of criticism at those who have done well in their leadership I would suggest that the Government of India was non-violent in her patience with Hyderabad Only when public opinion and conditions had reached a very mature stage did the military enter the State boundaries And then the job was done quickly evidently well planned, and with a minimum of violence I do not for one moment justify such military action However as one who would follow Gandhiji in his non-violence I ask myself what I did or what lead I gave to the country? And in that position I must be humble

Yet one is troubled that the lead of the Congress Government seems definitely to be the lead of militarism The arguments used are those of the Western militarists Some educational ministers and others seem to be unduly hurried in desiring to get military training into our schools And in one instance I hear that the school authorities who oppose military training on principle feel that the Government will use pressure to get them to introduce military training in their school

There are better ways of securing physical development and bodily discipline than by military training We want to be a democracy A military system by its own nature is anything but that There is discipline when at the task forced discipline which generally reacts into the most rank forms of indiscipline as soon as the authority is removed I Witness the actions of soldiers at least those of the West when they are off duty Shri J C Kumarappa returned from Europe and tells us U S A men are hated very largely in Britain and Europe because of their carousing in off hours Women are not safe when they are off duty! Is that the thing we want to encourage in the comparatively self-disciplined youth of India? Several years ago the citizens of the U S A were pleasantly surprised to observe the constructive aspect of the discipline found in the Conservation Civil Corps which were founded by President Roosevelt The youths were enlisted to do nation-building service such as reforestation and anti-soil erosion work They found a real and substantial discipline in manual labour which had meaning They learned in a proper atmosphere the duties of citizenship There was the constant atmosphere of learning and growth as vocational and other classes were encouraged India also has suggested such service squads as a part of our college training But I have yet to hear of a place where anything has been done Here at Gandhi Gram we plan a Work Camp during the next long vacation College students will be encouraged to come and help us build up our proposed Co-operative Agricultural Colony They will work side by side with villagers who have come into the Colony They will build dams bunds for anti-soil erosion purposes They will water the many fruit trees which have already been planted and thus engrain into their consciousness the importance of thinking of and working for the future generation During off hours they will study the Constructive Programme They will discuss the implications of non-violence They will be disciplined into a Peace Brigade and when they return to their colleges halls we hope they may organize such work in their colleges just as the members of the last year's camp — not a real Work Camp — have returned to their colleges to organize spinning and other classes In these camps we have the utmost of discipline and a hard life But the discipline grows out of one common fellowship Students elect their own working cabinet Under experienced leadership which is always sympathetic and understanding the youth formulate their own daily programme and life But I need not go into detail I am but suggesting that our Governments need to give their best thinking their main efforts to this pioneering training for students

Although I hold myself to be one who is loyal to the way of non-violence I would not for a moment,

I hope critics of the actions of our soldiers who take with them the spirit of non violence they have imbibed, even as they carry on acts of violence. But I am only suggesting that those of us who do truly believe in non-violence should be at the task more earnestly—both those in Constructive Work in the villages and those in Governmental positions. We do need something more constructive than military training in our schools and colleges. It must be more than the normal athletics. It must have a vital note of realism about it. It must be linked with the problem of life. It must challenge the idealism of youth. That is it must have future significance. It must be a pioneering effort that holds within itself world significance. It must partake the nature of a crusade as the New Life Movement once did for many a youth in China at least to a certain extent. And along with this nation- and One World-building activity in our schools and colleges—definitely linked with the problems of the needy—there should be provision for training of Peace Brigades. Interested youth should have the opportunity to know the heart and the strength of satyagraha. They should have the privilege of being trained, if they so desire, to go into conflict areas—or even to our frontiers if there is conflict—to give their lives that peace may reign. I hold that such training and discipline is much more difficult than ordinary military training. But nevertheless, it ought to be begun at once both in private and Government institutions.

The World Pacifist Conference was to come to India next January. It has been adjourned for some months. But Pacifists all over the world sense the need of new tactics for critical days of the atomic bomb. They had looked to Gandhiji for the lead. Now they look to his followers. When they do come let them not return disappointed. Let them see in our centres of nation-building some real work going on which is the building of foundations of world peace. Let them hear from those who govern, their plans for the building of such a nation that it may guide all the world along the road to peace. India has a most unusual opportunity in these days. Are we aware of it? Are we living up to it? May I humbly suggest that those who are keenly interested should use the columns of interested journals more than we do and carry on a public discussion in all seriousness as to what we feel lies ahead and as to what may be our own unique contribution as devoted followers of Gandhiji? Several years ago I asked Bapuji how we could help him most. He replied somewhat as follows:

> I have done very little with non-violence. I know very little about it. Much more experimentation needs to be done. We need to have hundreds of centres throughout India experimenting with this mighty 'soul force'. You can help me most by also experimenting with non-violence.'

I am convinced that no greater challenge faces the Constructive Worker today. Let us face it.

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN

TRIAL OF WAR LEADERS

[Shri Vinoba's post-prayer speech at Maluladsram Wardha on 26-11-48.]

The World War had ended. Shri Vinoba said but not the passions which were generated during it. No opportunity was given to quench the hatred and ill-will which it had raised. The victorious countries regarded the vanquished countries to be the sole culprits for bringing about the war and presumed to try the defeated leaders for the offence of waging war, and causing massacres and destruction and to hang them after staging shows of trials.

The latest instance was the trial of the Japanese war leaders. Some of them had been sentenced to death and some to serve a life sentence. The judges who tried them were selected from one or another of the victorious nations. One of the Judges was an Indian. Though India had been really a party forced into the war she had by reason of victory become one of the victorious nations. The Indian Judge differed from his colleagues in his conclusions and gave a dissenting judgement. He was of the opinion that all the countries on both sides were equally guilty and if the Japanese leaders were guilty of waging the war the victorious nations were guilty of the more serious crime of using the extremely condemnable weapon of the atomic bomb. Indeed, the farce of a trial of vanquished leaders was itself an offence against humanity. The Japanese leaders were reported to have stated in their statements of defence that they had no sense of repentance in them for their acts, though they happened to suffer defeat. It was gratifying to see, Shri Vinoba observed, that the Indian representative had boldly expressed the truth in his judgement.

D. M.

(Translated from the Original in Hindustani)

C. R.'s Salary

Readers of dailies must have seen the announcement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of the meetings at Jaipur that at Shri C. Rajagopalachari's request his salary was to be reduced to Rs. 5,500 free of income tax. Pandiji also explained why this amount cannot be reduced.

I am told that the much criticised salary of Rs. 20,000 or more was subject to income-tax and as such realized about Rs. 6,000 only. I hope the information is correct.

Bombay, 23-12-48 K. G. M.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
MAINTENANCE OF WORKERS	K. G. MASHRUWALA	365
THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SARVODAYA EXHIBITION	KRISHNADAS JAJU	367
THE WRONG APPROACH	J. C. KUMARAPPA	368
PRAY END THIS CONTROVERSY	KAKA KALELKAR	369
SHRI SUNDARDAS DAY	D. M.	370
SUPERIOR TO MILITARY TRAINING	RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN	371
TRIAL OF WAR LEADERS	D. M.	372
NOTES		
CLARIFICATION OF THE CLARIFICATION	K. G. M.	366
C. R.'s SALARY	K. G. M.	372

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6. Six months, Rs. 3. FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3.

The Evil of Controls

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No. 45 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, 1949 TWO ANNAS

CORRUPTION GALORE

An organizer of a village industries store in Bihar writes to the following effect:

"Please show me the way out of the following difficulties:

Through Gandhiji's efforts salt has become tax free. But there is a licence fee of Rs. 20 for keeping a salt store. But in order to pay the fee, one must pay Rs. 2 to the *darogah* and Rs. 1 to the *chaprasi* of the Treasury Office. Then in order to present the application with a valid receipt one has to pay Rs. 5 to 7 to the *nazirdar* (clerk). Formerly it was Rs. 2 to 4 but owing to dearness, the clerk has also doubled his fee! There is no practical way to avoid the payment. For one would have to attend the office for months and months, before the application is heard. The *nazirdar* has always too much work.

"Similar story can be told in respect of kerosene cloth, sugar etc. Cloth of good quality is concealed and only sold secretly at blackmarket price. Kerosene oil is sold at 10 to 12 annas (a bottle?) if the purchaser appears to be very needy. Salt is sold at 0-1-6 though its proper price is 0-0-6.

"I wanted to keep kerosene and salt in my shop under control rules. But I have not even the requisite amount to pay the licence fee, not to talk of the various *dastur* (customary levies)."

The writer is from a small village in Champaran, but story of corruption is the same throughout India—not excluding New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. I remember how once in my early days of legal practice, I had an important application for execution of a decree delayed for months as the judge's clerk had not received his illegal due and the reference to the judge himself became useless. Ultimately I had to own defeat and satisfy the fellow, with tears in my eyes. Thereafter I had to leave all such matters to be settled by my clerk and my client and the officer concerned.

But what is the remedy? The writer suggests that there should be stricter espionage over petty officers. I consider that to be useless. The spies cannot be more honest than their brothers of another department. It is the people who have to deal with them and must make organized efforts to stop corruption. They must, in the first instance, themselves pledge not to give bribe, come what may, and employ volunteer pickets to induce people going to public offices not to pay a single pie to any public servant and to report to the volunteer what difficulties they might encounter. The Government can help by putting up hoards in public offices asking the public not to pay *bakshis* to any officer. There might also be an information and complaints office just at the entrance where a responsible officer might be posted to guide the public about the particular person they should go to for their particular work and to receive and immediately deal with complaints of any harassment experienced. Even this method may not succeed. For ultimately the question is one of raising the moral character and sense of civic duty in the people, and no people can get a better administration than their moral character can command.

Bombay, 25-12-48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Relief

Every one must have experienced a sense of relief on hearing the announcement of cessation of hostilities in Kashmir. May the New Year which has been so well ushered in be the harbinger of a true and lasting peace among the people of Kashmir and both the Dominions.

Bombay, 2-1-49

Gandhi Fund Again

Referring to my article on this subject (*Harijan* 12th December '48), correspondents have written to me giving me their reasons for the meagre response of the public. My humble request to them is: If you are not one of those who have to collect funds from others please do not mind why others do not pay, provided you have paid your quota. If you yourself have not paid, then it might be worth while your informing me or the organizers of the fund, why you do not wish to.

If for any reason you do not wish to pay through the accredited agent of your place, it is open for you to purchase coupons or pay the amount directly into one of the authorized banks or send directly to the Head Office of the Fund at 6 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

If you are one of the collectors and wish to point out the difficulties encountered by you, you should write to the President or Secretary of the Fund who are the proper persons to think of these matters.

Bombay, 25-12-'48 K. G. M.

ADIM JATI SEVAK SANGH

INTRODUCTION

The conveners of the Conference of the Social Workers and Anthropologists for Tribal People in India held on the 24th and 25th October, 1948, in Delhi have issued a report of its proceedings In the course of its *Introduction* Shri Thakkar Bapa writes

"The problem of doing welfare work of the Aboriginal and Hill tribes in this country is comparatively a tough problem

"They live a secluded life away from towns and even villages and numbers of them reside in detached huts either on hill tops or on hill slopes The Bhils of Gujarat and Rajputana, though they have left their original practice of shifting cultivation, or cultivation by burning plots in forests and merely throwing seeds in the ashes are still living in detached huts in their own fields but not in clusters of even 10 to 12 huts in group The Maras and Murias of the Gond Country in the C P rarely come down from their hill tops and mix with the people of the plains, even once a week or on market days The Juangs and Bhuiyas Khutia Khonds and Langia Saveras residing in the highlands of Orissa yet live a very primitive life and are much more secluded than others of the tribes who have come down to live in the plains But the Nagas and Lushais not to speak of Garos and Mikirs of Assam live in their mountain regions by themselves and have very little contact with the Assamese people, with whom they are politically connected nor has any one tribe social connection with the other because the various tribes of Assam speak different languages and have socially no connection with one another Thus the problem of assimilating them with the large mass of the people of India is obviously a difficult one

"Before the partition of August 1947, the population of all the tribal people living in the plains and in the hills was estimated at 25 millions but of 389 millions in 1911 In 1931 it was estimated at 22 4 millions But while talking of numbers it should be noted that this vast number cannot all be said to be residents of hills or quite secluded It has been roughly calculated that out of the 25 millions, 20 millions live in the plains and are assimilated with the rest of the people more or less, and only 5 millions or 50 lakhs may be taken as the population residing in hills and may be classed as wholly secluded After the partition the 25 millions have been reduced to roughly, 24 millions

"After a few months work of famine relief among the Bhils of the Panch-Mahals District of Gujarat and after having personally seen the poverty, the low standard of living, and the not-care for the morrow habits of Bhils in the year 1921, I decided to organize welfare work among them With a small band of young co-workers pledged to serve the Bhils for not less than 20 years the Bhil Seva Mandal began its work in 1922 in the two talukas or tehsils of Dahod and Jhalod extending over 600 sq miles and in the Bhil population of Bhils and Patelias of about a lakh and a quarter I continued to be the head of this institution till 1932 when my services were transferred by the Servants of India Society for the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh The Mandal is being continued upto date by my co-workers among whom I am glad to say that them are at present more Bhils as life workers than non-Bhils Various similar organizations for the service of tribal people have since been started in the various Provinces and States and they are working in their own fields according to their resources in men and money It may be said that there are about 20 organizations of this kind at work in various areas, and a few of them are organized by tribals themselves I am linearly connected with many of these though from a distance Mahatma Gandhi and the famous Birla family have been my chief guides and supporters in this cause

"I was contemplating the formation of an All India Association to co-ordinate all such activities since 1940 but times were not propitious for the same The long drawn fight of the Indian Nation with the British Government for Independence was a great disturbing cause Now that the country is free from foreign domination and that we are forging our own Constitution for the future administration of the country, I thought it was high time seriously to take in hand such an important social problem Taking courage in both hands I approached Dr Rajendraprasad the President of the National Congress if he would accept the Presidentship of such an Association if and when formed He after some hesitation very kindly agreed and in the last week of October last a Conference of Social Workers and Anthropologists was called at Delhi I am very glad to observe here that one of the dreams of my life is thus being fulfilled at an advanced age nearing 80 years. But it is always better to be late than never."

At the commencement Shri A V Thakkar explained the object of the Conference emphasizing the necessity for starting an All India Organization for co-ordinating the work of various institutions and focussing the attention of the public and the Governments of Provinces and State Unions and of the Union of India to the problem of Aboriginal Tribes

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Dr Rajendraprasad, in his Presidential speech, referred to the backward condition of the 2½ crores of aboriginals in the country who spent their lives in utter poverty ignorance and wastefulness It was he added, their duty to help these countrymen of theirs and take them out of this rut There was a vast difference between the association that they wanted to form and those which were generally formed these days The latter type first organized a central organization and then went on to open their branches while in the present case he said their branches had not only been formed but were functioning most satisfactorily in every part of the country for the last several years and were being run by most enthusiastic and sincere workers They had simply to form the central organization so that each one of them could benefit from the experiences and difficulties of others. He was sure that their central organization would function more

[illegible] on very [illegible] Dr [illegible] referred to the [illegible] one by the [illegible] in various [illegible] and added that their organiza[illegible] the whole hearted support and co[illegible] zeal and energy even at that [illegible] made young men envious

WORK AMONG ADIVASIS

Dr [illegible] pointed out that this social [illegible] Adivasis had been started by [illegible] 20 years ago but long[illegible] much earlier and had [illegible] missionary zeal even at [illegible] tribes and leaving various [illegible] ideal was a selfless service [illegible] interest that they had was [illegible] into the fold of their own [illegible] those gathered to [illegible] of the aborigines was a real [illegible] with the sole aim of seeing [illegible] children flourish into real citizens worthy of their great country They should have no truck with any sort of politics in their work Otherwise he warned them they would entangle themselves in all sorts of party politics which would lead them away from their cherished goal They had an advantage over the missionaries who worked among these tribes in as much as that they would not have had to think of changing the tribesmen s religion They had simply to educate these people like the Sadhus of old The Sadhus, he told his audience simply brought these dwellers of the jungles into their constant contact with the result that after some time most of them realised the truth about their self The final result they knew was that several of these very aborigines were today Rajputs or other useful members of society

Dr Rajendraprasad agreed that they had been most negligent about these people of our society Now, he concluded It was their duty to see that these tribes got full confidence in their bona fides and considered them their friends On his own part Dr Rajendraprasad promised all the help that he could offer

THE NEW ORGANIZATION

The conference resolved

"that an All India Organization be formed for the uplift of aboriginal and backward tribes of the Country The organization will have its branches in all the different provinces and State Unions. A Sub committee is appointed for drafting the Constitution for this organization suggesting the names of the office bearers and placing before the Conference "

The Conference met on the second day when the report and Draft Constitution prepared by the Committee were read out by Dr Mohan Singh Mehta, clause by clause After certain amendments the Constitution was unanimously adopted

The following are the important articles of the Constitution

1 Name The Society will be known by the name of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh (the Association for the Service of Primitive Tribes of India)

2 Headquarters The office of the Sangh shall be located at Delhi

3 [illegible] political and it will not [illegible] activities

4 [illegible] will be to work [illegible] social [illegible] and adu[illegible] cat[illegible] [illegible] Jati (Primitive and [illegible] Tribes) [illegible] with a view to enable them to take their [illegible] place in the national life of the country as equal citizens.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

An interim Executive Committee was appointed to work and bring into force the new Constitution before 31st October 1949 The following are the members of the Executive Committee with the office bearers

President

Dr Rajendraprasad

Vice-Presidents

1 Shri A V Thakkar Delhi
2. Dr B S Guha, Calcutta

Secretaries

1 Shri Laxmidas M Shrikant (Gujarat)
2. Shri V Rajhaviah, Nellore (Andhra)
3 (To be selected later)

Treasurer

Shri Bhagirath Kanoria, Calcutta

Members

1 Hon'ble Shri B G Kher, Bombay
2 H. N Kunzru, U P
3 Shri Omeo Kumar Das, Assam
4 Shri Rajkrishna Bose, Orissa
5 Dr Mohan Singh Mehta Rajputana
6 Shri V N Barve, Maharashtra
7 Dr. Vasudeo Poduval Travancore.
8 Shri Narayanji Bihar
9 Shri P G Vaniker C P
10 (To be nominated later)

The conference concluded its session on Monday the 25th October at 6 p m after hearing the closing speech of the President, in which he expressed his appreciation of the work done by selfless workers in the tribal areas so far and added that from what he had gathered from reports presented to the conference, he was convinced that it was not want of funds as much as lack of workers which was a great hurdle in the uplift of tribal people He stressed the need of attracting and enlisting selfless and persevering workers to this important cause The need of adequate training to such workers before they are sent out was also emphasized by Dr Rajendraprasad.

About the collection of funds Dr Rajendraprasad said that they would try to convince the trustees of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund of the importance of this cause which was dear to Mahatma Gandhi and could consequently get a substantial sum set apart for the purpose He added that various Governments and the public would also be willing to help if the workers by their zeal and perseverance proved that the cause was deserving

Shri A V Thakkar thanked the President, and the guests and announced that he had received donations amounting to Rs 10,300 for the newly formed organization

HARIJAN

January 9 1949

THE EVIL OF CONTROLS

"I was very happy to note that you took up the problem of controls under the heading *Controls for Sarvodaya* and gave your comments and advice on the same

"I still disagree with your views—that the problem is by no means absolutely simple and is very complicated—and it is absolutely necessary that none should feel dogmatic and certain of the correctness of his own views—that none can afford to feel disgusted with policies not in accordance with one's views If you go through both of my articles you will find that I have not suggested any remedies in the backneyed sense of the term for efficient control, but have only pleaded that the Government should refrain from meddling any further and should gradually bring back the country's economy to its natural position, so that people may gauge whether all these hardships are necessary It is one thing to start setting aright things which have gone wrong but another to be doing something simply to confuse the already complicated

My views are that in India conditions for successful working of controls did not and do not exist Nor can any foreign pattern be copied *in toto* In England controls are successfully worked because there is a necessity for them in view of their indebtedness to various other countries Even there, bread for which they are solely dependent on foreign countries, was not controlled throughout the war and even when controlled, was given in such quantities that nobody was short of it thus eliminating the origin of black market India is an agricultural country growing 90/95 per cent of its requirements and the balance is being imported If under rationing people were given sufficient quantity instead of what they are given now, there will not be any possibility for black markets not need people worry about it Take a worker's case the daily statutory ration of 8 oz or 16 oz is absolutely insufficient for a poor man, whereas it is too much in the case of a middle or upper-middle class man See again the cloth rationing *Per capita* it is 11-1/2 yards No civilized man can ever be expected to cover himself up with this yardage, that means, the Government is pushing him by the neck in the black market which he can resist only by preferring nakedness The absurdity in such a *per capita* limitation is unparallelled and to add fuel to the fire, advertisements are daily appearing in the Press asking people to limit their requirements to this *per capita* distribution which represents wasteful expenditure of public money as nobody is likely to be affected by such advertisements I wonder whether people who are responsible for drafting these advertisements are able to manage on this *per capita* consumption The fact is that even in pre-control days 90 per cent or even more of the population were semi-naked or naked Let Industry & Supply Minister go to the villages and see actual cloth worn by these people and he will find that his *per capita* distribution is the feeder of black markets and has even demoralized the poorer classes

"I believe that these controls are maintained and sought to be maintained to feed the demon of provincialism ousting the business and trading community, which is not provincial The various controls are utilized to give preferences in trade and commerce to inhabitants of the provinces, thereby eliminating organizations or persons who are in the line for generations together These new comers who are creations of control authorities are really responsible for black markets

"I now come to some specific instances about the working of controls As a matter of policy food grains were decontrolled in January 1948 but interprovincial movements were on a Government basis I enquired from local merchants whether the rice which they were selling was available in the province or it was coming from other provinces and I learnt that finer varieties of rice were not available in province x but they came in from other provinces, not as a result of interprovincial movements, but through back-door channels of private trade, that means the Government machinery was not capable of mopping up surplus supplies and distributing it in time Local officials hamper movements so that shortages can be created, maintained and illegal money obtained Take the case of cement The capacity of factories in India is not utilized to the full but we are importing foreign cement and selling it at a much higher rate than locally manufactured cement I have heard instances where cement permits have been refused to individuals, though they were prepared to make their own arrangements for lifting the same In case where permits have been issued for cement, they are on far off producers, or the permit holders are asked to make their own arrangements for transport, though factories are situated very near to the place of consumption Take again the distribution of iron and steel If a man wants a small quantity of iron materials in a mofussil centre, he cannot get it directly from the producing centres, but from Provincial Centres like Nagpur, Bombay Cawapore Madras The effect of this is that transport is unnecessarily utilized It is once taken to the Provincial capital and again brought back to the consuming centre If there was free movement then materials can go directly to the consuming centre and in the same wagon space one can bring something else in return.

"The mass of people are ignorantly afraid of rising prices immediately following decontrol True there will be some rise But that is inevitable It is not true that during controls they got cheaper or that things were plentiful and on de-control the position is reversed. Even if controls were worked success-

fully not for one year but for a decade and then stopped, there will be some reaction This reaction is as natural as that of a person who on attaining maturity and freedom from strict and orthodox parental control indulges in a manner unbecoming his freedom, but comes round as soon as he tastes the bitter fruits of that conduct. Higher prices on decontrol will not upset the Government or the public, because demand will fall off and prices will regain their natural level The Government propaganda should be diverted to impress on the public to withold their demand and the purchasing power of the millions, if withheld even for one month, will annihilate any daring blackmarketeer who will have the foolhardiness to indulge in this nefarious game immediately after decontrol Decontrol should be thorough in essence as has been pointed out by me

As regards foodgrains, the Government should allow free movements between all provinces and open cheap grain shops from their imported quantities whenever they find that the prices are high or are rising and causing hardships to the public. The Government selling price should be their imported price plus cost of transport only and not inflated prices after additions of various administrative charges of their top-heavy administration

Gandhiji with his characteristic insight had seen the demoralizing effect of controls on the public services and the masses, and had therefore strongly taken the cause of decontrol but unfortunately after his death, there is none among the top-ranking leaders who can see through this game of controls and put a stop to the colossal expenditure on the establishments of various controls The public has to foot the bill through the exchequer for their maintenance and again pay higher prices on controlled articles because of their inefficiency and corruption Controls have not achieved their twin objectives—equitable distribution and cheaper prices On the contrary, controls have resulted in black marketing, corruption high prices manipulated shortages and deterioration of foodgrains and their consequent total loss and non-utilization of the full productive capacity of the country It has often been argued that the Government have their own difficulties in rooting out corruption and inefficiency from public services and there is no public co-operation also If the Government cannot improve their services and if the public are so demoralized, then how is the Government going to achieve a planned economy of 300 million people?

'I have mentioned only a few of the vagaries of controls and I could convince you further if I could discuss the whole problem threadbare with you

"As I have pointed out elsewhere, in India the basic factors for working controls efficiently are lacking They are

'1 Government personnel Though leaders may be sincere, the same cannot be said of the rank and [illegible] methods of handling [illegible] of the articles controlled [illegible] and corruption—terms which [illegible] synonymous with Government [illegible] all render controls as abominable is [illegible]

"2 Controls cannot [illegible] in our country on standards of [illegible] there are very wide variations [illegible] from province to province and even class to class If all controls are worked on the basis of population then India will be a land of permanent shortages and controls must continue eternally, or till such time production goes up—nobody knows when, as is evident from food, cloth and sugar distribution controls

'3 Public co-operation Controls instead of ensuring fair supplies to all really needy, have demoralized the lower strata, who constitute 90 per cent of the population Complete lack of fellow-feeling and civic sense have so lowered them that there is no hope of any active co operation from them If such a large per entage of the population indulges in blackmarketing no controls can work efficiently

'I think all controls including Exchange and Railway Priority should be scrapped lock stock and barrel and thrown into the deep sea never to be resuscitated This will save the public exchequer crores of rupees remove all loopholes of corruption and inflationary tendencies will disappear There may be chaos for some time but it will be of a self-liquidating nature, as you have pointed out There should be a regular campaign before the public to cease all purchase except food grains for a couple of months and things will adjust themselves "

I have omitted the learned correspondent's name at his own request As I stated in the article referred to I agree with much if not with all that he says Apart from other factors I attach the greatest importance to the effect our corporate actions produce on the character of the people and I have no doubt that the controls are demoralizing the nation including the officers It is a greater evil than even hunger and nakedness.

But the question is similar to one that crops up in many a family The story of the Pandavas is well known Yudhishthira held that a Kshatriya king could not refuse an invitation to play with dice None of his brothers thought so But they could do nothing but obey Dharmaraja The tragic consequences of that erroneous idea of honour made the history of the *Mahabharata* Even so with us the principal heads of our national family are honest, selfless talented, indispensable over worked, surrounded by unexpected and immense difficulties We trust them we respect them, we love them, and we want them But still they have their own limitations even as we ourselves have and we have to take them as they are All junior members might feel convinced that in respect of certain

matters their approach and views are sadly wrong and harmful to the interests of the family But until the seniors are converted to our views there is no way out If their conversion does not come through our arguments, it has to come through hard experience and loss Till then we must co-operate with them and yet repeatedly press our views before them, or else politely but firmly ask them to retire and courageously take charge of the affairs into our own hands Such situations arise in every family or firm in critical periods, and nations are but huge families

Bombay 24-12-48 K G MASHRUWALA

DELETION OF A REFERENCE

An aged correspondent has appointed himself my monitor and pulls me up every time if he finds in my writings a word or sentence to be inconsistent with dignified style He has taken exception to the second of the following sentences in my article *Temple Entry* (*Harijan* 14th November, '48)

> "On the altar of communalism we sacrificed the greatest man of the modern age, who insisted upon the liquidation of communal hatred and passions by the power of truth and love The other leader who unfortunately interested himself in keeping the communal quarrel alive, has also come to the end of his life s journey

He says that I need not have made that invidious comparison obviously between Gandhiji and the Qaid-e-Azam The remark would necessarily displease many an admirer of the Muslim leader and be felt as having been made simply to indulge in a rhetorical attempt to show how much superior Gandhiji was to Mr Jinnah He was pained to see that the *Harijan* should go so low Besides the fact that the Qaid e-Azam can no longer defend himself, even if he cared to the reference was unnecessary for the development of the principal theme of the article, viz Harijan Temple Entry

I thank the correspondent, apologize and delete the reference to the Qaid-e-Azam

Bombay 23-12-'48 K G MASHRUWALA

Distribution of Imported Food Grains

A correspondent suggests that all imported grains should be distributed along coast-lines, instead of being transported inland through railways It will be cheaper, as water route is always cheaper than land route and will considerably relieve the railway system It appears to be a helpful suggestion

Bombay, 25-12 48 K G M.

KEY TO HEALTH

By M K. Gandhi

Translated by Dr Shushila Nayyar

Price *Rs 0 10 0* Postage etc *0 2-0*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

GANDHI JAYANTI AT GANDHI GRAM

We have yet to learn how truly to pay tribute to the birth of a great man If a man has been truly great that is of immortal stuff then his birthday cannot be a mere holiday! It must be one of those concentrated work days when we live for the Ages May Gandhi Jayanti gradually rise to such heights!

Some one hundred staff and student members of Gandhi Gram started planning some days ahead this year for a fairly intensive programme in the villages during Gandhi Jayanti We divided into seven groups four to go to four village centres where we planned to do intensive work during the coming year and three to develop special projects for all the centres a village exhibition an evening of drama and a tree planting project for the villages and for Gandhi Gram itself For two weeks previous to Gandhi Jayanti these groups were at work planning for the Gandhi Jayanti programme The village groups planned their village programmes, worked out their needs and prepared for intensive work. They visited the villages concerned and made plans for their coming Fortunately we had already arranged a *panchayat* for that area so that we had the representatives of the people to work with

SUSPICIOUS VILLAGERS

Except in two villages where *gram sevikas* were working our reception was not very cordial. We were suspected especially by the caste people They sensed that there were Harijans in our midst They had heard of our stand on untouchability They felt we were going to force them into a similar position. That suspicion remained unto the end with many In one village however the Harijans alone were represented and there we had very good response and very good co operation But in every village, within a few hours several felt the sincerity of our workers and responded And when the nine days were over and the groups had to return for the Gandhi Gram Anniversary programme which would climax the whole programme there was universal regret that newly formed friends had to leave I was especially impressed by one village where we wondered if hospitability would be available Cowsheds were finally made available Our trainees soon had them in order and were soon in happy fellowship with the villagers. I was surprised how soon the hearts of many were won. The process was slower in other villages but that depended upon personalities

Before the groups went to the villages they had their discipline and programme worked out Thus, right from the beginning they started with morning prayers sanitation work scouring meal spinning etc Very soon the villagers joined in with morning and evening prayers at least those who were present and not in the fields In most places children and a little later the women joined in with the sanitation work. Very quickly children, then some youth and later even some of the older people wanted to learn spinning And they did learn so that some twenty of them shared in the spinning contest at Gandhi Gram on our Anniversary Day In each village spinning is continuing and we are making plans to put this beginning on a self sufficient and stable basis That perhaps is the greatest significance of those nine days in the village it started for Gandhi Gram a substantial

bit of work that we must now carry on throughout the year

THE VILLAGE PROGRAMME

Our Exhibition was largely a chart exhibition and that did not appeal greatly to people who were 95% illiterate Another year we must do more with models that tell their own story The Drama group had a better response. There were several scenes on the urgent finance of a "casteless classless society in the village with special emphasis on a casteless village Then the group had also worked a drama from *Les Miserables* Perhaps here again we must come closer to the village life and experiences I was most interested in the Tree Planting Squad and project Over 30 trees were planted mango and cocoa nut both on common and private land A tree planted and well cared for is a gift to immortality The groups naturally had much to do with the children Time occupied the time of several each morning And the villages are all more deeply interested in schools Simple medical work was carried on under the supervision of qualified medical help Many sore eyes and much itch was eliminated during those few days. Naturally adult education went on 18 hours each day At the prayer meetings there were talks about the great leaders of India and what they stood for. There was an explanation of what Gandhi Gram stood for Villagers learned more about the *Gita* and other scriptures One day an agricultural holiday came and told the men about more scientific manure pits And as the ladies visited the homes naturally much informal education went on as questions were poured forth from eager minds Villagers learned something of the significance of the flag and nationhood—something of the etiquette of the flag And on October 2nd all of this was brought together into one happy programme Spinning went on throughout the day the flag was raised at the time of the morning prayer memorial trees were planted there was a public meeting and at one village the foundations for a Basic Education school were laid

THE FOLLOW UP

It is impossible to list all that was done during those full days. One group writes The villages gained practically nothing That is a sound judgement Again, "Our short stay will take us nowhere except that it would have given us some experience That is the heart of the value of such days at least for a Training Institution When students go to the villages, they should not be permitted to fool themselves that they accomplish much They often do under favourable circumstances But again as a group writes, 'The work is too vast for the *grama sevika* to handle it alone Such work must be a part of much larger and longer programme There must be preparations made previously there must be a follow up after the special contact is made. And so now the follow up is being planned Members of groups have visited their village friends during the past month Some villagers have visited Gandhi Gram The staff itself is preparing a substantial programme for the coming months which will be carried by the training of a small group of young village enthusiasts from the villages themselves so that they may carry the brunt of the work started although naturally we shall be at their sides constantly giving every inspiration and help possible. Spinning will be placed on a regular basis Adult education will be carried on regularly Wells will be dug and repaired so that a safe drinking water supply is assured Within a reasonable time we expect a Basic Education School in all these villages one has been already started The newly planted trees will be cared for and the villagers will be encouraged to plant more And not the least of all, we shall work with the *panchayat* and the local *panchayats* that may soon work as experienced and responsible groups The villagers have said they would go only to their own *panchayats* or to their common *panchayat* when there was trouble But we must go long ways before the *panchayats* will be able to command the confidence of the people at every point

We enjoyed our short stay in the villages It 'taught us a great deal We felt that we should have stayed longer .' We were able to win the affection and love of the majority of the villagers This was the response of Gandhi Gram as it went to the villages for Gandhi Jayanti My experience is that this is the common experience when interested youth go to share some little thing with those who have so little to share But we must never fool ourselves that we can do much in such a brief time in the villages On the other hand if such a programme is fitted thoughtfully in a long term programme the special contribution can be of no little value The greatest value comes to the youth who go to the village However the villagers also profit especially if there is wise and selfless leadership Many years ago I chanced to be one of the weak members of such a college team that went to a village in Southern Minnesota during our vacation season. Our work was one of inspiration We conducted religious services. Young and immature I have always felt that we could not have done much although the experience was very valuable for my own development But someone later I chanced to meet a leader of the village He told me that the coming of our small college group had started a small revival of religious living and nearly one hundred people had joined one or the other of the churches in the village as a result of our coming If that was true it was only because good preparation had been made for our coming and a thoughtful follow up programme was carried on. So also our Indian students go to the villages to render small service

Our reverence for Gandhiji must take solid form When we celebrate his birthday it must be more than a mere public meeting. When we would carry on his memory it must be by means of something of far more substance than a mere status or picture Gandhiji has given us a task for not less than a lifetime If we truly take him in earnest if we truly admit him and his life then it is for us to implement that way of life—a way of life that has meaning not only for India but for all the world Some of us may have the privilege of giving full time to the carrying out of the programme which his way of life implies Others will strengthen our hands as they are able to do But whatever our part we shall be at the job of bringing a 'casteless, classless society based upon a "living faith in God" to this selfish, divided world And each of us will be living the kind of life this faith implies in our own way and in our own particular sphere

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN

HARIJAN SEVAK—URDU

I regret to announce that the Trustees of the Navajivan Press have decided to suspend the publication of the Urdu script *Harijan Sevak* from the next week. Having regard to the extremely meagre circulation (less than 125 copies) of that edition, it became impossible for me to insist upon its continuance. For nearly six months last, friends taking interest in the continuation of that edition had been making earnest efforts to enroll more subscribers but there was not much success. The Trustees carried it on during all these months at considerable loss.

The decision is painful. The question might be raised whether under the circumstances it was not due to us or me that the Nagari edition should also be stopped in view of Gandhiji's declared attitude on the matter in the *Harijan Sevak* of 25th January 1948, namely, that if the Urdu edition was suspended the Nagari would also be. After discussing the matter with several friends and co-workers of Hindustani, I realized that to do so would be injurious to the cause of Hindustani itself, besides being unfair to those whose natural script is Nagari. The more fundamental thing in the matter is the language. The tendency of the present writers of the basic language—variously called Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu—is to write it in a style which cannot be understood by not only Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians but even, I dare say, Punjabi Sikhs, Sikhs and a considerable part of other Hindu masses. Until that tendency changes, it is necessary to speak to the people in a language which they will understand. It is possible that Governments with a determined policy to push out all non-Sanskrit elements in our languages might in the course of a generation or more so mould our languages and impart them also to non-Hindi sections of the country that the new generation might get used to Sanskrit words and form to a far greater extent than the present. How far this will be in the best interest of the nation is a different matter. I need not enter into that speculation. It is enough that the *Harijan Sevak* should try to speak in a language capable of being understood by its present-day readers.

I am aware that the *Harijan Sevak* has not always been successful in achieving that object. But henceforth it will be my attempt to present it in as simple a language as possible, keeping in mind the necessities of those not used to highflown styles (whether of the Hindi or Urdu schools) of the basic language in Hindustani.

I urge all those readers, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, who are more conversant with the Urdu script or with that script only, that they should make themselves at home with the Nagari script. It is essential to do so in their own interest. They must realize that with everything said and done, the Urdu script can be read with ease and used as a daily habit only by a very small section of the total Hindustani-speaking population. For this reason, I would also request that writers and publishers of Urdu script books should undertake to present their masterpieces in the Nagari script also, (with, wherever necessary, glossaries of difficult words) to make their contribution to the Hindustani language known to a greater circle of readers. Likewise, they should republish into the Urdu script good Hindi-Hindustani literature published in the Nagari script only. They will also do well to reproduce articles of the *Harijan Sevak* in their Urdu journals for the benefit of their readers. They will see that they and the Hindustani language stand to gain thereby.

Bombay, 31-12-48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

Regional Development Conference

A conference of persons interested in regional development referred to in the article *Propositions to Save India's Independence* (*Harijan*, 19th December, '48) will be held under the auspices of the Indian Town and Country Planning Association, on the 19th and the 20th February 1949 at Sinhgad Fort near Poona. A study tour will be organized for the members attending the conference in the Gunjawani and the Mutha valley area and there will also be a series of five lectures delivered in Poona from Monday the 14th to Friday the 18th February 1949, in English and in Marathi as a preliminary to the tour. This will enable the visitors to take an intelligent interest in the study tour and deliberations.

All persons interested are requested to correspond with the undersigned.

S. R. BHAGWAT,
Organizer, People's Commonwealth Regional Development Organization,
282 Sadashiva Peth,
Poona 2.

GANDHIANA
(A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)
Compiled by
P. G. Deshpande

Nearly three thousand books in various Indian languages and in English have been classified and listed in this Bibliography.

A title index also is included.

Pages 254. Price Rs. 3-4-0, Postage etc. 0-8-0

CONTENTS

		PAGE
CORRUPTION GALORE	K. G. MASHRUWALA	373
ADIM JATI SEVAK SANGH	—	374
THE EVIL OF CONTROLS	K. G. MASHRUWALA	376
DELETION OF A REFERENCE	K. G. MASHRUWALA	378
GANDHI JAYANTI AT GANDHI GRAM	RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN	378
HARIJAN SEVAK—URDU	K. G. MASHRUWALA	379
NOTES		
RELIEF	K. G. M.	379
GANDHI FUND AGAIN	K. G. M.	379
DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTED FOOD GRAINS	K. G. M.	379
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE		380

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates—INLAND: One year, Rs. 5. Six months, Rs. 3. FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $. 3

Communal Mentality

Reg. No. B3002

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

3072

VOL XII. No 46 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY JANUARY 16 1949 TWO ANNAS

THE OTHER SIDE

While there is enough reason for the general dissatisfaction towards the Congress organization and its members it would be most dangerous on the part of the people and parties opposed to the Congress to suppose that Congressmen are the only people who should correct themselves in order to set the matters right in our country The Congressmen are but a small part of the nation and perhaps, with everything said and done, the better section of the society As matters stand I do not see any body which is organized on better rules of personal and public conduct than the Congress and is capable of replacing it for better The very fact that the Congress organization itself lays stress on this matter and is alive to the deficiencies of its members is a great and hopeful sign It is not unlikely that under the chastening effect of the principal leaders, it might yet shed its weakness before it is too late But the critics who run down the Congress are likely to harm themselves by adopting a complacent attitude that their own standards of conduct are much superior or that it is the Government and the Congressmen who have to mend or end and that they have nothing to contribute

While, therefore I allow myself to criticize the Congress-Government or Congressmen unreservedly when necessary, I feel no pleasure in doing so If I have said, at times that the Congress will die or be ruined it is not that I wish so, or curse it. Rather, it is in the spirit of a friend and an old servant of the Congress that I make my remarks

What is necessary for the Congress is still more necessary for the nation Everyone of us has to adopt a higher standard of conduct Everyone of us has to turn Godwards i. e towards truth, righteousness, honesty, simplicity, cleanliness and love and regard for the comfort of others Let it be realized that we cannot expel God from our life and yet be happy and contented.

Bombay, 3-1-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

ADVICE TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

Addressing about a thousand constructive workers at Gandhinagar in the early hours of the 30th December 1948 morning Shri Vinoba delivered one of his most inspiring speeches, in which he explained some of his basic ideas which if given effect to, would go a long way in bridging the gulf between the Congress and the constructive workers and in creating clarity of thought and self-confidence amongst the workers which according to Shri Vinoba, was much needed today

The first and the most important point which Shri Vinoba stressed was about the discontent which was so much in evidence in the mode of the constructive workers against the Congress He was not referring to the discontent which was apparent in the Congress due to the defects that had crept into it, but to the one which was due to the inability of the Congress to transform itself into the Lokseva Sangh in accordance with Gandhiji's suggestion Shri Vinoba pointed that the discontent was due only to want of realization and appreciation of the stand taken in the constitution by the Congress

Why did the Congress insist upon maintaining its political form? Because Congressmen thought that otherwise more than one political party might rise in the country lawlessness might prevail and Swaraj might go to pieces It was for this reason that they deemed it necessary to continue as a political party until at least law and order were fully established. We would not blame the Congress if we could appreciate their point of view which is not without any basis They have their own line of thinking behind it Difference in approach presents the same object in different forms Not that they know not the risk in continuing as the political party but that they apprehend that there is more risk in not doing so Bapu thought otherwise According to him the main programme before the Congress after Swaraj would be that of the nation's progress, social and moral Thus, according to Bapu, were the Congress to transform itself into Lokseva Sangh it would be able to render greater service and also maintain its moral influence Administration could then easily have a smooth sailing.

"These are the two different approaches On each side there are advantages as well as defects The Congress men have realized the defects in their approach and have therefore included the clause dealing with the Charkha Sangh, Gramodyoga Sangh, Talim Sangh and other

institutions which Bapu had suggested to be included in the Lokasevak Sangh. The Congressmen thus think of reaping the advantages of both the sides. If we realize the good motive behind this and offer them our necessary co-operation it is just possible that they may derive the necessary advantage also. Of course they will have to be cautious enough to remove the defects that have already crept into the organization or may do so in future."

Next Vinoba referred to the pessimism that was growing among constructive workers. He himself saw no reason for it. If their optimism and pessimism depended upon external circumstances, Shri Vinoba said, they would be nowhere, and their joys and sorrows will be changing according to the gust of circumstances. "But we stand on the rocky foundation of a definite ideology, and there is none other which could refute ours. The different ideologies which are seen today have nothing definite in them. They are uncertain and indecisive. Those who have a definite ideology on their side have no reason whatsoever to be afraid of them for indecision and uncertainty are like darkness which offers but the most convenient condition for the entry of light. Light never fears what would happen to it in the darkest night of *amavasya* (new moon) for such a night offers the best background for its diffusion. And suppose there does exist some definite philosophy opposing us, shall we give up hope? Rather that would give us an opportunity for a struggle and this should infuse enthusiasm in us. In the long run be alone shall win who has 'truth' on his side.

The fact is that our own thoughts are not yet very clear and hence such depression. We need to be [illegible] "[illegible] We have presumed that we possess some definite thoughts, but we have not pondered on them as deeply as we ought to have. We are yet indecisive in our own ideas. If what I say is true, it is a sign for serious heart-searching and not for giving up heart. If our ideas do not inspire confidence and hope in us, I would say, away with them and accept those which are full of hope. In any case, we have got to be optimistic.

"Firmness in thinking demands the union of meditation and action. Therein lies the perfection of life. I have observed that those amongst us who have engaged themselves in practical work do less of meditation and those who are thinkers do not seem engaged in any particular work. Where meditation and action are thus separated from each other, both become lifeless. If this analysis is correct let the workers supplement their work by meditation and let those who after thorough and thoughtful examination of several ideologies, have realized that ours is the right one, engage themselves in some practical work. The onward path will be visible only if meditation is combined with action. One who after climbing a distance, becomes stationary and strains his eyes to see around himself, may be able to have a clearer but not a broader view. Those who have climbed a mountain can easily realize this. Unless we rise on a higher level then where we stand today, it is no use straining the sight, for that will not bring us broader vision. While lack of action has hindered the progress of work, lack of meditation has blocked the path of the workers. Both have to make up their deficiencies. Then alone, shall ideas become firm, vision progressive and despair disappear.

"Thirdly, added Shri Vinoba, "our workers who have been working in different fields should know that there are two parts of their work. One, that of developing all the aspects of Swaraj in their villages and second, that of constantly touring in the surrounding villages. This, I call, circumambulation. The villages to your taluqa are like the temples of God. Go around them. Keep the centre informed with your observations. While on tour be on the look out for convenient spots and select a few say five or six, for being developed as models for the others. Circumambulation must not be given up at any stage. This will help in maintaining healthy atmosphere all round and it will have a good effect on the work of our main village which in return will react healthily on the surrounding atmosphere. Thus our progress depends on these two things. When workers, without going around, bury themselves only in one place, the sluggishness in the surrounding atmosphere resets fully upon them. They lose their enthusiasm. And mere going round also tires them out and brings frustration to them. And then they think of doing some concrete work. The proper way, therefore, is that while some of us should be moving, others should be working. And in this way the activities should be exchanged now and then. Thus when both shall contribute towards perfection of experiences our work will be of a permanent nature and shall shine forth on all sides.'

"Fourthly,' continued Shri Vinoba, "care must be taken that the village workers are not left in seclusion. Division of work should not mean continued employment of a worker in a distant village working under only paper instructions from a leader who does so sitting in the head office. There should be constant personal contact between the two. Such a contact grows out of work alone. That means the leader also is engaged in some work or other, not dissimilar to that of the worker, and on the basis of which he can guide the workers in their difficulties. Unless the leader and the follower are co-workers there would be no harmony in their ideas and both would be dissatisfied with each other, giving rise to mutual faultfinding. The business of faultfinding has got to be replaced by mutual exchange of good qualities. This is possible only when the leader or the guide who sits in the office keeps himself engaged with some practical work. Then alone will his guidance be backed by experience and will not be imaginary. Both the leader and the follower will walk on the same level, and there will be no gulf between them.

"Lastly,' Vinoba concluded, 'I do not want to repeat the oft-repeated point of possessing an all round outlook for a worker. But it must be confessed that we have not been able to give practical shape to this idea. I would like to give one suggestion in this connection. When we think of an all round outlook, we think of dozens of items, but do not specialize ourselves even in one of them. The result is that not a single work receives justice. Our ancestors have rightly said

एक सारे सब सरे, सब सारे सब जाय।

(One thing at a time and that done well
Is a very good rule as any can tell)

"For an all round outlook it is not necessary that the temple be crowded with various deities What is needed is the talent which can feel the parts of all the deities in one. Whatever work we do, be it of *khadi*, sanitation or any other it should be done so perfectly that in its execution our outlook should reserve thorough manifestation, i e our vision should be broad while our action is specific and limited Limited outlook makes us narrow minded, broader activity brings no result When specific action and broader vision are combined our work will automatically present the picture of an all round outlook.

D M.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

LEST WE FORGET

XVII

MY MISSION

My mission is to convert every Indian, whether he is a Hindu Muslim, or any other, even Englishmen and finally the world to non-violence for regulating mutual relations whether political, economic social or religious. (*Economics of Khadi*, p- 587)

XVIII

NON-VIOLENCE AND KHADI

(a)

Khadi has been conceived as the foundation and the image of *ahimsa* [non-violence]. (*Ibid* p 535)

(b)

I identify Khadi with non-violence Khadi is the chief village handicraft Kill Khadi and you must kill the villages and with them non-violence (*Ibid* p. 593)

(c)

If pestilence, poverty and bloodshed are to be avoided, there is no remedy but Khadi and other village industries (*Ibid.* p 546)

(d)

For twenty years I have preached the cult of Khadi to my countrymen. I want to preach the same cult today when I am at death's door (*Ibid.* p 537)

[Speech at Haripura Congress Exhibition, February 16, 1938].

(e)

It involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Every one who has any connection with the mill industry knows that the women working in the mills are exposed to temptations and risks to which they ought not to be exposed. Many women for want of home employment accept road repair labour And only those who know what this labour is understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning-wheel, and no woman need ever seek any other employment than sitting at the spinning-wheel (*Ibid.* p 17)

GO-SEVA CONFERENCE, JAIPUR

The following are some of the resolutions passed at the Go-Seva Conference, which met at Jaipur during the Congress week

1. SELECTION OF COWS AND THE BULL

It is necessary for the improvement of the breed that experimenting farms should select cows of the local breed, the bull if necessary might be of another breed, provided care is taken to see that the bull belongs to a breed known for its capacity to serve the dual purpose of giving good bullocks for agriculture and cows with abundant milk.

Proposed by Shri Mahavir Prasad Poddar
Seconded by Shri Pundalik Kalgade

2 CASTRATION OF MALE CALVES

In order to prevent deterioration of the present breeds of cow it is essential that male-calves not fit for serving as sires should be compulsorily castrated, within one year after birth or before the appearance of not more than two teeth.

Proposed by Shri Purushottam Narahari Joshi
Seconded by Shri Tukadoji Maharaj

3 ESTABLISHMENT OF GO-SADANS

For the improvement of the breeds it is essential that cows which are unsexed for and unowned and which are unfit to be allowed to procreate should be kept in *gosadans* These should be established as soon as possible in forest areas so that they may not be a burden on the cows of good quality

Proposed by Shri Gopalrao Valunjkar
Seconded by Shri Pareshkaran Mahatre

4. SOLIDIFIED OILS

The increasing manufacture and use of solidified oils, or *vanaspati*, has made it difficult to obtain pure ghee. The industry of making pure ghee has declined and rendered cow breeding a difficult occupation This must ultimately adversely affect agriculture also Nevertheless attempt is made to still push further the *vanaspati* industry In the opinion of this Conference the interests of the people require that Government should prohibit solidification of oil, i e manufacture of *vanaspati*, as early as possible.

Proposed by Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju
Seconded by Shri Haradev Sahay

5 LOCATIONS OF GOVERNMENT EXPERIMENTAL FARMS

Government farms for experimenting upon agriculture and cow breeding at present carried on by the Central and Provincial Governments are confined to laboratory methods It is necessary that the experiments should be conducted among the rural population, so that people might get the knowledge and benefit of these experiments, and also that the experiments might be conducted in the right direction against the background of the people and the local conditions of nature

Proposed by Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj
Seconded by Dr Sharma

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

HARIJAN

January 16 1949

COMMUNAL MENTALITY

The Government has banned the R S. S as a communal organization and has put several thousand men into prison I humbly warn the Government and social workers against feeling complacent at this As the Congress must know from its own experience bans and large-scale arrests make the banned activities go underground Also, imprisonment of thousands of young men and women, many of them mere boys and girls, and lathi-charges and the like make the people forget the initial cause and look only at the apparent effects—which visibly inflict hardship and pain upon the offenders and their families Unwittingly they begin to dislike the custodians of law and order and befriend their victims. This happened to the advantage of the Congress in the past and may happen to the advantage of the R. S S. and other communal bodies now Repression like every method based on violence follows Newton's third law of Nature The greater the intensity with which you strike a body the greater is the injury which it will inflict on you In the present case the harm might be the development of that very communal mentality which it is our purpose to remove

There is a great probability of this happening in India The refugees are still full of anger and are generally communal-minded The Hindu Mahasabha is avowedly so A large section of the Sikhs is such There are few schools and colleges which do not have some active communally-minded members on their staff And to crown them all, the Congress Hindu too is not quite innocent of strong communal bias There are not a few Congress Hindus who think and feel in the same way as the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S S on Hindu-Muslim questions They feel that Gandhiji's espousal of the Muslim cause was an unnecessary and weak policy of appeasement, and they fully give expression to these feelings in their controversy on Hindi-Hindustani language and script On the subject of communalism, the Socialists are perhaps more clear-minded than many Congressmen. But power politics have thrown the two into opposite camps at a time when they should be working together. The result is that those among Congress leaders who are devoid of communal bias have a somewhat difficult task in their own organization I would not be surprised if a strict scrutiny discloses that non-communalist Congressmen are in a minority in the Congress.

All these things demand a strong constructive effort to cleanse the nation's heart and intellect, also an honest attempt and patriotic approach in the organization of political parties—particularly the Congress and the Socialist Mere suppression of the communal organizations by the arm of the law will not achieve much. For, if the Congress itself develops communal mentality it does not in the least matter that the Hindu Mahasabha and the R. S S are unable to function.

The non-Hindu communities—Muslims Christians, Parsis Sikhs and others—have also a duty in the matter They must co-operate in creating a feeling of common nationhood Whether or no the Congress, the Socialists and the Constructive Workers can work together in every matter they must at least do so, hand in hand on the mission of inculcating a non-communalist mentality in the nation Let no nationalist feel that this is easy and that a successful and prolonged suppression of the R. S. S or, for the matter of that, the Hindu Mahasabha the Muslim League and the like will set the matters right Let us remember that it cannot be a light cause which compelled Gandhiji to stake his life more than once and ultimately brought about his deliberate murder Let none take the complacent view that the murder was the act of a *pagal* (madman) He was merely an instrument, a robot of the mentality nurtured by a large section of the Hindus of all political colours.

Bombay, 5-1-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

"A TRUE AND PERFECT GENTLE KNIGHT"

I was not at all prepared to read the announcement of Syed Abdullah Brelvi's death in today's morning papers Just a few days ago I had a couple of letters from him It gave no indication of anything wrong with his health. But death from heart attack rarely gives previous notice

He had made his mark in the field of journalism He was an ex-President of the A I N E C But journalism was, though brilliant, but a minor factor of his personality Even if he had been anything else than a journalist he would have been regarded a dear and respected friend by everyone who ever got the chance of knowing him Like his personal and lifelong friends Shriyuts Vaikunthbhai and Gaganvihari Mehta and the late Mahadev Desai, he too was gentleness incarnate Indeed with the former two he was more a member of the family than just a close friend In fact they all lived together for a long time. The late Shri Lellubhai Shamaldas regarded him as an additional son Differences of religious labels did not tear them apart I came into personal contact with him in 1930 when we were both fellow prisoners in Nasik Road Central Prison. It was there that I discovered the magnanimity of his heart, his liberal outlook, and his thoroughgoing non-communalism. More than these what touched me most was that he was, in the words of Tennyson 'a true and perfect gentle knight'

Bombay 10-1-'49 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE AMBASSADORS

[The public will welcome the following reply to the article *Questions for Authorities* (19th December 1948), sent on behalf of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru our Prime Minister, and will feel satisfied with it, and dispel from the minds the notion that the Government of India has been spending fabulous sums after its foreign ambassadors The Governor-General's true receipts by way of salary were also considerably less than imagined, and are now further reduced by about Rs 1700 per month. The use of liquor at official parties will also be prohibited I am also authoritatively informed from another source that the Governor-General's salary is further subject to several irreducible heavy deductions, for instance, if he invites a guest, His Excellency has to pay the guest's boarding and lodging charges at a fixed rate, and that the allowances etc are all budgeted items, that is, the unspent balances remain in the Government Treasury

Bombay, 4-1-49 K G. MASHRUWALA]

May I reply to questions Nos 1 and 3 of *Questions for Authorities* which you have published in the *Harijan* issue of Sunday, the 19th December 1948?

Question No 1 The net salary that the Governor-General receives after deduction of income-tax and super-tax is about Rs. 7,200 A large part of it is spent on essential expenditure which cannot be avoided in the circumstances It has now been decided to fix the salary at Rs 5,500 free from tax

Government House is not merely the residence of the Governor-General but is also the State Guest House and the place for State Receptions It has also numerous offices and is also the Cabinet meeting place Some of its Reception Rooms are being used for an Exhibition of Indian Art. Thus the expenditure on Government House is not for the Governor-General, but for a variety of purposes connected with the State.

Question No. 3 It is not correct that the Ambassadors are paid salaries between Rs. 3,000 and Rs 12 000 Ambassadors are divided into three classes, viz Class I II and III who are in receipt of a salary of Rs 3,500 Rs 3 000 and Rs 2 750, respectively In addition, they receive a representation allowance which varies from place to place and which is expected to cover their entertainment and also the increased cost of living in the countries in which they are posted The cost of living is particularly high on account of inflation and exchange rates and our Diplomatic representatives and their staffs are often finding it difficult to maintain themselves even on existing salaries and allowances.

The following figures will show that the representation allowance granted to our Ambassadors, is extremely modest as compared with that enjoyed by the representatives of other countries For instance, the Ambassador for the United Kingdom in Paris receives a representation allowance of Rs 17,800 and our representative Rs 3 500 The Ambassador for U K in Cairo receives Rs 8,800, while our Ambassador gets Rs 3 500 The Ambassador for U K. in Iran gets Rs 4,800 while our Ambassador in Iran gets Rs 2,000 per month

Instructions have been issued prohibiting the use of liquor at official parties

Yours faithfully,

New Delhi, 31st December 1948 Sd. A. V. PAI
Principal Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister

SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The first meeting of the Sarvodaya Samaj Samiti was held early in the month of May 1948, at New Delhi. It was decided that the first annual *mela* of the Samaj should be held at Sabarmati on the 30th of January 1949. It was also decided to convene a conference, along with the *mela*, to bring about closer contact among the *sevaks* of the Samaj and facilitate exchange of ideas The Samiti also proposed to organize, if possible, an exhibition on the occasion for the benefit of the general public Shri Rajendrababu, Shri Vinoba Bhave, Shri Shankarrao Deo and Shri Jajuji participated in the proceedings of this meeting

The workers of Gujarat heartily welcomed the proposal to hold the annual *mela* at Sabarmati and started preliminary preparations for it Unfortunately, due to failure of rains this year, North Gujarat had to face conditions of acute scarcity and the workers had to abandon the idea of holding the *mela* at Sabarmati.

The Sarvodaya Samaj Samiti again met at New Delhi in the month of November 1948 to consider the whole situation and provisionally decided to hold the conference of the *sevaks* on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of January 1949 at a convenient place in the Central India. The Samiti however wished to take final decisions in this matter after consulting Shri Vinoba Bhave and other friends at Jaipur in December It therefore met again on 20th December 1948 at Jaipur on the premises of the Sarvodaya Exhibition Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Shri Jajuji, Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Shri Shankarrao Deo participated in the discussions to finalize the programme for the annual *mela* and the conference The decisions arrived at, were as follows

MELA AT RAJAGHAT

The first annual *mela* should be held at Rajaghat (Delhi) on the 30th of January 1949 The *sevaks* of the Samaj residing in and near Delhi will undertake the responsibility of organizing the *mela*

SARVODAYA DAY

The Sarvodaya Samaj Samiti also decided to make an appeal to the country to celebrate the 30th of January 1949 as "Sarvodaya Day" The programme of the day should include congregational prayers sacrificial cording and spinning, village cleaning groups public meetings, so as to further among the people, principles and programme enunciated by Bapu

LOCAL MELAS ON THE 12TH OF FEBRUARY

At places where Bapu's ashes have been immersed *melas* should similarly be held on the 12th of February 1949 and the occasion be utilized to imbibe in the minds of the people Bapu's ideal of *sarvodaya*

CONFERENCE OF SEVAKS

It has been decided to hold a conference of the *sevaks* of the Samaj in the second week of March 1949 at Rau near Indore in the Central India. The programme will be for three days Those who enlist themselves as *sevaks* till the 15th of February 1949 will be entitled to participate in this conference Those who wish to participate in the conference should communicate to the Secretary of the Samaj before the 28th of February 1949 in order to facilitate arrangements for lodging and boarding.

R. S DHOTRE
Secretary Sarvodaya Samaj
Wardha
Wardha. 4-1- 49

VILLAGE WORK BY A KASTURBA VIDYALAYA

Shrimati Bharati Vidyarthi, Organizer, Kasturba Gram Sevika Vidyalaya, Madhubani (Dist. Darbhanga, Bihar) reports

For practical training in village work the trainees of the Vidyalaya, camped at Sagarpur Rampatti and Chakdah during the whole of November They were divided into two parties each consisting of about 20 persons under the charge of a lady teacher of the Vidyalaya. One of the parties spent half the time at Sagarpur and the other half at Rampatti The other party stayed at Chakdah for the whole month Their work consisted in teaching women and children how to keep their houses and their surroundings neat and clean, explaining to them the evils of the purdah system and of customs like untouchability, drink, unequal marriage, and child marriage They were also addressed on subjects of education, health civic duties and the proper care of children Villages round about the camping centres were also served by the campers In all 25 villages were attended to At Chakdah the campers conducted a 'Bal Shala' consisting of about 40 children of the village Classes for the grown up formed a regular feature of the work

The campers went about this work in their uniform, namely in *salwar* (Panjabi trousers) and *kurta* (shirt) and without covering their faces with veils At first old men and women did not welcome the newcomers Some of them were either shocked or amused, when the would-be Gram Sevikas took broom-sticks baskets and spades in their hands to clean the wells tanks and streets of the villages But when they learnt who the Sevikas were and what their mission was they regretted their hostility and extended full support The mess expenses at Sagarpur and Rampatti were borne by the local people At Chakdah which is a flood stricken area and extremely poor, the Vidyalaya had to bear all the expenses. Arrangements for supplying free milk, soap and oil to the children attending the Bal Shala at Chakdah were made at the cost of the Vidyalaya The noon meals of the campers were usually provided by the villages when they visited them in connection with their work. The meetings and entertainment programmes conducted by the campers used to be attended by large numbers of women, men, and children.

THE LAW OF RETURN

[The following interesting lines are from a letter I have lately received from our old friend Reginald Reynolds India, having run after Western theories, must not stop short in the middle, but must note that those theories are now falling out of favour in the very lands where they first developed

2-12-'48 —MIRABEHN]

It was very good indeed to hear from you again, after such a long time, and to have news of the good work you are doing It links up with a spontaneous world movement in which an increasing number of people are interested including myself and most of my immediate associates here I refer to the new interest in the soil to which the greatest stimulus was given by Sir Albert Howard and his Indian associates at Indore. Thanks largely to Howard, people in all parts of the world have become conscious of the fundamental necessity for preserving and building up soil fertility There is an increasing realization of the importance of humus, and the necessity for returning all animal and vegetable waste to the soil, preferably in the form of compost—the *Law of Return*

It is not without significance that I first heard of this 'movement', when it was very young through the *Young India*. About 1929-30, when I was over there, some references were made to this question in the *Y. I.*, quoting the researches of Colonel McCarrison (now, I believe, General Sir Robert McC) He was then the nutrition expert in the I M S and had begun to study the conditions of health instead of the symptoms of disease He drew attention to the decline in the nutritive value of plants, grains etc which were deprived of organic manures, and showed that no amount of artificial fertilizers could replace this lost quality The later work of Howard, especially in the last 15 years of his life, (he died last autumn, in England) showed the positive harm done by artificial manures

Probably you know all this, but there is no harm in telling you how the movement is growing elsewhere, and I do consider that your own work links up closely with this increased understanding of Mother Earth and the desire to get back to that 'loving cultivation of the soil' which was once an essentially religious occupation.

As in your own work and Bapu's conception of the new India, this new attitude to the soil over here has gone on hand in hand with a belief in the necessity for a return to craftsmanship It is all part of the revolt against our monstrous urban civilization, and its false values. Over here and even in America, this revolt is growing and one can feel it not only in much of the literature now appearing but in the efforts of men and women, especially those young enough to be able to uproot themselves to go 'back to the land' or 'back to the crafts'. The war has helped on this process, for it showed the utter falseness of our civilization, as well as its weakness (weak because over-complicated, and therefore, vulnerable to a

blow at any of its hundred 'arteries'). But above all, there has at last dawned the realization that the Industrial Revolution "took the play out of work and God out of both" — the brilliant phrase used by my friend H. J. Massingham.

We feel that the time has come to show to a world faced with a growing problem of food production to meet its needs, that it is only on a vegetarian diet that we can make the best use of available land to feed the maximum number of people. This has been proved beyond doubt, but it is not widely known and gives us a great opportunity.

And, above all, we feel that the time has come for pacifists to set an example in regarding all natural resources not from the mercenary angle which has written its meaning in ruin over the dust bowls of the American Middle West (and Australia) but from the spiritual standpoint that

"doth lift up
Matter, like a sacred cup."

REGINALD REYNOLDS

THE COW-CENTRED CIVILIZATION OF INDIA

The following is a report of Shri Vinoba's speech delivered at the inauguration of the Go-seva Conference at Gandhinagar, Jaipur, on 16-12-'48.

Gosevа (service of the cow) should not really present any difficulty in India, Shri Vinoba said, because it was entirely in the people's own interest. Human life would be almost impossible in India without the cow, as her agriculture was entirely dependent upon the ox. A few tractors had begun to make their appearance for some time past, but "tractors will not lend any great support to the agriculturist. In the first place, tractors are not made in India, and secondly, they do not live on fodder. They want petrol, which is not produced in India, and might, therefore, fail the people at a critical period.

'It is clear therefore that until we muster courage to cultivate with only human manual labour, our agriculture must depend upon the bullock. I do believe that it is possible to cultivate with human labour alone with the assistance of small hand tools, and I would recommend that such experiments should be conducted here and there. But I need not dilate upon this subject here. As circumstances stand the bullock is the indispensable ploughing duty of our agriculture, and therefore it is the pivot of *gosevа*. Our ancestors very wisely co-ordinated *gosevа* with man's scheme of life. It makes human life both easy and humane.

"Just as the ox is indispensable for our agriculture, so is milk indispensable for our children. Perhaps man is the only animal, which depends upon the milk of animals of species other than his own. This appears to be against the divine scheme of life. But again, as circumstances stand, it is difficult to get rid of this dependence."

India, Shri Vinoba continued, was the only country to start the experiment of giving up meat. The saints could see the way to it only by resorting to milk. Hence the importance of milk in India. Even other countries had begun to realize Shri Vinoba said that with the increase of population pressure on land increased, rendering maintenance of animals for meat progressively more difficult. This had already raised and in course of time would further raise the importance of milk. Medical opinion in America had already begun to declare that milk was a better food than meat. India had already passed through that experience. "It would not be surprising", Shri Vinoba said, 'if a thousand years hence, man is obliged to give up even milk and depend entirely on fruits and vegetables. The two facts that our agriculture depends upon the ox and our life upon milk make the service of the cow just the service of the self. Consequently, there should be no difficulty in the service of the cow.

'But it is argued that the milk of the cow is costly. My contention is that we should give up milk altogether if we could afford it, irrespective of what it costs. But since we are unable to do so let us understand that nothing which is indispensable to life is too costly. Whether dear or cheap, food has to be produced and consumed. Because man cannot live without it he too is milk. The service of the cow has to be undertaken because of the indispensableness of the ox and the milk. *Gosevа* will bring the realization as nothing else will, that cow is the centre of Indian village predominant civilization. The ox and the cow together also show what place the machine occupies in India's life. As long as we have not decided to eat up our oxen, machines cannot replace them in agriculture.'

Nevertheless Shri Vinoba continued, "it is true that to some the cow and to others the ox appear as a heavy burden. The reality behind it is that man's own life has become burdensome to him in India. We have forgotten the science and art of life. We have children, but we do not know the science of childbirth. We do not know how the child should be brought up. If the child dies, we do not understand the cause but attribute it to destiny. Similarly, we call the cow Mother, but we do not realize that in our country beef is cheaper than all other meat. Is not this disgraceful? We call her Mother, but we do not fulfil our duties towards her. If we know how to serve the cow in a scientific manner, she would not be felt a heavy burden. For this, we must improve her breed in a scientific manner.

'Is it not surprising, that the cow which gives manure, milk, and calves while alive and supplies valuable hide and bones after her death, should be felt as a burden? It is not the cow, but our own dullness and ignorance, which is a burden. The subject deserves intelligent and scientific approach and tackling individually, corporately as well as officially. Scientists must also contribute their services to produce dual-purpose breeds.

"It is also necessary to remove the obstacles in the way of cattle improvement. The question of *varnasрati* is one of them. It must be studied with an open and scientific mind. If it becomes clear that *varnasрati* obstructs the improvement of the cow and the bull and is used for being adulterated with ghee, wisdom demands that its production should be stopped whatever capital and energy might have been bestowed upon it for developing the industry.

There is a story in the Mahabharata. Shri Vinoba said in conclusion, ' in which *dharma* is represented as appearing before God in the form of a bull and complaining to Him how he was ill treated by man. Thereupon, as the story says, God promised him that country which neglected him would not rise high. The promise involves the confirmant of a boon upon the ox and a curse upon the neglector.

D. M

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

FOREGO NON-ESSENTIALS

Throughout the fifty odd years of our struggle for independence our leader Mahatma Gandhi was always insistent on three noble observances — Truth, Non-violence and Simplicity. For a time we adopted a measure of simplicity in our dress and the like. But generally we paid only lip-service to what he wrote and said in that field. The result is that instead of being the torch-bearers of a new message for the stricken humanity of the world, we have succumbed to lavish display and luxury.

After all our dreams of *Rama Rajya* look at India now. It is widely proclaimed that she is lacking in the bare necessities of life and must depend on vast quantities of imported foodstuffs. She has also been importing foreign cloth. With another world war in the distant offing one could imagine no end to this situation. We have won our independence but still we are dependent to our utter shame for the bare necessities of life-food and to a lesser extent clothing. When we seriously think over the predicament in which we are, several reasons suggest themselves to us. And the first one that comes to our mind is inflation.

Everybody knows there is a big inflation on and the high prices prevailing are thought to be directly due to less production and more consumption. Inflation is too much currency. It is unequally distributed among consumers with the result that a few people have superfluous money in their pockets which enables them to pay fancy prices for anything that they think they must have. There are so many people in Bombay and elsewhere of this class who have, for instance, even now stocks of clothes and other things to last them for some years. And still they go on purchasing if it is rumoured that the prices might go higher a few months hence. They patronize the black-marketeer and the profiteer. As against this there is the vast majority of the people who have limited cash which is insufficient to meet even their reasonable demands at the prevailing prices. The production may have decreased, the demand may have increased than before. But the two are not so disproportionate as is imagined. It is the class of purchasers with too much extra cash in their pockets which is responsible for making the supply seem more deficient to meet the needs of the people than it really is.

Among such purchasers the Government itself should be reckoned as one. During the war it printed money lavishly and purchased war necessities at fancy prices and hoarded them in such large quantities that ultimately a good deal of the stocks went to waste or were sold off at a great loss back to the very merchants from whom they had purchased them. Though possibly to a lesser extent the same habit still persists. The Government does not seem inclined to be stingy with its printing press. The responsibility for correcting the situation lies with the Government. It should by suitable methods drain away the flood of currency notes which is producing the glut on the one side and the utter poverty on the other.

A large part of the population of cities and towns use four or five times more than their basic requirements in clothing. We should do away with fashion and adopt a simple dress as we did at the beginning of the Khadi movement. A shirt or a *peran* and a dhoti should be sufficient in our country to constitute a decent dress. Our climate is such that except for the northernmost portions for some time in the year we do not need a multiple layer of clothing on our body. Gandhiji himself set the example by going about the country in his loin cloth. Our rich and middle class women purchase far too many saris and other items of clothing than they need and madly go in for attractive articles. By adopting a simple dress the nation's deficit in clothing can be easily made good.

Almost a similar situation obtains in the matter of food. Most of the city dwellers usually eat much more than is required for a normal healthy life and waste much more than what they eat. Those who can afford to live on non-vegetarian food should do so and those who can make use of pulses or afford fruits etc. should consume less of rice and wheat thus releasing a large quantity of staple grains to the less fortunately situated in society. We should be able to forego at least one meal a week and save the poor villager that much of food.

No amount of monetary contributions or number less metallic statues to the memory of our departed Father will entitle us to be called his worthy inheritors. Only selfless service and sacrifice for the uplift of the underdog can entitle us to be his worthy successors.

"GANAPATI"

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THE OTHER SIDE	K. G. MASHRUWALA	381
ADVICE TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS	D. M.	381
LEST WE FORGET — XVII XVIII	— M. K. GANDHI	383
GO-SEVA CONFERENCE, JAIPUR		383
COMMUNAL MENTALITY	— K. G. MASHRUWALA	384
"A TRUE AND PERFECT GENTLE KNIGHT"	K. G. MASHRUWALA	384
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND THE AMBASSADORS	— A. V. PAI	385
SARVODAYA SAMAJ	R. S. DHOTRE	385
VILLAGE WORK BY A KASTURBA VIDYALAYA	— BHARATI VIDYARTHI	386
THE LAW OF RETURN	REGINALD REYNOLDS	386
THE COW CENTRED CIVILIZATION OF INDIA	— D. M.	387
FOREGO NON-ESSENTIALS	GANAPATI	388

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 12 sh or $ 3

Sarvodaya Day

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

3072

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 47 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 1949 TWO ANNAS

CONGRESS MESSAGE FOR THE SARVODAYA DAY

The Congress Working Committee has issued the following message for the observance of the Sarvodaya Day

"Almost one full year has passed since the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi. The anniversary of his death January 30, should be solemnly observed all over the country as "Sarvodaya Day", a day specially dedicated to Gandhiji and the ideals he preached and practised throughout his life. On this day more particularly, the mind of the nation should be directed towards Gandhiji's great message of unity and goodwill among all men and women through truth and non-violence. The day should be observed in a prayerful manner worthy of his sacred and living memory, and should include sacrificial spinning and social service. Public meetings may also be held At this meeting the following message should be read out

During her long history of struggle for freedom, carried on from generation to generation India experienced both sorrow and fulfilment and many triumphs and defeats But, under the super-leadership of the Father of the Nation, sorrow was made to chasten and purify the people and every defeat was turned into an incentive for redoubled effort and a prelude to victory

"'Recent years have been a time of trial and difficulty but again the message of Gandhiji inspired the nation These years have brought fulfilment in a measure, and the independence for which generations have struggled and suffered has been achieved But the cost of that achievement has been heavy indeed, for the motherland has been cut in two, and following this ill-fated partition, madness descended upon the people and all the great ideals for which Gandhiji had stood seemed for the moment to be eclipsed That darkness was illumined by the heartening message of Gandhiji and innumerable sorrowing hearts drew strength and solace from it

'Then came the greatest blow of all, the assassination of him who was the embodiment of love and the gentle and unconquerable spirit of India Thus the very achievement for which India had laboured and which was a culmination of long struggle brought no glow of freedom but sorrow and dismay

'In reverent memory of Gandhiji and in homage to his teachings, the country faced these terrible crises, the greatest of which was the crisis of the spirit which clouded India's mind and made her forget for a while the great lesson which the Master had taught.

'A year has passed since the passing away of him who brought freedom to the nation and gave it life On this first anniversary we pay homage to that great spirit and to his great message, and we resolve to continue the service of the people of India and humanity in the light of that life-giving message.

Having attained political freedom for the nation through non-violent action under the leadership of Gandhiji we have now to labour for the attainment of social and economic freedom so that progress and equal opportunity may come to all the people of India without any distinction of race or religion This task requires a new and positive approach and a dedication to the service of the motherland in a constructive spirit.

"The people of India have achieved independence but to enjoy its fruits, they must discharge their responsibilities and obligations We must remember that it has been, and should continue to be, our highest privilege to serve the people and to shoulder these responsibilities and obligations, and those who hanker after office or power forgetting their obligations do an ill-service to the country

"It was the particular teaching of Gandhiji that service should be directed more specially towards promoting unity and goodwill between all the people of India, abolishing class distinctions and those based on birth or caste or religion, and working for a classless society in a peaceful manner Above all the lesson he taught was adherence, at all costs and in all circumstances, to the moral values which give meaning to life.

"'We will endeavour with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crises of today both national and international, in the light of that message, so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and the great objectives for which Gandhiji stood may be fulfilled

The Working Committee also decided that the message should be read at public meetings convened that day, and that there should be no other speeches on that occasion

NATURE-CURE CLINIC, URULI KANCHAN

Readers will remember that Gandhiji established a Nature-Cure Clinic at Uruli Kanchan (Poona) in 1946 Writing about it in the *Harijan* (26th May, 1946) he wrote

> "I settled down and started work in Uruli Kanchan in response to the invitation of the inhabitants there in the hope of making it a model nature-cure centre for the villages of India The people of the village had promised their co-operation They were to have provided the land and erect buildings on it But that has not yet materialized They have given the money But that is not enough for buying land and buildings They have to find the land and to erect the buildings on it Their active interest in it is more important than mere monetary aid
>
> * * *
>
> Then the sooner the buildings are erected the better Secondly and that is more important so long as there is not adequate housing accommodation proper treatment of patients is not possible Accommodation for indoor patients is a necessity

Since the above was written the Clinic was able to obtain land and construct the hospital building by November 1947 Shri Kalasaheb Kalelkar performed the opening ceremony of the building But as quarters for workers were not yet ready, they had to live in the hospital building itself This put a limitation on the admission of indoor patients These are now ready and it has been decided to admit regularly indoor patients from 30th January next. As the supply of water is still inadequate not more than 10 beds will be maintained for the present

Since the Clinic has to be self-supporting, patients will have to pay fees and other charges. Poor patients will be excepted

There is no arrangement yet for giving a regular training in Nature-Cure But the Clinic will be prepared to accept a few trainees at their own cost, if they would be satisfied with what training they might get while they perform their duties Persons desiring of dedicating their lives to this Ashram and leading Ashram life may also be permitted There is need for a few of them particularly ladies

The Nature-Cure methods employed in this Clinic are limited to the following items laid down by Gandhiji Regulation of diet, fast, sun-bath, fomentation steam-bath mud-bandage massage and non-injurious indigenous herbs

For further particulars and rules of the Clinic please apply with reply stamps to

Manibhai Desai
Manager, Nisargopachar Ashram,
Uruli Kanchan (Poona)

RAHBAR

We wish to bring to the notice of all those interested in the cause of Adult Education, the great service which the fortnightly journal *Rahbar* has been rendering under the editorship of Mrs Kulsum Sayani for the last eight years It was originally started as a monthly in 1940 soon after the movement of Adult Education was inaugurated in the Bombay Presidency because it was felt that, without a journal like this to make people education-conscious and to provide useful reading matter for literate and semi-literate adults the movement would not make much headway Because it filled a genuine need it soon became so popular that within a few weeks of its publication it was made into a fortnightly and is now published in the Hindustani language in three scripts — Urdu, Devanagari and Gujarati — thus helping to bring workers of different regions into a common fellowship It publishes a rich variety of useful reading matter for adults dealing with Indian culture history geography, general knowledge, village problems and news The presentation has, however been made so simple and interesting that school children — both boys and girls — have also found it interesting reading This fact has been amply demonstrated by the appreciable response made by 500 primary schools to which copies of the journal are supplied free It has had the advantage of winning the approval and patronage of the Bombay City Adult Education Committee as well as of the Provincial Board of Adult Education and the Bombay Government.

So far this work has been carried on as a devoted labour of love by Mrs Sayani at her own initiative and partly at her own expense. The Bombay Government has been giving, as a token of appreciation, an annual grant of Rs 1500 but this is obviously insufficient to meet the expenditure involved in bringing out the journal in three scripts It has proved its bona fides through eight long years of service and this indicates that it is high time it were placed on a firm and stable foundation In our opinion, it is not reasonable to expect any individual, however devoted to the cause, to shoulder unaided — in addition to editorial work — the financial responsibility for doing something which is of national importance We therefore appeal to all philanthropists and others interested in the educational progress of the province and the country — for, the journal is not narrowly provincial in its outlook or content — to come forward with generous help towards stabilizing its finances so that it may be able to set up a small printing press of its own to extend its scope of usefulness and to meet the yearly deficit which amounts to about Rs. 4 000

We suggest that this may be done either through lump sum donations or the enrolment of life members of the journal who are prepared to pay a sum of Rs. 100 for the purpose, or by donating a certain number of annual subscriptions to enable a free supply of the journal being made to schools or adult education centres We would also suggest

that the Education Ministries of both the Provinces and the Centre may be asked to donate an annual sum in order to encourage and expand free distribution of the journal to schools These donations and subscriptions should be sent at the following address:

Mrs Kulsum Sayani
Rupa Villa, Cumbala Hill BOMBAY, 26

Subscription for the paper in any one script is Rs 3 per annum

We trust that this appeal will meet with generous response from all philanthropists who are [illegible] in the cause of education and social welfare

AMRIT KAUR	GULZARILAL NANDA
B G KHER	K G SAIYIDAIN
KAKA KALELKAR	PERIN CAPTAIN
K G MASHRUWALA	R CHOKSHI
ZAKIR HUSSAIN	SAIF F B TYABJI

SPINNING AT HIGH LEVEL

For a long time, I have before me an authentic account of the spinning activity carried on by Dr Kailash Nath Katju, formerly the Governor of Orissa and now of West Bengal I was seeking an opportunity to acquaint the readers of its details During his short period of Governorship in Orissa he was trying his best to popularize spinning, both in towns as well as in the villages He established a spinning centre in the Government House at Cuttack where he used to spin daily (whenever he was in Cuttack) Everybody was welcome there and they had 30 to 40 people, men, women and children attending daily Four or five centres were established in other parts of Cuttack town. The progress was slow When Dr Katju started touring in the countryside in Orissa from November to April, he went deep into the interior of each district and used to visit five or six main villages every day motoring 70 to 80 miles, and the regular feature was a public meeting with a spinning demonstration in which he invariably used to take part. He established many spinning centres in various parts of Orissa. He gave them some money and helped them in raising other funds by auctioning the yarn spun by him or the addresses presented to him at the public meetings. This was the work after his own heart and he liked it exceedingly

On his arrival in Calcutta he found utter absence of charkha-mindedness Of course there was the centre at Sodepur but ever since Bapuji went to Noakhali Shri Satish Babu and his co-workers were devoting their attention to Noakhali and the work at Sodepur had rather slowed down Dr Katju was a stranger to Calcutta and therefore he could only start a centre at the house which he happened to occupy He found some ladies meeting there every Thursday knitting garments for refugees That work had come to an end and they were rather thinking of breaking up Dr Katju suggested that they had better take to spinning So the class continued Forty to fifty women belonging to middle class families some of them highly connected, were there every Thursday and learnt spinning By the end of August last five other centres were opened in different parts of Calcutta Dr Katju gave them a grant of Rs 500 and the ladies collected another sum of Rs 2200 from the public. A regular programme for popularizing spinning was drawn up and the women in charge (some of them were very keen) showed great organizing capacity They had already got nearly 70 charkhas and orders for several hundreds were to be placed

After the end of the rainy season Dr Katju proposed to restart visiting villages and spending 3 or 4 hours there as in Orissa inspecting village institutions, the local *prathshala*, the Harijan *bustee* the dispensary and holding a public meeting where the villagers would be invited and if possible, to hold a spinning demonstration in which he himself would invariably personally take part

This was in the beginning of September I received another report in the middle of October giving further progress of His Excellency s activities

By that time the Government House centre had not only increased its membership but had also assisted in founding six other centres in different parts of Calcutta The ladies who were in charge of these activities chalked out a plan of their own for celebrating Gandhi Jayanti for a week from 27th September to 2nd October These centres held several spinning demonstrations three of which Dr Katju personally attended and passed a very happy hour in spinning —everywhere with two or three hundred men, women and children The main function was at the Government House on 2nd October Here they had not merely spinning but the demonstration of all the processes of spinning It was a success beyond expectation Over 700 people of all communities and of all ages joined the solemn purifying ceremony As Dr Katju said they had thus engaged not only in purifying themselves but also purifying the Government House itself of the past inequities

I give the above account to show how the highest officer in the State or a province can help the *sarvodaya* constructive programme

Bombay, 1-1-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

A Scavenging Programme

In the course of a letter from Dhulia Shri Vinoba informs that the constructive workers of Dhulia have fixed upon a scavenging programme for the 30th of every month in the town Latrines at Dhulia are in an extremely disorderly condition. The workers have decided that on the 30th of every month they should themselves clean them A few volunteers, among whom there are aged brahmans, have enlisted themselves in the work Dhulia is the principal town of West Khandesh with a population of about 75000 Jalgaon which is the corresponding town in East Khandesh is also no better in its sanitary arrangements The constructive workers of that town also have decided to do this kind of work twice in a month, namely the 15th and the 30th Shri Vinoba understands that similar programmes are under contemplation in other towns of Maharashtra. Maharashtra workers deserve to be congratulated for this substantial activity, and I hope it will be copied elsewhere As Vinobaji writes it will truly remove untouchability

Bombay 18-1-49 K. G M

HARIJAN

January 23 1949

SARVODAYA DAY

[The following programme for the observance of the Sarvodaya Day was announced by Shri Vinoba at the prayer meeting, on Friday 7-1-'49 at the Gandhi Tatvajnan Institution, Dhuha —ED]

It had been usual at various places to hold collective prayers on Friday, the day of Gandhiji's departure. Prayers should form part of everyday life in every family and in every group But if the people with their preoccupations find it difficult to observe this self-imposed routine, they should assemble at least once in a week.

But today I want to speak on a different topic The 30th of this month is the day of Gandhiji's final *prayana* (departure) It will be his first anniversary. Every village throughout the country will observe some programme on that day and it is but right to do so Memories of great men are a great sustaining power for ordinary people like us The more such memories are collected the better But I call it Sarvodaya Day instead of Gandhi Day For, after all, it is more helpful to concentrate on an ideal than on the individual A few days ago I attended a function of the Dadu Samaj I told the friends there, 'Let the Lord's name persist, that of Dadu perish!' I want to repeat it here. Gandhiji was extremely regardful about this People tried to call his birthday Gandhi Jayanti But Gandhiji advised them to call it Charkha Jayanti, for thereby they would preserve in a practical manner an idea, which was more important than the memory of an individual. Very recently I happened to see one of his letters written from South Africa, in which he says 'My cause will prosper only when my name has perished' 'Keep not my fame grant me this boon', asked *Jnaneshwar* He wished for the disappearance of his name as well as his form Let idea remain since man must die If we keep alive memories of individuals, there is every risk that we shall be confused, develop narrow sects and the society may be broken into pieces Already there are in our country today more living *avataras* than one Their devotees have started adoring them even during their lifetime It is no good at all

Gandhiji regarded himself as an ordinary human being Let us regard him just a man There is grace in it If a holy name has to be uttered on that day why should we not choose the same which came on Gandhiji's lips, spontaneously and devotionally the moment the assassin's bullet touched him? So, I would have his anniversary day called Sarvodaya Day Much good can be wrought if the day is utilized for operative meditation Inactive meditation there is plenty of in our life Worship through work, is the message of all religions, but we have forgotten it. Gandhiji, however, was that message personified It must be reproduced in our lives I, therefore suggest public scavenging for one and all on that day Let all of us become sweepers and clean the country clear of dirt and filth. We have sinned horribly by treating the sweepers as untouchables, and have made the country so filthy that in no civilized country can its parallel be traced We have got to perform the penance Let all young and old become modest Let this act be performed with the feeling, "It is great see the meanest creature in the world"

Similarly, our country is in great need of production Let every one, therefore spin and let our hearts be united with the thread of affection Spinning is a task, which banning those who are very ill can be performed by everyone young and old. It should therefore be included as a token of productive labour

The above are the two operative programmes Besides collective prayers also should be held in which every one should join and in the name of the Lord purify our minds and unite our hearts

Meditation on the ideal of Sarvodaya should synchronize with this programme. There are more ways of meditation than one So full of significance is the term Sarvodaya that you can go as deep as you will For example, we may remember that our aim is not to strive for the uplift of a particular class We stand for the good of all We may also remind ourselves that there is no conflict of interests which are essentially true It is only notions of happiness which differ from individual to individual according to differences in the development of the mind A third way of cogitation is to realize the unity of life, and so the duty of forgetting one's own self in the service of others The irresistible conclusion from this is that the vow of *Truth* and the duty of not encroaching upon others are essential for the attainment of this Restraint has got to be practised. Let the day be thus spent in contemplation on the idea of Sarvodaya

God has indeed been very kind to us From ancient times today He has been sending saints to our country Even at this moment of great depression, He has, as it were, showered great men on us. If we keep our hearts open their spirits shall enter our hearts and transform our life. God willing, what is there which is impossible?

D M

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

An Hour's Silence

'I am very glad to read that the Congress has banned all speeches on the Sarvodaya Day I suggest that every individual should observe at least an hour's silence that day as a personal discipline We all know what importance Bapu attached to the observance of silence, writes a correspondent. It is a good suggestion I would add that it would give immense relief to our ears if the radio programmes also are shut off an hour earlier, that day

Bombay, 14-1-'49 K G M

OBSERVANCE OF 30TH JANUARY

We shall soon be laying out tribute of love and homage at the shrine of our beloved Bapu of ever-blessed memory on the first anniversary of his passing

I have no doubt in my own mind that January 30th should be spent by us in prayer and fasting Bapu invariably remembered great days and celebrated great events in this way He was a man of God and therefore, a man of prayer Fasting and prayer were means to his life of spiritual and moral upliftment We should try to emulate his example in this as we should in every other way that he taught us

He was a man of few words but he was a doer So let us pay silent homage to his loved memory by dedicating ourselves to his way of life This needs humility and faith

12-1-'49 A K.

FROM CASTE TO NATION

I have received the following resolution for publication

"The Managing Trustees of the Konkanastha Vaishya Caste Fund are clearly of opinion that one of its institutions namely the Konkanastha Vaishya Vidyashram (Residential School of Konkanastha Vaishyas) established in 1921 at Sasavane (Dist Kolaba) being an educational institution, should be under the direct management of the National Government of our country It is all the more necessary to do so because in the maintenance and management of the Ashram, the caste did not collect funds from the Vaishyas of Konkan only but also from other sympathizers Hence this meeting of the Trustees resolve that the Educational Institution of Sasavane along with all its movable and immovable properties and funds should be gifted over to the Government for carrying on educational activities

The above resolution was confirmed as required by law by an extraordinary meeting of the managing trustees on 23-12-'48 and it is proposed that the institution will be handed over formally to the Government of Bombay on the 30th January, and the Government will thereafter carry on under its direct control an educational institution there under the name of Gandhi Vidyashram

It is necessary to know briefly the historical background of this resolution in order to appreciate its full significance The Vaishyas of Konkan are a small caste of about 75000 souls Unlike other Vaishyas of Maharashtra, it is an indigenous caste of traders living in Bombay and the districts of Konkan I believe in the early twenties it could not claim to be far advanced in university education Commercial education it always had if not in schools in practical life It can now claim to be a fairly well-off middle class group As is well known traders are generally very conservative in political and social outlook and look upon political movements with a degree of distrust By 1921 the community had a good amount of funds which it spent in various manners for the benefit of its own caste people But the year 1921 received the message of non-co-operation with the Government Acharya J G alias Bhai Dhavan, a member of that caste was studying for B A. at the time He had already formed some ideas, which he wanted to put into operation after taking his degree, of opening a residential school for his caste boys But before he could do that he was struck with Gandhiji's message of non-violent non-co-operation. He completely succumbed to it and left the college He resolved that his proposed institution must be independant of Government control and examinations, and must become a part of the non-co-operation movement One can easily imagine that it could not have been an easy task to induce his friends and caste people to agree with him. But Acharya Dhavan is a tenacious *bania*, and would not yield till he had gained his point The managing trustees were hesitant at first about starting a non-co-operating institution, but an event took place to settle them down. They received an unconditional donation of Rs 20-000 from a rich member of the community, who knew Acharya Dhavan for a long time, and in whose capacities he had full confidence. Though no condition was attached to the offer the suggestion was clear The trustees regarded it as a point of honour with them to allow Acharya Dhavan to establish the new institution after his own plans Thus this institution was started in 1921 from the caste funds and for the boys of the caste principally Sasavane is a small village on the seashore a few miles to the south of Bombay It is a beautiful place with green mountains in the background and a vast seabeach in the front.

The institution had a chequered career, now flourishing now declining and frequently going into wilderness in loyal response to the call of the Congress Government took its possession more than once Gandhiji had to announce a new idea and Acharya Dhavan and his colleagues would consider themselves duty-bound to implement it, come what may. But the trustees of the caste fund generally stood by him through thick and thin The donor who had given 20 000 rupees at the beginning paid 30,000 rupees more to it in course of time Several other caste people also gave liberal donations The trustees not only paid it from caste funds but also raised subscriptions for it from outside the caste also Though mainly meant for Konkanastha Vaishyas, it admitted boys from other communities also Still legally it was a caste school entirely managed by caste people.

The *Young India* of 17-3-'27 and the *Navajivan* of 20-3-'27 contain a detailed account of Gandhiji's visit to that Ashram on 3-3-'27. They show how much Bapu was pleased with his visit From the point of view of numbers it was in a flourishing condition then The young *brahmacharis* presented him Rs 63-3-0 saved by them by denying to themselves for one week milk, ghee, bread, and sugar This act of self-renunciation was highly appreciated by Bapu

After Acharya Dhavan's release from jail at the conclusion of the Quit India movement his outlook had become wider than ever before A great admirer and follower of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj that he was he was daily growing in regard to caste He felt

that in the new social order which India wanted to evolve, there was no place for an institution and a fund meant for a particular small caste and so he began to think in terms of transforming the Konkanastha Vaishya Vidyashram into a national institution not only *de facto* but also *de jure* and he now began to spread this idea among his caste people After the attainment of independence on the 15th August 1947, he felt that there could not be any longer a non-co-operating institution On the contrary it was his duty to plate his institution at the disposal of the Government, which the Congress itself had established The assassination of Gandhiji and what took place thereafter in Maharashtra settled him down on the other point also His own mind was fully made up that either the institution should expand into a fully national one without any trace of any denominational character or he should be relieved of its responsibilities Gradually he won over every member of the managing trustees to his view and the result is what you read in the resolution mentioned in the beginning This is perhaps the first instance of a caste which has voluntarily handed over its control over properties and funds and has given up its caste-outlook in the field of education at least, thus giving a practical demonstration of its full confidence in the National Government of the country Naturally the formal transfer of property has been made to synchronize with the Sarvodaya Day The caste and the managing trustees deserve our congratulations Congratulations will be a mild term for Bhai Dhavan who naturally regards this as a happy culmination of his 28 years labours I understand that the Government of Bombay contemplate to carry on a basic school institution there in conformity with the principles of *Nai Talim*- Acharya Dhavan will continue to be the guiding spirit of the new institution also

Bombay 13-1-'49 K. G MASHRUWALA

COMPULSORY LABOUR

I read the article regarding compulsory labour from barbers which appeared in the *Harijan* issue of the 19th December with great interest. As one who has studied this question deeply let me say that villages of Gujarat are not exempt from exacting compulsory service by the rule of the rod In one form or another compulsory service is being exacted from Rajputs, Brahmins Kolis Kadias Suthars Darjis Harijans Garodas and others. They lower the morale of both of the Government servants and the rural masses The cause of the amelioration of the rural masses was very near to Gandhiji's heart but God did not spare him to complete the work of the annihilation of this system of slavery. It should be done without delay and hesitation

The question affects more than 50 per cent population of the Bombay Province and I have come to the conclusion that this question will not be solved unless the victims of this system help themselves and resolve not to do any sort of *vetti* at any cost. They should be prepared to make every sacrifice to achieve the end and there will be no authority on the earth to compel them to do it They should unite together for the purpose I would advise all the village communities to follow the example of the Rajputs of Palanpur State who renewed their resolution on 7-12 '48 at Sedarasan in the presence of Shree Ravishanker Maharaj not to do any sort of *vetti* which they had given up in the regime of the Nawab of Palanpur even at the cost of their lives

The civilization and culture of a country depends upon its existing social institutions What will be the fate of our long cherished dream of *Rama Rajya* if such systems of slavery are allowed to continue? Is our *Rama Rajya* to be built on the foundation of these systems of slavery? The rural masses earnestly desire and expect the Congress Government to bring an end to this serfdom.

The abolition of this system will have a far-reaching effect on the rural economy It will accelerate the present rate of production of food-grains It will result in relieving 30 per cent of the rural population to pay full time attention and work on their farms for more number of hours Not only the production will increase but the Government land revenue will also increase, for instance, in Palanpur State which is merged into the Bombay Province, 40 per cent of the total area of lands are under "*Chakarvat Pashayata* Head"—(Grants to village servants)—free of assessment. That means that lands yielding a revenue of about Rs 3 lakhs are maintained under *Chakarvat Pashayata* Head for receiving compulsory service If this system is abolished hardly a sum of Re 1 will be required to meet with the expenditure of paid village servants to be kept in place of *vasvayas* and others

In my opinion, the victims of the present system must not wait for the mercy of Government and public workers to take up their question at their convenience but help them as well as themselves by resolving not to do any *vetti* at any cost and God will help them Though truly it should be needless, yet having regard to prevailing conditions, it is absolutely necessary to emphasize that all such forward steps should be under the strictest observance of truth and non-violence

Such a resolution will not have any adverse effect on the Government administration or public welfare beyond producing some angry outbursts of Government servants until the time they become used to the new order

Baroda 21-12-48 V S BODANA

P S Since the above was written and despatched Shri Morarji Desai Home Minister for Bombay paid a visit to Palanpur on 25-12-'48 and declared the Government policy of abolishing the *vetti* of the Rajputs of Palanpur I congratulate and thank the Government for this decision

Baroda 3-1-49 V S B.

DEVELOPMENT OR DESTRUCTION?

Development schemes are going on apace in India today. But are they all wise and far-sighted? Are they all for the good of the people? It is a question into which we should go more deeply and make the result of our investigations widely known

Today I will take three examples

1. Ploughing up of grass-lands
2. Increase of canal irrigation
3. Manufacture of artificial manures

With regard to the first it is probable that much of the grass-land under development has been, up to now grazing land for cattle, such as Terai and Khadar areas The cattle of India are already desparately short of grazing and breeding areas It is likely therefore, that the correct development of these lands would be for introducing better grazing grasses and for cultivation of fodder crops, while the people who are settled on these lands should be capable of cattle breeding and development I am afraid this is not the case, and if the grazing lands of India go on being reduced in the name of development, it will ultimately lead to the destruction of the cow and her progeny We can enormously increase our output of grain by better nourishment of the present fields with well-composted farmyard manure This is the safe and sound method Unfortunately it is not so easy or quick in immediate spectacular results as ploughing up of grass-lands But it is the far-sighted policy and at the same time saves the cow, without whom man himself would perish

With regard to the second example, most people have no idea of the dangers Huge new irrigation schemes are afoot, but have we sufficiently studied the disasters which have come about as a result of the canal irrigation systems already established in U P, Punjab and Sind? Thousands upon thousands of acres of once rich land have gone out and are still going out of cultivation in these areas *Usar*, *Reh*, water-logging, and the like have overtaken some of the best lands in India, and experts attribute it to faulty canal irrigation Here again would-be development may end in destruction unless we look ahead and plan accordingly

With regard to the third point, it is now an accepted fact amongst scientists, who have investigated the matter, that crops nourished with artificial fertilizers are inferior in *quality*, to those nourished with compost (farmyard manure) It is even reported that vegetables and fodders grown with artificial fertilizers are harmful to man and beast At the same time, soil fed with artificial fertilizers, though it gives a big yield for a few years, finally loses its strength, whereas soil fed with compost manure gets richer and richer in strength and texture. Why then big factories for manufacturing artificial manures? This so-called development also leads down the road to destruction

In this [illegible] I [illegible] not the interests of [illegible] most influential part All this means that we must not rest on our oars and think that, because we have won Swaraj, we are now safe from further exploitation On the contrary we have got to be very much awake for this exploitation from within is even more dangerous than the former foreign exploitation, because it carries with it the glamour of apparent patriotism

Today I have only touched briefly on these three illustrative points of, ploughing up grass-lands canal irrigation, and artificial manures I am collecting facts and figures from official sources, and at the same time I should be very glad if people with any personal experience in these matters would send me their information to the Ashram Pashulok, P O Rishikesh, District Dehradun U P Technical experts are alive to these things and individual farmers know them by experience The knowledge and experience of both must be brought to the fore so that public opinion may be enlightened, and through it the administrators may see to it that development does not lead to destruction

Pashulok 8-1-'49 MIRABEHN

MORE WORK, LESS TALK

While it is generally agreed that we should observe 30th January in a manner best calculated to advance Bapu's ideology and programme, we meet with a real difficulty, when we come to the details about the observance

I have been feeling for some time past that we are spending a disproportionately longer time in talks and discussions, with the result that practically little or no time is left for action I have also been feeling that though we love Bapu and accept him as our leader, we are drifting away from him

I therefore think that the first need of due observance of this day is to avoid meetings speeches, discussions of plans and demonstrations, and the time and energy should be saved by each lover and admirer of Bapu for doing some service involving physical labour and the like Each individual may decide what he can do best

Those who can so arrange may visit villages in batches of not more than two or three and try to reach as many villages as possible, and spend the whole day with the villagers Programmes of village sanitation, spinning etc may be arranged. The visitors may conduct prayers, read *Tulsi Ramayan*, address groups of villagers on Bapu's life, ideology and programme and try to come in closer contact with village people and village life Such visits will enable us to understand the villagers difficulties in their day to day life What the common man wants is the hard reality of betterment in his living conditions and a human living touch of the Government which he is asked to consider as his own and as existing for his benefit.

Ahmedabad 26-12-'48 G. V MAVALANKAR

GANDHI RELICS MUSEUM

Dr Rajendra Prasad President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund issued the following statement on 6th January '49

It is highly necessary to collect all important material about Mahatma Gandhi before it becomes too late India has been criticized for its proverbial neglect of its historical material Let us not be guilty of the same neglect towards the rich material connected with Gandhiji a life and work

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Memorial Trust) has decided to build and maintain a Gandhi Museum where relics of Mahatma Gandhi — things of his personal use and other things having historical or sentimental value connected with Mahatma Gandhi, letters, articles and documents written by him or at his dictation, his voice as recorded photographs, paintings, cartoons etc., of Mahatma Gandhi, poems and folksongs dealing with events in the life of Mahatma Gandhi all literature in all languages by and about Mahatma Gandhi, will all be collected, preserved and made available to the public Films recording some events in his life will also be preserved

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar has kindly consented to take up the work of collection and he has been authorized by and on behalf of the Gandhi Memorial Trust to collect preserve and display all such material, at any convenient place till a permanent museum is built to house these things People throughout India and outside are earnestly requested to co-operate with Shri Kakasaheb by sending him whatever material they have in their possession, or at least by supplying him with all necessary information about such things so that he may take steps, where possible to secure them He has made adequate arrangements for the preservation of these things in the Prince of Wales Museum and in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, pending the setting up of a special museum

It is particularly desired that all books connected with Mahatma Gandhi should be collected in sufficient numbers before they are out of print, so that the idea of maintaining a number of well-equipped Gandhian Libraries in India and abroad may not be difficult of fulfilment. It is hoped that authors and publishers, in India and abroad will send copies of all their publications regarding Mahatma Gandhi, his life, ideas and activities to Shri Kaka Kalelkar Gandhi Smarak Sangraha Town Hall, Bombay.

A Month's Course in Bee-Keeping

A month s course in theoretical and practical bee-keeping will be given at the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Wardha during February, 1949 The expenses including lodging boarding and fees will come to rupees forty

For further information please write to the Secretary, All India Village Industries Association, Maganwadi, Wardha C P

THE JAIPUR CONGRESS

I had not forgotten that I had made no reference to the Congress after the sessions I wished to publish the text of its main resolutions But it came into my hands too long after the sessions The resolutions entitled the Message, Communalism and Standards of Public Conduct are worthy of our great national institution They are frank They show both of our achievements and disappointments — disappointments due both to circumstances as well as our own drawbacks The Message Resolution of Jaipur is substantially reproduced in the Working Committee's message for the Sarvodaya Day printed elsewhere in this issue The one on Economic Programme is significant I do not know the mind of the A I S A and the A. I. V I A. but I am afraid that it will not meet with their approval As Shri J C Kumarappa had said recently in the columns of this paper, it is according to him and those of us who think with him, a wrong approach. You may if you wish, call it an approach contrary to that of these institutions I have called the resolution significant, because it marks the line of cleavage between the Khadi-Gramodyog approach and the Congress approach There is no indication of what the Congress thinks on the question of education. I think that the policy pursued and laid down at present requires to be carefully examined by the Congress I was surprised and disappointed that the Congress did not say anything to the common man on some of his most important grievances e g controls, rations, high prices use of authority in an oppressive manner etc. The Congress must be aware that recently the Governments have been subject to sharp criticism by the various High Courts These are some of the subjects on which the public would have been glad to know the Congress mind

I hope the Congress High Command will give definite lead on these matters hereafter

Meanwhile, let us whole-heartedly respond to the Congress call to " make a supreme effort to restore goodwill, peace and harmony among the various communities that form the nation ", remembering that Crises are not resolved or difficulties removed by patchwork remedies or opportunist methods. They are only finally resolved by removing the root causes of trouble and by maintaining always a high moral standard "

Bombay, 14-1-49 K G MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS PAGE

CONGRESS MESSAGE FOR THE SARVODAYA DAY		389
NATURE-CURE CLINIC URULI KANCHAN	MANIBHAI DESAI	390
RAHBAR		390
SPINNING AT HIGH LEVEL	K. G MASHRUWALA	391
SARVODAYA DAY	D M	392
OBSERVANCE OF 30TH JANUARY	A K.	393
FROM CASTE TO NATION	K. G MASHRUWALA	393
COMPULSORY LABOUR	V S SONANA	394
DEVELOPMENT OR DESTRUCTION ?	MIRABEHN	395
MORE WORK LESS TALK	G V MAVALANKAR	395
GANDHI RELICS MUSEUM	DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD	396
THE JAIPUR CONGRESS	K. G MASHRUWALA	396
NOTES		
A SCAVENGING PROGRAMME	K. G M.	391
AN HOUR S SILENCE	K. G M.	392
A MONTH S COURSE IN BEE-KEEPING		396

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months Rs 3. FOREIGN One year Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

The Doctrine of Unilateral Effort

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

7.0.72

VOL XII No 48 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 1949 TWO ANNAS

"VICTORY TO THE VICTIM"

The Man of faith moves on along pitiless paths
strewn with flints over scorching sands and steep mountainous tracks

They follow him, the strong and the weak, the aged and young,
the rulers of realms, the tillers of the soil

Some grow weary and footsore, some angry and suspicious

They ask at every dragging step,
'How much further is the end?'

The Man of faith sings in answer,
they scowl and shake their fists and yet they cannot resist him,
the pressure of the moving mass and indefinite hope push them forward.

They shorten their sleep and curtail their rest,
they out-vie each other in their speed,
they are ever afraid lest they may be too late for their chance
while others be more fortunate

The days pass

The ever-receding horizon tempts them with renewed lure of the unseen till they are sick.

Their faces harden, their curses grow louder and louder

* * *

It is night

The travellers spread their mats on the ground under the banyan tree.

A gust of wind blows out the lamp and the darkness deepens like a sleep into a swoon.

Someone from the crowd suddenly stands up and pointing to the leader with merciless finger breaks out
'False prophet, thou hast deceived us!'

Others take up the cry one by one,
women hiss their hatred and men growl

At last one holder than others suddenly deals him a blow

They cannot see his face, but fall upon him in a fury of destruction
and hit him till he lies prone upon the ground his life extinct.

The night is still, the sound of the distant waterfall comes muffled,
and a faint breath of jasmine floats in the air

* * *

The pilgrims are afraid.

The women begin to cry, the men in an agony of wretchedness
shout at them to stop.

Dogs break out barking and are cruelly whipped into silence broken by moans

The night seems endless and men and women begin to wrangle as to who among them was to blame

They shriek and shout and as they are ready to unsheathe their knives
the darkness pales the morning light overflows the mountain tops

Suddenly they become still and gasp for breath as they gaze at the figure lying dead

The women sob out loud and men hide their faces in their hands.

A few try to slink away unnoticed
but their crime keeps them chained to their victim

They ask each other in bewilderment,
'Who will show us the path?'

The old man from the East bends his head and says,
'The Victim'

They sit still and silent.
Again speaks the old man,
We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger,
now we shall accept him in love,

For in his death he lives in the life of us all,
the great Victim.'

And they all stand up and mingle their voices and sing, 'Victory to the Victim'

(From Rabindranath Tagore's *The Child*)

GANDHIJI ON THE REAL LIFE

[The following summary of a lecture delivered by Gandhiji on the 22nd August (1905?) before a meeting of the Theosophical Lodge at Johannesburg is reproduced from the *Theosophist* of December 1948 —V G D]

The speaker said he had come to the conclusion that the Theosophy was Hinduism in theory and that Hinduism was Theosophy in practice

There were many admirable works in Theosophical literature which one might read with the greatest profit, but it appeared to him that too much stress had been laid upon mental and intellectual studies, upon argument, upon the development of occult powers, and that the central idea of Theosophy, the brotherhood of mankind and the moral growth of man had been lost sight of in these He did not wish to suggest that such studies had no place in a man's life, but he thought that they should follow, not precede, the absolutely certain course which was necessary for every life There were certain maxims of life which they had to weave into their very being, before they could at all follow the great scriptures

When a man desired to qualify in any science, he had first of all to pass an entrance examination, but they seemed to think that when they took up a religious book, no previous preparation in any other direction was necessary, but that they could read these scriptures unaught and interpret them for themselves, and that attitude of mind was considered to be real independence of spirit. In his opinion it was nothing but sheer licence taken with things of which they had not the slightest knowledge They were told in all the Hindu scriptures that before they could even handle these books, they must cultivate absolutely pure and truthful lives, they must learn to control their passions which took them away from the central point.

The mind had been likened to an intoxicated monkey, and so it was If they were to analyse their minds, they would find that they had very little reason to think ill of others, and would begin to think ill of themselves, for they would find that they harboured within themselves robbers and murderers — terms used by them so glibly in connection with others He wished that they would recognize a limitation in regard to their studies, and that such limitation, instead of hampering their activity, would further their strength and enable them to soar higher

He did not think it at all a part of their life to extend its scope, but thought it their duty to intensify it both with reference to their studies and to their activities, for if a man concentrated his attention on a particular thing or idea in life, he was likely to make much better use of himself and of his opportunities than if he divided his attention between this, that and the next thing

Hindu sages had told them that to live the life, no matter how hampered it might be, no matter with what limitations, was infinitely superior to having a mental grasp of things divine They had taught them that until one by one and step by step, they had woven these things into their lives, they would not be able to have a grasp of the whole of the divine teaching, and so he urged them that if they wanted to live the real life, it was not to be lived in that hall it was not to be lived in Theosophical libraries, but it was to be lived in the world around them, in the real practice of the little teaching that they might have been able to grasp

ALWAYS ACTED UP TO HIS BELIEF

Twelve months have passed since Mahatma Gandhi was shot down dead by the hand of an assassin, but he lives in our hearts, nay, in the heart of every one who knew him. He was the greatest amongst the great men of the age But most people appreciate his greatness because he had won freedom to the 400 millions of Indians and that, too, through non-violent fight with the mighty British power. No doubt it was a great achievement of his life, a task which was not possible to anyone else to accomplish Freedom has been won for us, but we see much is wanting in us to utilize that freedom to our best advantage Though we moved and worked together with Mahatmaji, we have not realized how he had acquired such irresistible power, so adamant and so unparallelled in the life of any other person. We know it was not of the body, nor was it born of his intellectual greatness, It was solely the result of spiritual development. If it were born merely of the intellect, there have been great giants in this country and elsewhere too, but it has not been given to anyone of them to win the independence of any country merely through power of their intellect. War and bloodshed were the only means known to the mankind till now, either to gain freedom for themselves or to gain supremacy over others

Therefore, the power which Gandhiji wielded was purely of the spirit. He had won that power through undying faith in God through complete surrender to His will and through long process of self-restraint and self-control. His autobiography, named by him as *My Experiments with Truth* discloses the methods adopted by him to attain this extraordinary spiritual culture. His self-control was vivid in whatever he said or did and even in matters of his daily food and drink. In his search for truth, which he had commenced even in his early life, he says it was found absolutely necessary to cultivate purity in thought and deed and also to resort to fast and prayer The first thing that he had realized was the purpose of his life. Service of God through service of humanity was the surest way to spiritual freedom. Therefore he sought opportunities to serve people in suffering and to relieve them of their distress When a beggar who was also a leper came to his house, he was not satisfied merely by giving him a meal and send

him away, but he dressed his wounds and kept him in his house for some days and afterwards put him in a hospital for treatment

When he was in South Africa, pneumonic plague, a disease more terrible than the bubonic suddenly broke out in the colony of the indentured Indian labourers No sooner had he heard of it, than he ran to the place and got the patients attacked by the plague removed from the colony, segregated them in an empty house and attended upon them as a nurse for several days, inspite of great risk to his life They were under allopathic treatment But all of them died except two whom he had himself put under earth and water cure in which he was an expert.

He was fond of reading *Bhagavadgita*, which throughout his life had served him as his guide. The great virtues of his life were based upon the principles enunciated in this book *Satya* (truth), *ahimsa* (non-violence), *aparigraha* (non-possession), *brahmacharya* (sex-control) — all these great principles had become quite natural to him, because of his constant study of *Bhagavadgita* and also by his indomitable will and courage of conviction His mind was always ready to grasp truths and high principles of life from whatever source he might have received them. When Mr Polak, a companion of him in South Africa, gave into his hands a book of Ruskin called *Unto this last* for reading while on a journey in the railway train, he completed perusing the book from cover to cover during the whole night and was so convinced of the truths contained in it that he commenced to put them into practice the very next morning after reaching the destination

The principle of *aparigraha* had made him give up right of ownership in whatever property he had. He treated himself as a trustee of his earnings as a barrister in South Africa and devoted them to public benefit after using what was absolutely necessary for him and for the maintenance of his family

He had love for all living creatures and he was always anxious not to cause pain to others either of the mind or body He was stern in the observance of truth and justice, though always generous to the failures of others His respect to Hindu religion in the *Sanatanic* form did not close his eyes to the valuable preachings of other religions. The *Quran* and the Bible claimed his attention as well. Much has been said and written about him, but we find very few who have fully understood him and zealously followed his preachings He had great faith in the generation of our country so that it may serve to be the instrument to carry the message of truth and non-violence to the people of other countries Therefore, it is our duty to fit ourselves to that great task by following his example as far as possible.

KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

AS I UNDERSTAND BAPU

Gandhiji stands for different things to different people To the masses he is a saint, to the intelligentsia he is a shrewd political leader, to the intellectuals he is a moral giant. He has been called a dreamer but oftentimes he has shown a realism that has put his unknowing critics to shame What, however appeals to me most to Bapu is his ideal of the perfect man — *Purushottam* — and the means he adopted to attain it He admitted that this was only an ideal and he knew full well that it was not possible for an ordinary man with his mortal body to reach that stage of perfection Nevertheless he maintained that to achieve perfection was the *summum bonum* of human endeavour In his own life he practised what he preached, and his career on this earth was one long and sustained attempt towards this end

Gandhiji often used the simile of the Euclidian point in geometry The geometrical point according to its formal definition has no length and breadth Yet it exists and it is on this initial hypothesis that a whole science has been built It gives geometry its logic and precision So it was with the ideal of the perfect man. Although it was impossible of attainment in this life, still faith in that ideal gave man a glimpse of the higher, moral and spiritual life and the necessary incentive to strive for such perfection

Gandhiji agreed with the other great spiritual leaders of the world in believing that the great impediment in the way of leading a higher life was the sentimental attachment to worldly things which gave rise to human passions like fear, hatred and envy It was these human failings that prevented man. Gandhiji would have said, from "reaching as near as possible to God" Therefore, in the life of the moral or spiritual man, the real battle was not 'outside' but 'inside' himself, and true bravery lay in conquering 'oneself' rather than in conquering 'others' In Gandhiji's view, this made the life of the seeker after truth, a continuous *sadhana* — an incessant striving to do good and meritorious deeds and through these, purify the heart.

But while Gandhiji was certainly one in the long line of prophets-saints that have hallowed this earth by their living presence, his passionate search for truth and his lifelong endeavour to reach perfection led him on to a path different from the one the other spiritual teachers had taken. In Gandhiji's case, this desire to be perfect or to realize God was transformed and transmuted into a realization of his oneness with humanity in general through love expressed in selfless service. Man is born in society and human life even on the lowest plane is expressed through service in relation to ideas things and men As these relations become broader and consequently purer, they develop a moral stature When they comprehend the whole universe, man becomes perfect and God is realized in man. Such a consummation is possible only through love, and that is why Gandhiji preached

that love and not hatred is the law of life It is common experience that the former binds while the latter divides.

All religious prophets have preached this message — the message of love. But Gandhiji was more than a religious prophet or philosopher He was a social prophet as well. He was convinced that universal brotherhood or unity was to be realized or experienced not only on the spiritual and psychological plane but on the material and social level also He did not believe in the life of a recluse or in leading a life divorced from the realities of human existence To Gandhiji, life was one harmonious whole, although in activity it was a curious blend of different and often opposing forces and feelings It could not be lived in parts. Therefore, he insisted that the spiritual or the moral man must live a full life and must base not only his individual life but also the life of the entire society on moral and spiritual values In other words, both individual and social relations must change and be based on morality They must not have as their end the exploitation or debasement of man. To serve man through love and thereby ennoble him must be the constant endeavour

This doctrine turned this man of God into a social revolutionary Perhaps the materialistic age of which Gandhiji was himself a product, needed a man of his type to guide humanity into light from the darkness that surrounded it His weapon like that of many of his predecessors was not sword, but love He wanted to change society by changing the man—its basic material But what differentiates Gandhiji from his compeers was the emphasis he laid on changing the heart and what is more, the application of this principle to a great popular movement. This constitutes one of the greatest experiments in human history Unless one brings about a fundamental change in human thought, one cannot change human society which alone can lay a solid foundation for democracy A case in point is the abolition of untouchability which was brought about by a change in the mentality of the people.

The change in human thought will naturally be reflected in human relations When such change goes beyond individual relations and encompasses group relations on a wide scale then a non-violent social revolution takes place Whatever permanent peace has been achieved in the world is the consequence of such a non-violent revolution and this revolution in its turn is the direct result of a change in human thought.

Gandhiji's greatest contribution is therefore in the realm of human progress and in the solution of the problem of world peace This is his idea of a non-violent peaceful revolution based on a change of heart brought about by service to the people in the constructive field involving suffering and sacrifice. To the last breath of his life Gandhiji lived for others and when he died he died for others too! Of how many saints and philosophers who have come and gone can it be said with truth that they lived the good life not for themselves, not for their country but for the whole of humanity?

Gandhiji has shown the way to world peace and true democracy on earth. He has blazed the trail His passing away from the scene of his earthly activities should not and cannot mean the end of his noble work. The light that he has lit still burns and it is for those who worked with him and felt with him—the constructive workers—to use it to ignite new flames for the benefit of the world which today groans under the dead-weight of man's injustice to man

SHANKARRAO DEO

GANDHI—THE FULL MAN

It is not possible to obtain the full vision of a multifaceted object in one view A human being is an object of three dimensions Has it ever occurred to you that you can catch a profile view, a frontal view and a hind view of him all at once? Never of all the three views together Yet without the three, it cannot be a complete view That is not all one view may be particularly beautiful, another may be even ugly and it is up to a person to misunderstand the view by equating it to the one or the other and then regarding it as ugly or beautiful or even carrying on an acrimonious controversy over the matter

If such be the difficulty with regard to the physical dimensions of a body, which are palpable and perceptible, how much more should it be difficult to picture to oneself the impalpable intangible qualities of head and heart which make up *character* and endow one with what we call personality Even in ordinary beings we come across variations of character — presenting a variety of moods and temperaments which it is not always easy to scan and scrutinize When we come to a philosopher and prophet, a saint and seer, this difficulty, one is apt to think, should become greatly aggravated and augmented. It may not however be so for, the higher the altitude on which a person stands, the more easy to get a comprehensive view of all these attributes which constitute what is compendiously known as character Mahatma Gandhi stood on such a high pedestal. Moreover, his was such a transparent character that there were no opacities anywhere which hid the inner treasures of his temperament, frame of mind, attitudes and affections, attachments and detachments, predilections and prejudices from public vision. He was essentially a human being but one who had burnished every facet of his character and exposed it to the full blaze of publicity His conception of Truth was not merely to lay bare all facts but to maintain no reservations about them of any kind. That was evident when the District Magistrate of Champaran withdrew in 1917 his insulting letter to Mahatmaji and the latter forbade a copy of it from being preserved in the archives of Satyagraha. A similar situation arose when Mr Emerson, Home Secretary withdrew his insulting letter to Gandhiji during the first week of the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations i. e. about the 22nd

February 1931 in Delhi Likewise his standards of *ahimsa* would not permit him to tolerate ironical or sarcastic references to esteemed leaders of the Congress The writer was once the recipient of a gentle reprimand, expressed by a stare and an upraised brow, when a jocular reference was made to a deceased leader

But to say that Gandhiji led a full life is not enough, he demanded that the life led by every Satyagrahi and every Congressman should be a full life too It is not enough if you spin you must spin well It is not enough for you to befriend a Muslim, you must promote communal harmony It is not enough if you remove untouchability which is physical, you must admit the Harijan to social equality in respect of tanks taps and wells, schools and workshops hostels and hospitals That was not sufficient either You must admit them to temples There still remained something left—and that was that the economic position of the Harijan must be raised, for, he is still a serf in reality though not in name, as a farm servant and tiller of the soil. Gandhiji's cardinal tenets of *aparigraha* or non-possession were an extreme representation of the basic foundation of reorganized society in which no one shall live on interest or dividends accruing from his own or his patrimonial accumulation of wealth or rents arising from similar acquisitions of property What is socialism or communism if not the rendering into daily life these principles of non-accumulation? To do so would be chefi Such exalted principles cannot be of universal applicability, for, if all men became celibates, the world would come to an end These high principles point to a way of life so as to warn those guilty of moral aberrations against their impending doom A diluted version of these principles was taught by Bheeshma to Dhatmataja when the format prescribed and defined

> *Nitya atithya* (perpetual hospitality) as serving the same menu to people eating in one line
>
> *Nitya brahmacharya*—as confining one's attentions to one's own wife and
>
> *Nitya upavasa* as not eating between meal and meal

On one occasion the writer quoted this passage from *Mahabharat* and Gandhiji said "Look at that!" in a tone of disapproval for these definitions did not satisfy his exacting standards of hospitality, celibacy or fasting

Mahatmaji's conception of a full life was not satisfied if you removed untouchability or promoted communal harmony You must add to the country's economic prosperity by promoting village industries of which Khadder is the Prince so as to make the nation self-sufficient, artistic and engaged in productive employment. On one occasion when in answer to his question, I said that all my dress was made of self-spun, hand-woven yarn, he asked me whether the shoes I wore were of dead animals' skins, as contrasted with the killed animals' And my affirmative answer gave him real joy. But that joy would be complete only if I did not send my children to school, if I did not seek a place in the legislatures if I did not sue in law courts And when all investigations yielded affirmative answers he was fully pleased. He was not the sort of master that would flatter his pupils even to encourage them but pointed out where still the pupils' defects lay and how they could still improve The perfect life was his aim. He was nagging Mirabehn because she did not tie up the *daftar* aright so much so that the latter burst into tears From a lingering colour patch in a washed handkerchief, to an extra date served to him at dinner, he was critical to a degree and was not sparing in his habit of correcting for he wanted people to be correct to a fault In one of his itineraties in Andhra he was to start at 6 a m, and at 6 a m he was in the car "Why don't we start?" asked he and when the answer came that X missed his bag, down came the crushing reply "Oh yes, some people miss their heads! On another occasion when the delay was caused by a member of his staff, he exclaimed Oh, Pyarelal is a poet!" He never suffered fools gladly much less rogues But when truth was admitted, he was always ready to forget and forgive and whatever was stated in defence, he was prepared to accept as truth He always took every one for an honest person and would not suspect his colleagues fellow workers or pupils for, that is violence

Truth-speaking he knew was perilous but the perils of Truth are much safer than the security of prevarication. When Baba Gurudutt Singh, the leader of Komagatamaru fame, was in hiding for seven years after the firing at Dum Dum in 1914-'15, he advised the Sardar to deliver himself up to the police and this was done through Gandhiji himself in 1921 (November) Likewise to Sardar Prithwi Singh who had escaped from police custody during his transfer from Rajahmundry to the Punjab and was out of view from 1921 to 1937 Gandhiji advised to deliver himself up and the same old process was repeated. That is the only way of acting Truth In both cases the punishment awarded was a year as against the voluntary punishment of seven years in the one case and sixteen years in the other Life was stunted in both, for while the body was free, the soul and the spirit were crushed. Truth however incarcerated only the body for a year but liberated the spirit so that it might play its part in the wider realms of uplifting emotion and exalted thought. What Mahatmaji wanted was not life, but the full life the many-sided life, the multifaceted activities of life in which not merely the world-conquering will but the heaven-aspiring soul could function without let or hindrance That was the philosophy of seeking imprisonment, that was the rationale of voluntary fasting, that was the *raison d etra* of self-imposed silence His Satyagrahi life was the expression of the full life sought to be led by himself and suggested by him as the standard to be aimed at by others There was unfailing harmony between his precept and example. He always stood for the integrity of the spoken word and always meant what he said and did what he meant

B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

BAPU—HIS IDEOLOGY AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION

Today a year after the tragic death of Bapu I am more than ever reminded of what a German scholar wrote about him in 1931 after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in his book on India "Gandhi with the highly gifted instinct of a genius has comprehended the spirit of his time and thereby dragged his people along with him and attained his objective to a great extent" Yes, it is literally true that his magnetic personality simply dragged many people along with him They did not fully realize the implications of what he said nor did they even believe in many things which he considered vital for India's regeneration Many in the Congress did not believe in the efficacy of the spinning wheel but still they were party to the passing of resolutions relating to Khadi. Many even considered his ethical principles and high standard of conduct a disqualification in politics They paid lip homage to both truth and non-violence. Some even did not believe in the full implications of removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity Not that he did not know it but he thought that people would gradually come round and act up to the resolutions passed by them But he stood disillusioned During the last three or four years the question as to how to stem the rot that had set in in the Congress was uppermost in his mind Sometimes he even thought aloud He realized the inherent weakness of an organization which is in reality a conglomeration of such diverse individuals Gandhiji had the majority but not the Gandhian ideology His personality however was a great cementing factor After his death the rot that was in the Congress became more manifest rapidly So we feel his absence all the more today It is therefore incumbent on us to do a little bit of heart-searching to probe deep into the matter and to deal with the situation with courage and determination

The position is simply this The vast bulk of Congressmen did not believe in Gandhian ideology but passed resolutions sponsored by him because he, though a man of compromise, would not compromise on fundamentals but would agree to lead only if his principles were accepted. Gandhiji's leadership was considered essential and therefore they did it So many suffered from what may be called inner contradiction and thus became moral cowards Under such situation it is no wonder that the position has become what it is today If one preaches one thing and acts differently, one is bound to be ineffective sooner or later Therefore the remedy lies in removing the root cause

At Jaipur Congress has reiterated Gandhian ideology with that inner contradiction redoubled If we reiterate Gandhian ideology we must put that in practice or must have the courage to renounce it and accept some other principle It is high-time that we do it or we shall be branded in history as grave-diggers of all that Gandhiji stood for Not merely that, we shall be charged by the future generation and rightly too, for stultifying the nation

Gandhiji wanted to establish a non-exploiting, classless society which he termed as *Kirshak-Majdoor Raj* or *Ramaraj*. Non violence is the sheet-anchor of his philosophy In a society based on violence even a strong few can keep a vast number of people under subjugation, but in a non-violent society that is impossible So he ruled out violence Exploitation in any shape or form is violence The present order of society is based on exploitation He wanted to change it His ideology may be called non-violent socialism. We may shut our eyes and may not recognize that the world is rapidly marching towards socialism If non-violent socialism cannot be practised in India, some other form of socialism, based on violence is going to dominate the field I see it as clearly as daylight The best antidote to any creed based on violence is following in practice the ideology of Gandhiji and not application of security measures If Congressman realize this on this day, the 30th of January, they will not merely render a service to India but will help in establishing a new order of society in the world Otherwise the Congress will cease to be a living force, which is painful to contemplate

Let us go a little into what is meant by following in practice Gandhian ideology A man may spin yet he may be a rogue but however honest a man may be, he cannot be called a follower of Gandhian ideology if he does not spin He must be honest and should also spin. A man may refuse to take water from the hand of a sweeper, yet he may be thoroughly honest but he is miles apart from Gandhiji's ideals In this country the vast bulk of the people are being crushed under pressure of poverty. Such a state is naked violence How many of us realize it and feel restless over it? How many of us feel like Gandhiji and can say, "Whenever I see a palace rising in any corner of India, I think it is the blood of the agriculturists"? Gandhiji's ideology is an integrated whole Khadi, village industries, Hindu-Muslim unity removal of untouchability—basic education, prohibition and other items of his constructive programme are but practical shapes of non-exploitation. If the Congress which claims to represent the nation pays only a lip-homage to them, future historians will say, "Just as there was one Christian and he was crucified, there was one Gandhi-ite and he was assassinated"

We, who call ourselves followers of Gandhian ideology have a responsibility in the matter We cannot afford to be mere spectators of the tragic drama we must try to put life into the Congress, failing that, we must have the courage to quit and go into the wilderness—only to reappear after gathering real strength by silent constructive work. That way lies our salvation. That is how we can establish Gandhian ideology Long live Gandhian ideology! Long live Bapu!

PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

TO BAPU—IN UTTERMOST HUMILITY

To those who had the God-given privilege of basking daily in the radiant sunshine of Bapu's love, it seems as if a veritable century has passed since his presence was withdrawn from our midst. Whether actually with him or not one leant heavily on him. Difficulties worried only so long as they were not taken to him, and after one had obtained his willing advice and guidance one felt secure and calm. Indeed his solutions were always so simple that one wondered why they had not dawned on one immediately. At every turn therefore it is but natural that we miss him and that the sense of loss should increase with time. He had woven himself into the fabric of our national life in such a unique way that ever since he left us we stand in danger of disintegration.

And yet one realizes that he had to go in the physical sense. It seemed to me that during the last year of his sojourn on this earth he had grown so much spiritually that it was almost impossible even to understand very often what he was doing or saying. Indeed I said so to him one day: "Bapu, I feel you are no longer walking. You are simply racing on at such speed that it is impossible for a mere mortal even to keep you within sight." With his characteristic humility he replied, "I wish I felt I was growing at such a pace. God alone is the judge." There is no doubt that he was taken from us at a time when we so sorely needed him according to our understanding and taken in the way he went because in the eyes of the Almighty he was ready to enter into His presence and found meet to pay that supreme sacrifice which is demanded by God from His elect.

But having thus gone Bapu is always with us in spirit. While one mourns his absence in the flesh and tears unbidden rise to break the promise he would fain have each one of us keep there is deep down the realization that he is more alive today than ever he was while on earth and it is with that sense of realization that we must render special homage to him on this the first anniversary of his passing on to the higher life.

Why did we love him? Because he was so human, so gentle, so understanding, so wise and so good. Such traits in any person cannot but appeal to every man, woman and child.

But while he was human he never ceased to lay stress on the moral and spiritual values of life. Man had to conquer himself, i. e. all the frailties of human nature and dedicate himself to service if he was to be true to the divine spark within him.

Bapu's gentleness sprang from the *chinsa* within him. But withal he was unbending where any adherence to principle was concerned. His lovely gentleness did not signify weakness. It was really increased by his firmness, though it was not always easy to understand when the lash of his righteous anger was turned on one for any wrong committed.

His understanding of human nature was phenomenal. His had been a community life ever since his very early days in South Africa and leadership had naturally devolved on him because of the virtues he possessed. He had, therefore, been thrown into contact with all sorts and conditions of men and women and received confidences such as none are privileged to receive. Then, too, he had experimented so deeply with himself in every phase of human life that he was intimately cognizant of the frailties of the flesh. No problem of any individual, however humble or insignificant that individual might be in the eyes of the world was too small for him. His undivided attention was always given, so that the person concerned might be strengthened to go forward. It was this abounding love and sympathy that drew all and sundry to him and gave him that amazing power over his fellow men. "Bapu, are you not sometimes frightened of the power you exercise over the minds of man?" I once asked him. "Why should I be frightened so long as I serve them honestly?" was the immediate reply.

Of his wisdom what can I say? But privileged as I was to listen to his conversations with so many learned and wise men of all denominations, I was invariably struck by his unerring instinct in laying his finger on the right spot and going straightaway to the root of the matter.

It seems impertinent as it were to speak of his goodness. What is good and what is bad, who is the judge between them whose verdict is right and whose wrong has been an eternal controversy in the minds of great philosophers. There was never any doubt in the mind and life of Bapu. Truth is God. Truth and Non-violence are as the two faces of a coin. You cannot have one without the other. This was his unshakable belief and he lived up to it. No man can be good who is not true. No man can be good who does not love. Bapu believed that this was the essence of all religions. He must surely go down to posterity as one of the greatest mortals that have ever lived. I confess with grateful remembrance that I learnt more about Jesus Christ from Bapu than from any other teacher and I was privileged in my youth to be taught by righteous men and women. I therefore also venture to say that while he was a Hindu, his name will be venerated as one of the greatest Christians of any age.

We live in a world greatly overshadowed by fear. Fear comes where there is no love and where men hide the truth from each other. In our own homeland, we are perplexed and greatly beset by many difficulties. Standards of integrity have to be raised, fear has to be driven out from the minds of men, violence is a demon that must be exorcized. Bapu's example is there. His spirit lives and will inspire and guide if we open our hearts to receive the message of Truth and Love. This is the only homage he would desire. To dedicate ourselves anew to the quest in our own lives of these eternal verities is the only homage we dare lay at the shrine of his dear and honoured memory.

12-1-'49 A. K.

HARIJAN

January 30 1949

THE DOCTRINE OF UNILATERAL EFFORT

We have all watched rockets go up and blaze into stars and then disappear We keep looking at the sky for a time then, but all is void. So has Bapu disappeared He burst into greatest glory twelve months ago and disappeared leaving us gazing at the sky, seeing black spots where it was glory It was towards the end of 1947 when India was free but afflicted with dire misfortune and distemper misfortune and distemper of a sort which caused an anguish of mind to Bapu the like of which even he had not been prepared for It was then he burst into his full glory

I had admired and loved him throughout twenty-eight rich years of intimate joint labour as never man admired and loved another But it was in the last months of 1947 that my wonderment and adoration of Bapu rose to its highest pitch.

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept the doctrine of unilateral effort in love? he asked me one day

There is no other way" I answered enthusiastically and without hesitation

"Just so' he replied with evident delight He always felt acute pleasure when I agreed This is no compliment to me!

'What about the respoose? 'The other party does not co-operate and what good is it?'—All these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant and the road was straight

Bapu s theory of life and action was always this, and some of us knew it, but never before was the full meaning and intensity of faith so fully poured into the doctrine as now Bapu did incessantly and unwearied

The rocket burst on January 30, 1948 and what a glorious illumination! It is all dark now and we see the opposite of the colours that dazzled our eyes then

Do we believe in God? If we do, we have no clearer visible manifestation of Him than Love,—the love of mother, of child, of man, or of beast or bird for its young one the tenderness of friends or of lovers In the bodies of living beings we have been taught that God lives and finds habitation. If that be true, we see Him manifest whenever we see kindliness helpfulness, sympathy, compassion, or love in any form flowing from one to another When love disappears, the window is closed against God.

Let us be firm believers in

ईशावास्यं इदं सर्वम् ।
यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत् ॥

and let us see God in Love All will be well yet though we have great troubles.

'Non-violence', civil disobedience', etc are all technical specialized phases The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love. *Prem* is an *avatar* of God within us May our thoughts, words and actions be saturated in *Prem* Every act of unilateral love and helpfulness is a *shraddha* ceremony for Bapu

C RAJAGOPALACHARI

GRIEVE NOT DEATH

[The following extracts are taken from Bapu's letters to me during the last 23 years, some four hundred of which will shortly be published in a book-form by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Every word of the paragraphs given below tells us not to grieve, but to rejoice with Bapu in his passage to a higher state —MIRABEHN]

27-4-27

"We really live through and in our work. We perish through our perishable bodies if, instead of using them as temporary instruments, we identify ourselves with them.

"The more I observe and study things the more convinced I become that sorrow over separation and death is perhaps the greatest delusion To realize that it is a delusion is to become free. There is no death no separation of the substance. And yet, the tragedy of it is that though we love friends for the substance we recognize in them, we deplore the destruction of the insubstantial that covers the substance for the time being Whereas real friendship should be used to reach the whole through the fragment."

20-9-'32

'Just think and realize that there is no meaning in having the last look. The spirit which you love is always with you The body through which you learned to love the spirit is no longer necessary for sustaining that love It is well that it lasts whilst there is use for it It is equally well that it perishes when there is no use for it. And since we don t know when it will outlast its use, we conclude that death through whatever cause means that there was no longer any use for it"

29-12-'32

"Nirvan is utter extinction of all egoism, self Its positive aspect is capable of being experienced but incapable of being described But we know from inference that it is something vastly superior to any bliss that we can possibly experience on this earth.

4-5-33

"Tell Ba not to worry about me at all She and I and all of us are in His hands. It is well if we live and it is equally well if we die. We are born to die and we die only to be born again. This is all old argument Yet it needs to be driven home Somehow or other we refuse to welcome death as we welcome birth We refuse to believe even the evidence of our senses, that we could not possibly have any attachment for the body without the soul, and that we have no evidence whatsoever that the soul perishes with the body."

18-5-'36

We must learn the art of never grieving over death, no matter when and to whom it comes I

suppose that we shall do when we have really learnt to be utterly indifferent to our own and the indifference will come when we are every moment conscious of having done the task to which we are called But how shall we know the task ? By knowing God s will How shall we know the will? By prayer and right living Indeed prayer should mean right living '

4-1-47

"Everything depends upon one s purity in thought word and deed, using the word "purity' in its widest sense Then there may be no cause for even so much as a headache. Only get hold of this fundamental fact. We often loosely use the word 'purity', and excuse all sorts of lapses Do not even worry how I am faring or what I am doing here. If I succeed in emptying myself utterly, God will possess me. Then I know that everything will come true, but it is a serious question when I shall have reduced myself to zero. Think of ' I ' and 'O' in juxtaposition and you have the whole problem of life in two signs '

OBSERVANCE FOR ADOPTION

Twelve months have passed away since the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi The first death anniversary is going to be observed on the 30th of January We Hindus observe the death anniversary of our ancestors, but it has become only a form except perhaps in some rare cases. It will be a tragedy greater than the one which was enacted on the 30th January, 1948 if we also are to reduce this observance to a mere form or ceremony We must utilize this occasion for bringing to our mind the great virtues which the Mahatma embodied and for strengthening our own resolve to adopt them in our individual and national life

What is it that makes the Mahatma so great in the eyes not only of his followers and countrymen, but also in the eyes of others in other countries many of whom have never seen him in flesh and blood and never contacted his body? It cannot be his politics India can never forget that it was his tremendous efforts and consummate leadership which helped the country in regaining its lost independence But that by itself would not and could not appeal to foreigners who were not interested in our freedom and certainly not to Englishmen who stood to lose so much by our attaining freedom It cannot be his religion He used to call himself a Hindu Hinduism could not appeal to or attract followers of other religions specially those who believe in proselytization and yet we know many pious Christians who have paid unstinted tributes to his life and work. It cannot even be his faith in non-violence and truth specially the former because even those who do not believe in non-violence and are actually engaged in violence, have not hesitated to acclaim him as a great soul It cannot be the simplicity of his life his richness in poverty, because he had many followers who do not believe in non-possession or in very simple life It cannot be his oratory because all those who are able to judge agree in holding that he did not possess any great oratorical gifts. It cannot be his learning or intellectual attainment, because admittedly he was not very learned and all through the period when he was engaged to the various movements he did not have much time to read.

Various people have ascribed his greatness to various traits of character and various activities of his life, but it is wrong to ascribe his greatness to any one single trait of character or activity His was a very busy life and there is hardly any department of life, individual social or political, which did not receive his attention and there was no problem for which he did not suggest a solution, and yet when he was asked to write a textbook which would summarize his teachings in a systematic way he expressed his inability to do so He used to say that he had certain fixed principles and essentials and he applied those principles to the problems as they arose, and found solution for them in the light of those principles and essentials. Because he had not thought out a comprehensive programme, he was not in a position to produce a text-book on 'Gandhian philosophy' of life and work. That does not mean, however, that it is not possible for others to collect together in a systematic way the substance of his teachings as is done by a text-book on any subject It would therefore be rash for anyone to take up one particular phase of his work, and look upon it as the greatest contribution to contemporary thought and activity Nevertheless bearing this limitation in mind it can be safely asserted that it was the application in a practical way of the principles of Truth and *ahimsa* which according to him, can be synthesized into Truth alone that secured for him a hearing all the world over from even people holding different faiths belonging to various social systems and engaged in different kinds of work Truth and *ahimsa* are taught by most religions and have been promulgated by all seers teachers and prophets. But they have been applied and taught as virtues of individuals to be followed by them in their individual lives and never practised or sought to be applied on the scale and in all fields and phases of human activity except perhaps in some rare cases He applied them to family relations, to social matters to inter-communal dealings and to national and international affairs His great discovery, if discovery it can be called, was the method by which he applied them to vastly differing conditions and on a scale, which may be said to be universal It was, therefore, possible on the one hand to fight British imperialism and yet remain friend of the British people to encourage and organize small hand industries like spinning and weaving which were expected and indeed intended to replace textile mills and yet command the sympathy and support of their owners to point out the weakness of our social organization and yet to get the confidence even of those whose cherished beliefs were thereby not only damaged but in many cases destroyed, to speak the truth with fierceness and yet not to offend those who became thereby discredited.

It is not that he was never misunderstood in his life or that people always treated him kindly, but he knew that even those who were fierce in their denunciation of him would one day realize their mistake and confess it. An early example of this has to be found in his life in South Africa where a Pathan under misunderstanding severely assaulted him, and yet later on he confessed his mistake and begged his pardon. The last and the most tragic illustration of this is furnished by the misunderstanding about his motives and activities in regard to Hindu-Muslim relations. The Mussalmans in 1920-'21 during the days of the Khilafat movement regarded him as their greatest champion and friend. This attitude of theirs underwent a change and during the period of agitation for the establishment of Pakistan, he was regarded by many of them and particularly by the top leaders of the advocates of partition as the arch-enemy of Islam and they did not hesitate to dub him as enemy No. 1, and yet when the unfortunate Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in connection with the partition of the country he came to be regarded by many of them as the one friend on whom they could rely. His death made them realize that they had lost a true friend and servant and many of those who had dubbed him as enemy No. 1 did not hesitate to express their sorrow at the tragic death of one whom they should have regarded as their friend No. 1. It was not only the Mussalmans that misunderstood him. Many Hindus looked upon him with suspicion and ultimately it was a Hindu hand that lodged the bullets into his body and yet that Hindu has his own philosophy and his own justification. But I have no doubt in my mind that the world will in no time know that even those who fed a hand in his murder or who gave it their explicit or even implicit or unconscious approbation will regard it as a great tragedy and an act of sacrilege. We have, therefore, to draw lessons from his life and remember them on this solemn occasion and make fresh resolve to walk in his footsteps and uphold the teachings which will never become stale or out-of-date. It is necessary to remind ourselves on this occasion of the particular application of his principle to our communal relationship which was in fact the immediate cause which moved the hand that fired the pistol. He wanted us all, to whatever faith we belonged, to live together in harmony, to forget others' misdeeds and forgive them; to remember our own misdeeds and make amends for them never to forget that it is love which creates and hatred always destroys; that all life, particularly human life, is sacred and does not become less so because a person holds a different faith or may be even guilty of heinous misdeeds. We must never forget the weak, the helpless and the poor to whatever faith they may belong and that our lives should be dedicated to their service. Service should be real and genuine and not a mere make-believe. If we hold fast to the principles of Truth and *Ahimsa* we should be able to see things and events in their true perspective and may not be betrayed as we so often are, into undesirable and wrong thoughts and deeds. Each one should look into his own heart, into his own mind, thought and action and to see if they conform to the teachings of the Master. This will be a true observance of the first anniversary of his death.

17-1-'49 RAJENDRA PRASAD

THE HERITAGE OF GANDHI

In schools, we no longer believe in the old adage, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child.' We rather believe that it is the rod which spoils the child. The method of violence has been completely superceded in the field of education.

In a similar manner, there are two more fields, namely in our treatment of mental diseases and of crime, where violence is today considered an outmoded method though the technique of treatment in the two fields has not reached the same degree of perfection as that of education.

But in social evolution, there is always a lag between changes in one part of life and another. What the world has succeeded in doing with regard to individual psychology, it has not yet been able to accomplish in fields where masses of men are concerned. When we have to change a whole lot of men we rely upon the method of war even when we have experience again and again that it does not lead to exactly the desired goal. Very often, it sets up forces which indefinitely delay the advent of the goal itself. But as we do not know of any better substitute, the old method passes as current coin.

This has however another disastrous effect. Just as a bad coin drives out the good one from circulation, so a method which proves 'successful' in dealing with masses of men, corrupts any progress which has been made in the field of individual psychology. The world is passing through a phase when crises come quickly upon one another. One war follows another and the intermediate period is spent more in preparation for the next war than in building up for peace. And if violence 'succeeds' during crises of national existence, then its whole machinery is turned to obliterate any obstruction which may crop up even in peace-time. A nation which relies upon violence for self-defence, and on total mobilization cannot afford to be less than that when it is involved in the preparation for self-defence. Thus totalitarianism sweeps aside any little advance which has been made in the field of either education or of psychotherapy. What is more tragic still is that the new knowledge which we have gained in psychology is not so much turned to individual correction as for the conditioning of masses of men in a more effective manner for purposes of State. Educators lose their independence and serve as lackeys to the heroes of war. As a result, indoctrination has become more efficient than in the days of Tamerlane.

In this world of violence, what is the heritage which Gandhiji has left for us? The first is that Truth can never be anybody's exclusive property.

If we have the welfare of humanity at heart we must not, in our pride believe that we have got the whole formula of truth on our side we must give due recognition to what may be true in the opponent's view-point also Like the Jain philosophers, he has always held that perhaps the other one is right from his point of view Consequently, he spared no pains to get at the bottom of his opponent's view-point, while at the same time he tried to discover any point of weakness which might lie hidden in his own armour of truth

This entirely scientific, and perfectly democratic outlook was one of the most priceless things left for us by Gandhiji

The second is that, as war inevitably leads to totalitarianism, and non-violence alone to democracy we should determine to resolve social conflicts by means of non-violence instead of war whether open or camouflaged In war, the purpose is to reduce the enemy by punishment to submission until he agrees to obey the will of the conqueror, who pretends to bring about a better social organization than the last one Gandhiji said that, if we love the opponent as a human being, we cannot force him into submission we cannot injure his personality and thus lose for mankind whatever little worth he might have had. Instead of that we must resist him non-violently refusing to co-operate in his wrong and bear all the hardships which he might be pleased to shower upon us By this technique of self-suffering we may hope to surprise him out of his entrenched position and then the opportunity will come for building up the new social system through the co-operation of the parties which were erstwhile at war with one another This is the way of conversion and not of coercion. It leaves no sting behind as there is no victor and vanquished in the accepted sense of the terms

Gandhiji applied the method of Satyagraha for solving various human conflicts The objects for which he actually employed this new substitute for war, were many At Vaikom it was for the removal of untouchability at Guru-ka-bagh for the establishment of a civic and religious right at Champaran, for the redress of a proved wrong in the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements for the restoration of India's lost independence When we had to work for these aims we sometimes mixed up violence with non-violence sometimes we became more interested in the struggle than in the preparation for it along lines of non-violence For, non-violent warfare requires as much, and even more revolutionary economic preparation than ordinary war does. When we initiated battles in India after the manner of Gandhiji we occasionally employed it even for doubtful ends The results of Satyagraha under these circumstances were many and various

When a new tool of destruction or of movement, or a change in the technique of attack or defence is introduced in warfare, the general headquarters of the army immediately studies the results in detail and modifies future application accordingly In short the army learns by experience To Satyagraha also, our procedure should be of the same kind We must study every non-violent campaign from all points of view whether the preparation was adequate or not, where it failed if it did why it was so whether the aim was worthy or not, how far the personnel retained the spirit of respect for the opponent even while opposing him, how the brave non-co-operation and consequent self-suffering of the Satyagrahis acted upon the 'enemy' the duration of the battle and the losses sustained, whether the battle was not merely mechanically efficient, but also economically so or not, and so on In other words, we have also to compare the results with those attained under comparable circumstances by means of violence, and see how the two methods compare with regard to the total human cost involved

There is however one more factor which we must always take into consideration while studying the experiments in non-violence on the Indian soil When Gandhiji himself led battles, the effect of the Satyagraha on the opponent was likely to be of one kind, on account of the reputation and influence earned by him in course of a lifelong history of public service His personality was no mean factor in converting his opponent, where it did We have however to observe how the method works where lesser men are involved, and how far they are able to influence the opponent in the desired direction

If we approach the technique of Satyagraha in this scientific spirit, than only is there any chance of India benefitting by the leadership under which she has worked for the last three decades Supposing, for instance, that the technique itself was employed in the past for gaining unworthy ends even then it does not make the method itself taboo If the non-violent way proves superior on study, then we can employ it for ends which we may consider noble Indeed, we may have to modify the technique itself to suit the new fields of activity where it is to be employed. For only thus can we be worthy successors of the heritage which has been left to us

For, a successor not merely imitates his master, but goes beyond him, for he holds Truth to be greater than the personality of the master I remember how, when Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray had retired, someone twitted him with the remark that his students had now become more famous than the master Prafulla Chandra promptly replied that it was indeed his pride as a teacher that his pupils had advanced beyond him in the science of chemistry

Let us resolve to be thus worthy of what Gandhiji has left behind him

Calcutta, 18-12-48 NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THREE PRINCIPLES

To write or speak about Bapu at any length for any person who may have loved him intensely is a difficult job Besides there are so many aspects of his life and teachings that one does not know what to touch and what to omit His insistence on truth was immense. Whatever may be the circumstances or hardships involved in telling the truth, he insisted on telling the truth regardless of consequences When other people commit mistakes they try to hide them or to explain them away If Gandhiji felt that he had committed a mistake or his calculation was wrong he would proclaim the same Such self-exposures afforded the test of his towering height above the ordinary man It is rare to find any person of his position so frankly and so openly admitting mistakes if he felt like that. He will not admit any mistake unless he was satisfied in his heart of hearts that it was a mistake No pressure, persuasion or arguments could make him deflect or deviate from the true course He had a vast experience of men and he had an uncanny way of finding out the truth Many persons must have found at their cost how difficult it was for them to have tried to mislead him

The second thing which struck me most was his insistence on moral principles in every question No consideration of cost or consequences would make him deviate even by a hairbreadth from the straight course based on moral principles Even in legal matters he would examine not only their legality but also their moral aspects. Lawyers would advise him as to the legality of any question or action, but he would not do anything unless he was thoroughly satisfied that the thing proposed to be done was morally sound. He was a great law-breaker but he broke only those laws which had no moral basis He is not known to have ever advised anybody to break any law which was based on sound principles of morality

The third thing which was very remarkable was that in these days of degenerating character, he laid the largest emphasis possible on the building up of character He insisted that those who are around him and those with whom he dealt, should be pre-eminently men of character' Gandhiji had not that arrogance or intolerance of mere intellectuals He had no glamour of men who were mere intellectuals He set a high value on men of character During these two world wars the greatest loss that has happened to the people of the world is the loss of character for every country the deterioration in character is immense While everything can be produced in a field or factory, character has to be built up slowly and with care If Gandhiji trusted a man and took his advice and then discovered that he had no character or his morals were low, he would immediately shrink back and have as little connection with the man as possible But, at the same time, he would not make the man untouchable but he would strive to regenerate that man.

If India has any hope of maintaining her freedom and using that freedom for elevating the people socially and morally, then the road shown by Mahatma Gandhi is the only sure and straight road which would lead to the fulfilment of our hopes and ambitions It all depends upon the people, whether they will tread along this path steadily or will allow themselves to walk on the zigzag path driven by gusts of self-interest lust of power or pelf Even if one feels depressed by what one sees around him, there is still time and hope for the people of this country to attain *suraj* (good government) by the means and methods associated with the name of Bapu and fulfil its destiny of being a leading nation on the path of peace and progress I therefore, suggest that those who believe in means and methods of Bapu should on the 30th of January take an oath to eschew fights and quarrels or matters what are known as political and devote themselves whole-heartedly to redirecting the mind of the people to the various constructive activities of Mahatma Gandhi and serve the country in a way which would produce peace and relief to the millions who are long waiting for their dues

M M PAKWASA

THE NEW ERA

Though Bapu's more spectacular achievements lie in the field of politics and credit for the deliverance of India itself goes to him politics did not constitute any separate compartment of his life; in fact, it is impossible to divide his life into water-tight compartments. To him, man was one indivisible whole, with a central direction of energy and control of thought and action "The true Vaishnava is he who feels the afflictions of others,' says the Gujarati poet, Narsi Mehta. This *bhajan* was a great favourite of Bapu, and the idea symbolized in these lines had a deep bearing on Bapu's character For him, this constituted *manava-dharma* the Universal Religion, which was applicable to all spheres—religious, social, political and economic. The voice of distress from whatever direction it came, always touched the most delicate chord of Bapu's heart He discerned in it the beckon of duty, and immediately responded to it.

Bapu is aptly called the Father of the Nation, but he was also the founder of a new era—the creator of a new dispensation in the world. He, who strove all his life to substitute non-violence for violence, love for hate, sympathy and understanding for jealousy and competition and co-operation for conflict, is truly the founder of new age and the bearer of message for humanity Is there a precedent in history where a great man was able to influence the minds of such a large number of people in his own lifetime, and left such an indelible impression on the contemporary world?

The very thought of untouchability was distressing to Bapu He therefore, gave them the new denomination Harijan' for the untouchable'. This word is pregnant with a deeper meaning By changing the nomenclature, Bapu sought to impart

dignity to the down-trodden and the despised, and wanted to instil self-respect and moral strength in them Bapu's whole life was a long and unbroken series of crusades against injustice and oppression wherever they reared their ugly heads He felt that whatever he the sanction and weight behind this vicious system, it deprived man of human dignity, which belonged to him as the reflection of God, and was utterly indefensible on moral grounds He was, therefore, determined to wipe out this blot of the Hindu community He raised his mighty voice against untouchability and stirred the conscience of the Hindu intelligentsia It was not a bed of roses that he had to tread on, he met with opposition, he was misrepresented and abused but, Bapu was undeterred His agitation stormed the citadel of orthodoxy and shook it to its very foundation Directly due to his inspiration our new Constitution provides for the total abolition of untouchability, and the destruction of all traces of it wherever found

Bapu's whole life was an experiment with Truth, and in many matters, his own life and person formed his laboratory A notable trait of Bapu's character was that he maintained perfect accord between profession and practice His words therefore, carried a special appeal and acquired a profound significance He accepted full responsibility for whatever he did, and went further ahead for the acts of omission and commission of others he would assume responsibility himself, and make suitable amends for them Before this superhuman eminence, one's head always bends in reverence. For him, the whole world was a unit, which transcended all barriers of space, race or creed. He was universal he was unhounded, and was free from all the limitations, which ordinarily divide man from man, and lead to all those ugly manifestations of pettiness jealousy and unending strife, which deprive life of its real charms

In Bapu's philosophy, the ancient wisdom of India and the highest spiritual ideals found their fruition and a new meaning With the insight of a seer, and the courage of conviction of a man of destiny he analysed all the present-day ills of humanity—social economic and spiritual—and prescribed infallible remedies for their cure Man has fallen from his ideals and is traversing a wrong path. Man has forgotten himself. It was Bapu who held aloft the torch of light in the midst of encircling gloom, and taught the world the lesson of truth and non-violence and showed the way to peace and happiness That is the way and no other

JAGAJIVAN RAM

GANDHIANA
(A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)
Compiled by
P G. Deshpande
Pages 254 Price *Rs* 3-4-0, Postage etc 0-8-0
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

MY PRAYER

On this first anniversary of the death of the Father and the Maker of the Indian Nation it behoves us to pay our tribute of respect to his memory Therefore we should (1) pray that his mission in life may succeed (2) dedicate ourselves anew to strive unceasingly for the fulfilment of that mission and (3) by some overt act activate our resolutions

When I went to Mahatmaji (and I did so whenever I went to the place where he was during the last 19 years) I spoke to him very little and that too during the last few years. I discovered that he bore witness to the spirit that was in him (and that is within all of us) and he would not give false testimony Each thought, each word and each deed had to correspond It had to be pure He raised his countrymen to great heights of moral fervour as if in anticipation of the demands that events were going to make on our moral resources He did it just in the nick of time and I do not think he failed though what followed the 15th August 1947, might make some of us feel that he did

This is evident from the fact that from the highest in the land — His Excellency the Governor-General — to the fresh graduate who writes a very critical article in our numerous journals criticizing the Government, the capitalists or the traders every one is clamouring for the recognition and keeping up of moral values This is the one thing that counts. That is all that counted in the eyes of the Mahatma — more even than Swaraj He insisted on those who took part in public affairs as leaders of the people observing the same code of conduct in private as in public life. You could not get away by saying, 'My morals are my private affair'. How many reputations did he not pull down because he came to know that their possessors either did not observe sexual morality or indulged in liquor or had acted deceitfully with their colleagues? He did this to his own silent and loving manner as he hated the sin but loved the sinner as much as he loved any other Will it avail us if we drink lead a free sexual life, hold that the end justifies the means and raise the cry that our morals have deteriorated, that we have black markets, *pugrees* and corruption? It can have no effect. With Mahatmaji the moral law was supreme Absolute Truth was God and Love the other side of the shield of Truth He did not light a new lamp to show us the road but fed the old one with oil and trimmed the wick and made it so powerful that he was immolated in the flame But the lamp will burn bright and will guide the footsteps of generations of pilgrims to come

B G KHER

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs Four* Postage etc *As Ten*

TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

Soul Force

1 The term Passive Resistance does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years Its equivalent in the vernacular rendered into English means Truth-Force I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force or Love-Force and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance, certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence Indeed, violence is the negation of great spiritual force which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility It can be used alike by men, women and children It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Passive Resisters This force is to violence and therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type All Passive Resisters do not understand the full value of the force nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only Passive Resisters so-called They came without any conviction, often with mixed motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigilant supervision Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged, for, the exercise of the purest soul-force brings about instantaneous relief For this exercise prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Passive Resister has to be almost if not entirely, a perfect man We cannot all suddenly become such men, but if my proposition is correct — as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us the better men we will become Its use, therefore is, I think, indisputable and it is a force which, if it becomes universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death—that militarism which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming Passive Resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. (Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*, 1914, Page 9)

The Prospects of Non-violence in the Modern World

2 I feel that fundamentally the disease is the same in Europe as it is in India in spite of the fact that in the former country the people enjoy political self-government. No mere transference of political power in India will satisfy my ambition, even though I hold such transference to be a vital necessity of Indian national life The people of Europe have no doubt political power but no Swaraj Asian and African races are exploited for their partial benefit, and they, on their part are being exploited by the ruling class or caste under the sacred name of democracy At the root, therefore, the disease is the same as in India The same remedy is, therefore, likely to be applicable. Shorn of all camouflage, the exploitation of the masses of Europe is sustained by violence.

Violence on the part of the masses will never remove the disease Anyway up to now experience shows that success of violence has been short-lived It has led to greater violence What has been tried hitherto has been a variety of violence and artificial checks, mainly dependent upon the will of the violent. At the crucial moment these checks have naturally broken down It seems to me, therefore that sooner or later, the European masses will have to take to non violence if they are to find their deliverance That there is no hope of their taking to it in a body and at once does not baffle me A few thousand years are but a speck in the vast time-circle Someone has to make a beginning with a faith that will not flinch. I doubt not that the masses, even of Europe, will respond, but what is more emergent to point of time is not so much a large experiment in non-violence as a precise grasp of the meaning of deliverance.

It occurs to me that it ought not to be difficult to make a successful appeal to the masses of Europe in terms of economics and a fairly successful working of such an experiment must lead to immense and unconscious spiritual results I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life It thus affects the

economic, the social and the political fields If the masses of Europe can be persuaded to adopt the view I have suggested, it will be found that violence will be wholly unnecessary to attain the aim and they can easily come to their own by following the obvious corollaries of non-violence It may even be that what seems to me to be so natural and even feasible in India, may take longer to permeate the inert Indian masses than the active European masses (*Young India*, 3-9-'25, Page 304)

NON-VIOLENCE IN FREE INDIA

3 *Q* But what about your non-violence? To what extent will you carry out your policy after freedom is gained?

A The question hardly arises I am using the first personal pronoun for brevity, but I am trying to represent the spirit of India as I conceive it It is and will be a mixture What policy the National Government will adopt I cannot say I may not even survive it much as I would love to. If I do, I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order I expect that with the existence of so many martial races in India, all of whom will have a voice in the government of the day, the national policy will incline towards militarism of a modified character I shall certainly hope that all the effort for the last twenty-two years to show the efficiency of non-violence as a political force will not have gone in vain and a strong party representing true non-violence will exist in the country

(*Harijan*, 21-6-'42, Page 197)

4 The vast majority won't be believers in non-violence The Congress does not believe in non-violence as a creed Very few go to the extreme length I do The Maulana and Pandit Nehru believe in offering armed resistance' And I may add so do many Congressmen Therefore, whether in the country as a whole or in the Congress, I shall be in a hopeless minority But for me even if I find myself in a minority of one my course is clear. My non-violence is on its trial I hope I shall come out unscathed through the ordeal My faith in its efficacy is unflinching If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence, I should do so But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish That is in God's hand For me, 'I can but do or die'

(*Harijan*, 9-8-'42 Page 262)

(*To be continued*)

PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE
By K G Mashruwala
Price *Re 0-12-0* Postage etc *0-3-0*
A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE
By Richard B Gregg
Price *Re 0-10-0* Postage etc *0-3-0*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

WITH GANDHIJI IN YERAVDA MANDIR

(*By Mahadev Desai*)

[The following is selected and translated from Mahadev Desai's Gujarati Diary recently published by the Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad

—V G D]

11 March 1932

I said I would take tea I asked Vallabhbhai, 'Have you given up tea? He said 'What is the use of taking tea after having become Bapu's companion in jail? I resolved that I would take whatever food Bapu took. I gave up rice, and take bread, milk and boiled vegetable like Bapu' Fond of tea as he was, Vallabhbhai had given up tea, I also therefore determined to follow suit.

Preparing the tooth-stick, making soda and cleaning dates for Bapu — all this Vallabhbhai had taken upon himself *He* said laughing 'I never knew they would keep me with Bapu Or I would have asked Kaka what things are to be done for him As it is, Bapu says never a word, and so one cannot find it out Bapu emerges from the bath room only after he has washed his own clothes, so there is no washing of clothes either'

* * *

While spinning Bapu told me about the improvements effected in the wheel Nowadays' he spins about 250 rounds every day *He* complained that he had not still got over the sense of bodily fatigue. . .

12 March 1932

In the morning Vallabhbhai said, 'Bapu set out from the Ashram on the march to Dandi exactly two years ago and at this time of the day he had already left Chandola took behind him'

Vallabhbhai asked Bapu, 'How many dates may I clean? Bapu replied, 'Fifteen'

Vallabhbhai 'Where is the difference between 15 and 20?'

Bapu. 'All right Then give me ten only.'

The jail library catalogue was received at noon Bapu inquired if it contained any books by Scott, Macaulay, Jules Verne and Victor Hugo Kingsley's *Westward Ho* or Goethe's *Faust* He asked me to get Edward Carpenter's *Adam's Peak to Elephanta* and Nivedita's *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, and said, 'It was in a jail in South Africa that I read Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*

* * *

Talking about astronomy Bapu said 'I have now made good progress in my study of the heavenly bodies Did you observe the sky with Kaka? Here I take the *Illustrated Weekly* map for my guide and have gone far beyond Rohini, Krittika, Mriga, Anuradha and Jyeshtha constellations Herbert Kitchin, a co-worker in South Africa, had great interest in the subject and took me to an observatory. But he failed to infect me with his enthusiasm, as my mind was then absorbed in other things. Here however I enjoy my study of the heavens immensely It broadens our outlook indeed.'

Bapu is now reading Upton Sinclair's *The Wet Parade* and with great interest. He said, 'Sinclair is rendering great service He takes one social evil after another and throws a fine light upon it.

13 March 1932

Bapu cut out the map of the sky from the *Illustrated Weekly* and asked Vallabhbhai to paste it on cardboard. Vallabhbhai also prepared a beautiful envelope for the Ashram post from wrapping paper and salvaged for the purpose

14 March 1932

This morning Bapu awoke at 3 a m instead of at 3 45 as usual I said, 'I heard only three strokes on the bell' Bapu looked at his watch, saw that it was 3 and said, 'Now that we are awake, let us offer our morning prayers' Bapu and the Sardar take a walk every day between half past four and half past five As Bapu was observing his weekly silence, he asked the Sardar in writing to finish his sleep But the Sardar said, 'No, I will follow in your footsteps'

16 March 1932

I said, 'According to Bhideshastri's interpretation of *samata* in the *Gita* to punish the wicked and to honour the good is to treat them on terms of equality because there is justice and kindness in punishing the wicked. It all depends upon our motives Bapu said 'Yes, but I say that one cannot thus punish the wicked with kindness.' Vallabhbhai said, 'If one can kill a calf suffering from incurable disease with kindness, why cannot he do the same in the case of the wicked man?' But Bapu laughed it out

17 March 1932

Bapu feels much pain in the bone above the elbow and in the thumb of the right hand He said, 'This is a sign of old age We must not waste a thought over such pain We must accept it as inevitable and cease to fuss over it'

18 March 1932

The Superintendent informed Bapu that he had been permitted to see three fellow-prisoners every fortnight.

Bapu is strongly of opinion that when once we are in jail we may not insist upon meeting people who are outside There is no sense in going to jail and still expecting to meet outsiders But at the same time he holds that it is as much a prisoner's duty as it is his right to keep himself informed about the condition of fellow-prisoners, and he must always insist upon exercising this right.

20 March 1932

Bapu asked me to read Maithilisharan Gupta's *Saketa*

21 March 1932

I finished *Saketa* at 4 p m. It is an original, beautiful and immortal creation of the poet. He has taken the *Ramayan* story for his groundwork and has created a fine superstructure on it by his imagination The language is simple, the verses flow from beginning to end like a brook of clear water However many times we may read the *Ramayan* story, there are several incidents in it which always bring tears to our eyes Urmila is a new and fine character Only the ninth canto has in it too much imitation of Sanskrit poetry But on the whole the poem furnishes elevating reading

22 March 1932

At 4 a. m. we take honey and lime-juice after prayers Boiling water is brought and poured upon honey and lime-juice we then wait for a few minutes until the beverage is fit to drink Since yesterday Bapu has begun to cover his tumbler with a piece of cloth. This morning he asked, 'Mahadev do you know why I cover my tumbler? There are so many minute germs in the air which might fall into the tumbler if it is uncovered and the piece of cloth keeps them out.'

Vallabhbhai said, 'We cannot observe *ahimsa* to such an extent'

Bapu laughed and said, 'We may not observe *ahimsa* but we should certainly see that our food and drink are free from dirt'

SOME USEFUL BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

An Autobiography	7-0-0	0-13-0
Key to Health	0-10-0	0-2-0
Non-violence in Peace & War Vol I	7-0-0	0-10-0
Cent Per cent Swadeshi	2-0-0	0-8-0
From Yeravda Mandir	0-6-0	0-2-0
Hind Swaraj	0-8-0	0-2-0
Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence	2-0-0	0-8-0
Women & Social Injustice	3-0-0	0-8-0
Delhi Diary	3-0-0	0-10-0
The Nation's Voice	3-0-0	0-10-0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Govt. (1942-44)	2-8-0	0 7-0
Constructive Programme	0-6-0	0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
"VICTORY TO THE VICTIM"	RABINDRANATH TAGORE	397
GANDHIJI ON THE REAL LIFE		398
ALWAYS ACTED UP TO HIS BELIEF	KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA	398
AS I UNDERSTAND BAPU	SHANKARRAO DEO	399
GANDHI—THE FULL MAN	B PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA	400
BAPU—HIS IDEOLOGY AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION	PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH	402
TO BAPU—IN UTTERMOST HUMILITY	A. K.	403
THE DOCTRINE OF UNILATERAL EFFORT	C RAJAGOPALACHARI	404
GRIEVE NOT DEATH	MIRABEHN	404
OBSERVANCE FOR ADOPTION	RAJENDRA PRASAD	405
THE HERITAGE OF GANDHI	NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE	406
THREE PRINCIPLES	M. M. PAKWASA	408
THE NEW ERA	JAGJIVAN RAM	408
MY PRAYER	B G KHER	409
TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE	M. K GANDHI	410
WITH GANDHIJI IN YERAVDA MANDIR	MAHADEV DESAI	411

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3

High Tide of Dishonesty

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XIII No 49 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1949 TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Pandit Jawaharlalji and Sardar Vallabhbhai

Our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister have been giving for some time past speeches and talks which are very important, instructive, full of wisdom and inspiring. The former in the international field and the latter in the intra-national one have been bringing about radical changes and laying down great principles and moral standards Both together have been preparing our country to take in the affairs of he world that great position of responsibility and importance, which ehe held in the past and which naturally belongs to her by her geographical position, large population, noble traditions and above all by having been the mother of Gandhiji

Sardar Vallabhbhai with his mature wisdom is trying to make Congressmen and the people to shed impurity and mend their ways And the promptnese with which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru acted in regard to the Indonesian question, the lead which he gave to the Asian Powers by his deep understanding of international politics and noble idealism must make us not only proud of our great Prime Minister, but also convince us how correct Gandhiji was in his expectations about him

I wish it were possible to reproduce at least important parts of the speeches of both these leaders in the columns of the *Harijan* from time to time But, important as they are, want of space prevents me from doing so The matter which appears in the *Harijan* is, I believe, such as is vital and yet not to be found in other papers The speeches of the leaders are promptly and fully reported in important dailies, and the *Harijan* would simply have to copy them from one of these after they had become old. These dailies are, therefore, better vehicles for reading them

I hope the readere of the *Harijan* do read these speeches elsewhere

Bombay 21-1-'49

The Durban Disturbance

Durban became a scene of serious racial disturbences some days ago It must become an eye-opener to the Indians both there and here. We cannot live in unity and peace elsewhere if we do not do so in India We cannot get justice and equality elsewhere if we do not have it here

I understand that the Indians in South Africa, East Africa and other places abroad are copying there all the evils of the mother country For instance there are Hindu Mahasabhaites and Pakistanis or Muslim Leaguers in South Africa and East Africa also One wonders what is the Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj, or the partition which any of them want to bring about there! I understand that most of the Muslims in South Africa are in India citizens of the Indian Union and they must look to the Indian Government for their protection there. But yet I am told, they feel like belonging to Pakistan as distinguished from India Now this is not only injurious to the cause of both Hindus and Muslims there, and of coloured people in general but is also ridiculous. For they must know that India and Pakistan must work together for the interests of all the coloured people there They must realize that all Asians in South Africa must stand as one people — one community in South Africa if they want to establish their full citizenship rights there Their Asianism also must be regarded a temporary affair, i e until they have acquired their full citizenship rights in the States of Africa. Their being Indians, Pakistanis, Afghans, Burmese, Chinese or others must be a matter of small consequence, merely a historical past, on the African scene Its importance is less there than what attaches in India to being a Punjabi, a Sindhi, a Bengali or a Gujarati If they attach too much importance to these accidents, they do so at their own peril there Their Government which resists their claims will very conveniently exploit these internal discords and jealousies for its own advantage If they are united among themselves as Asians, they will know how to unite with the coloured Africans, and if they all are united, they will also discover the way to create amity and unity between the Whites and the coloured which should be our ultimate goal Let us remember that all humanity is one, irrespective of differences of colour race, religion, original habitat etc

Bombay, 21-1-'49

Thanks

I thank very much the various contributors who in response to my request sent special articles for the issue of 30th January The first to reach me was from the First Citizen of India. I regret a few of them came too late to be included in that issue. They will be published as soon as convenient. I hope they will excuse me for the delay.

Wardha, 29-1-'49

Twelfth February

I am desired on behalf of the Sarvodaya Samaj to remind readers of the suggestions for the observance of twelfth February published on sixteenth January They are reproduced below

"At places where Bapu's ashes have been immersed, *melas* should similarly be held on the twelfth of February, 1949 and the occasion be utilized to imbibe in the minds of the people Bapu's ideals of *Sarvodaya*

I understand people surrounding Wardha will gather at Pavnar before noon with their *bhajan* parties, Shri Vinoba is expected to conduct the prayer at noon. Pilgrims have been desired to place a hank of self-spun yarn at the foot of the memorial column erected Each hank will be six hundred and forty rounds with the name and address of the spinner I suggest organizers should particularly give a place of honour to Harijans, non-Hindus and refugees at such functions.

K G. M.

Purity of Public Individuals and Institutions

Gandhiji's philosophy of life may be summed up in five short and simple words 'Be clean within and without' For, he seemed to believe wholeheartedly in the truth of the proverb, "Cleanliness is next to godliness" Indeed, he himself was a living and luminous commentary on the wisdom and veracity of this saying

Therefore Gandhiji expected every one — particularly public men and women and the institutions with which they were associated, as these in a way set the pace for the general people's morals and manners — to be "like Caesar's wife" above the suspicion, stigma and stain of sordidness, internal as well as external, of any kind And it must be said that many an individual and organization that felt the plastic but powerful touch of his personality, strove, during his lifetime, to pursue the ideal of purity of twenty-carat gold.

But, unfortunately, there has been a decided lowering of the moral standard ever since he passed away, about a year ago The result is that not a few among those who swore by Gandhiji's name have now begun, as an eminent dispassionate critic once observed, to look like straw stuffed kings, who glittered on the stage only because the floodlight of his radiant soul was thrown on them

Is it not absolutely essential then, that in the initial stages of our career as a free nation, we should establish traditions, which will help to preserve the probity and purity of the Gandhian pattern in our individual lives as in our administration? A mere *material* memorial to Mahatmaji will not make him immortal It is we who in our lives and labours have to re-create him hourly in the image of immortality by scrupulously pursuing the Gandhian ideal of integrity — in other words, of cleanliness within and without

G M

TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE — II

TRUTH

1 Abstract Truth has no value unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it. (*Young India*, 22-12-'21, page 424)

SEEING TRUTH IN FRAGMENTS

2. Does not God Himself appear to different individuals in different aspects? Still we know that He is one But Truth is the right designation of God Hence there is nothing wrong in everyone following Truth according to his own lights Indeed, it is his duty to do so Then if there is a mistake on the part of anyone so following Truth, it will be automatically set right For, the quest of Truth involves *tapas* — self-suffering sometimes even unto death. There can be no place in it for even a trace of self-interest. In such selfless search for Truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. Directly he takes to the wrong path he stumbles, and is thus directed to the right path (*From Yeravda Mandir*, page 3)

3 *Q* With regard to your Satyagraha doctrine, so far as I understand it, it involves the pursuit of Truth and in that pursuit you invite suffering on yourself and do not cause violence to anybody else

A Yes, sir

Q However honestly a man may strive in his search for Truth, his notions of Truth may be different from the notions of others Who then is to determine the Truth?

A. The individual himself would determine that

Q Different individuals would have different views as to Truth Would that not lead to confusion?

A I do not think so

Q Honestly striving after Truth is different in every case?

A. That is why the non violence part was a necessary corollary Without that there would be confusion and worse (*Young India* — 1919-22, Tagore & Co's edition, page 29)

THE DIFFUSION OF TRUTH

4 *Q* Should we not confine our pursuit of Truth to ourselves and not press it upon the world, because we know that it is ultimately limited in character?

A You cannot so circumscribe Truth even if you try Every expression of Truth has in it the seeds of propagation, even as the sun cannot hide its light. (*Studies in Gandhism*, page 206)

5 Spiritual experiences are shared by us whether we wish it or not — by our lives, not by our speech, which is a most imperfect vehicle of experience Spiritual experiences are deeper even than thought (*Sabarmati* — 1928 page 19)

VOLUNTARY SUFFERING FOR THE SAKE OF LOVE

6. In the application of Satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience

and sympathy For, what appears to be Truth to one may appear to be error to another And patience means self-suffering So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self (*Young India*—1919-22, Tagore & Co's edition, page 6)

7 The Satyagrahi seeks to convert his opponent by sheer force of character and suffering The purer and the more he suffers, the quicker the progress. (*Young India* 18-9-'24 page 306)

8. Nations like individuals can only be made through the agony of the Cross and in no other way Joy comes not out of infliction of pain on others but out of pain voluntarily borne by oneself (*Young India*, 31-12-31, page 418)

9 Suffering, cheerfully endured, ceases to be suffering and is transmuted into an ineffable joy (*Young India*, 13-10-'21, page 327)

SATYAGRAHA

10 I have no set theory to go by I have not worked out the science of Satyagraha in its entirety. I am still groping You can join me in my quest if it appeals to you and you feel the call (*Harijan*, 27-5-39, page 136)

11 If we are to make progress we must not repeat history but make new history We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors If we make new discoveries and inventions in the phenomenal world, must we declare our bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply exceptions so as to make them the rule? Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all? (*Young India* 6-5-'26, page 164)

NON-VIOLENCE AND DEMOCRACY

12. True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression and extermination of the antagonist. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play under a regime of unadulterated *ahimsa* (*Harijan*, 27-5-'39 page 143)

13 While violence is directed towards the injury, including the destruction of the aggressor, and is successful only when it is stronger than that of the opponent, non violent action can be taken in respect of an opponent however powerfully organized for violence. Violence *per se* of the weak has never been known to succeed against the stronger in violence Success of non-violent action of the very weak is a daily occurrence (*Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government—1942-44* page 179)

14 Indeed the weakest State can render itself immune from attack if it learns the art of non-violence But a small State, no matter how powerfully armed it is, cannot exist in the midst of a powerful combination of well-armed States. It has to be absorbed by or be under the protection of one of the members of such a combination (*Harijan*, 7-10-'39 page 293)

15 Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple Science of non-violence alone can lead one to pure democracy England, France and America have to make their choice. That is the challenge of the two dictators (Hitler and Mussolini)

Russia is out of the picture just now Russia has a dictator who dreams of peace and thinks he will wade to it through a sea of blood. No one can say what Russian dictatorship will mean to the world (*Harijan*, 15-10-'38 page 290)

NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

16 A believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical force either directly or indirectly in defence of anything, but is not precluded from helping men and institutions that are themselves not based on non-violence If the reverse were the case, I would for instance, be precluded from helping India to attain Swaraj because the future Parliament of India under Swaraj, I know for certain, will be having some military and police forces, or to take a domestic example, I may not help a son to secure justice, because forsooth he is not a believer in non-violence.

There are not wanting men who do believe that complete non-violence means complete cessation of all activity Not such, however, is my doctrine of non-violence My business is to refrain from doing any violence myself and to induce by persuasion and service, as many of God's creatures as I can, to join me in the belief and practice But I would be untrue to my faith if I refused to assist in a just cause any men and measures that did not entirely coincide with the principle of non-violence. I would be promoting violence, if finding some to be in the right, I did not assist them by means strictly non-violent against those who had treacherously plotted against them Even when both parties believe in violence there is often such a thing as justice on one side or the other A robbed man has justice on his side, even though he may be preparing to regain his lost property by force. And it would be accounted as a triumph of non-violence, if the injured party could be persuaded to regain his property by methods of Satyagraha, i e love or soul-force rather than a free fight (*Young India*, 1-6-'21, page 173)

Some of Our Publications on Non-violence

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE & WAR

By Gandhiji

Price *Rs.* 7-0-0 Postage etc 0-12-0

PRACTICAL NON-VIOLENCE

By K. G Mashruwala

Price *Re* 0-12-0 Postage etc. 0-3-0

A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE

By Richard B. Gregg

Price *Re* 0-10-0 Postage etc. 0-3-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

February 6 1949

HIGH TIDE OF DISHONESTY

It has been urged that just as the receiver and the payer of bribe are both equally guilty in law, so should also both the purchaser and the seller at black-market price be regarded equally guilty of an antisocial act There is some justification for this plea made on behalf of the trader I have heard instances in which selfish purchasers have offered sellers black-market prices if the latter obtained for them quantities in excess of those permitted by law

But what shall we say about adulteration? Is the purchaser equally to blame with the seller for adulterated articles? Adulterated milk is a long-standing dishonest practice But fortunately the usual adulterant with milk is only water which is a harmless substance Adulteration of ghee with *vanaspati* is not merely dishonest but also harmful Maybe, it is not positively poisonous It was thought that there is an alternative available for it in the shape of simple oil But oil too has been for some time become an object of adulteration, and that too, with an absolutely inedible and poisonous substance in the shape of "white oil" It is a refined form of kerosene oil I have been continually receiving letters complaining that pure edible oil has become as difficult to get now as pure ghee

Has the trading community lost all sense of *dharma* (duty to the society) and morals? Why have they become so callous so selfish, so very blind to the wellbeing of their countrymen and so brutally shameless?

We all know the fratricidal wave that passed over India in 1946-'47 It required Gandhiji's "Do or Die" mission from East Bengal to Kashmir, and two fasts unto death to control it. He both did it and died for it

May it be that the high tide of dishonesty and asocialism in trade and other walks of life demands similar acts of self-immolation and martyrdom by some earnest souls? Will the conscience of the trading community not awaken unless it is violently shaken by some earnest servant of the people?

Let us all realize that we have got to rise to a higher moral level than the present Our present degeneration can only lead to chaos and collapse on all sides. Our condition will not be better than that of China unless we improve — not economically — but morally first

And to this end, all those who believe in the ideal of *Sarvodaya* must work earnestly and devotedly No sacrifice is too great if it can raise the moral and social sense of the people even to a hundredth part of an inch and I earnestly appeal to traders, the great bulk of whom belong to the same class of people as Gandhiji, to turn their ears inwards and hear the voice of conscience They cannot save themselves while others suffer by their misdeeds.

Bombay, 21-1-49 K. G MASHRUWALA

PROSELYTIZATION

Some months ago Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar, the well-known servant of the Harijans in Gujarat had sent to me for publication an appeal addressed to the Christian missionaries In view of the removal of untouchability by law, he asked them to help the fulfilment of the law and the cause of the Harijans by closing their special schools for the Harijans He pleaded that their schools, if at all, should be converted now into general schools open for all and should be in localities accessible to all They should also help the Harijan workers by advising and inducing the Harijans to send their children to general schools

I felt that though the law and the Government policy were now clear, the attitude of the *savarnas* was not as friendly as it ought to be, and so the Christian missionaries should not be dissuaded from carrying on their educational activities and that there was no harm in special Harijan schools also being run side by side with general schools I consulted Shri Thakkarbapa also in the matter, and he agreed with me and asked Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar to withhold the appeal for the time being.

In the appeal Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar referred to the proselytizing activity carried on by the missionaries under the guise of education In fact that was their principal object, education, medical aid and other humanitarian services being employed only as means to the former Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar's urge to make the appeal arose from the anti-Hindu attitude behind this service

If I were convinced that conversion to Christianity was in the spiritual interest of the Harijans, I, for one would not mind even their change of the religious label It is of the utmost importance that a person should get the spark which would create in him an urge to lead a life of goodliness, that is of truthfulness, righteousness hope, love, charity service humility and other virtues, and if for any reason, conversion to another religion can impart it, it is better that he should live a pure and enlightened life through conversion rather than carry on an impure and dark one in the faith of his forefathers

But the several institutional religions of the world have as such long ceased to possess any special capacity to impart such spark to their respective followers Instead of being a force for binding men together into a great and common fellowship, they have become a disruptive force, creating dissensions among people and dividing them into different societies They have given different names for the One Who is Nameless and devised different patterns for worshiping Him and they teach that the name of the Nameless One and the pattern of worship which they have inherited from

their *gurus* is the only true and efficacious one No wonder then that thereafter they adopt different types of personal names dress, rules of etiquette, mode of living marriage, inheritance and other social details so that they may become as distinctly different as possible from the fellow-beings of a different religious label A Walji becomes William or Walli Mahomed a Dulap — Donald or Daulatkhan, a Muli — Mary or Mariam and so on. It is well known that the Harijans do not generally have even the well-sounding names of the Hindus They are content with calling their children Walia, Dhulia, Kukda Ramla, and so on Young children attending these schools are arbitrarily assigned by their Christian teachers well-sounding European names such as William, James, George, Valentine, Mary, Lily and so on Even men of upper societies are known to have become fascinated by such names It cannot be wondered at that young children accept these names favourably Then gradually, they are induced to believe that they have become Christians And thus the school becomes a factory for manufacturing Christians!

I write this on the strength of a complaint sent by the *chamaras* (hide-tanners) of a village in Gujarat

I request the Christian missionary institutions to consider their position and duty in a true religious spirit Gandhiji used to say that he was a full Christian without accepting baptism in any Church and a full Muslim without uttering the *kalma* he was also as full a Sikh, a Buddhist and a Jain as any devout follower of any of them and he never failed to declare that he was also a *sanatani* Vaishnava Hindu in which he was born The truth was that he was a devotee and follower of Truth and not of any labelled institution or system

We may happen to have been born in a society with a particular religious label But let us not make the mistake of attaching too much importance to it. And if we cannot drop the consciousness and pride of the label inherited by us, let us at least refrain from affixing it to persons who are without it, and let us not under any circumstances induce anyone to cast off one's old label and take the one given by us It is a disservice to the people of India to create institutions which will divide them socially into unmixable groups

Even the acceptance of Christ or Mahomed as an agent between God and oneself should not be accompanied with change of names mode of life, rules of marriage inheritance etc. The sting of conversion will have gone if the change of faith does not mean complete break off from the old society

The Hindus also would do well not to attach importance to the pattern in which one wants to approach God Even as they do not care if one Hindu worships Rama and another Krishna or Shiva, so too they should not mind if one of their members pays homage to Christ or Mahomed and should not expel him from their society It will remove the incentive to proselytization

Bombay, 2-1-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVAGRAM PACIFIST CONFERENCE

1. A Conference of Pacifists has been held at Sevagram on January 26th to the 28th under the the presidency of Dr Rajendraprasad, attended by over 40 persons from all parts of India and several from Europe and America The Conference endorses the plan approved before his death by Gandhiji to convene a World Meeting of men and women who accept the principle of non-violence we decide that the main meeting shall be held at Santniketan from December 1 to 8 1949 that opportunities be arranged for the delegates from outside India to visit religious social, educational and other institutions and personalities during the latter part of December especially those connected with Gandhiji's life and work and that the delegates meet together again for a few days in early January, 1950 at Sevagram We invite the public to take part in the preparations for this meeting and to form local groups or committees to discuss the application of the principles of non violence to the conflicts among classes and nations We hope they will correspond with the Organizing Secretary at the World Pacifist Meeting, Hiralal Bose 1 Upper Wood Street Calcutta.

2 Fifty active workers for peace have been invited from Asia, Africa Europe America and Australia to attend the World Meeting of Pacifists to be held in India next winter It was the desire of Gandhiji that India as the inviting country should have the privilege of paying the full expenses of those who accept the invitation we note that the expenses of a number of the foreign delegates are being met by their own countries we shall still need Rs 2 50 000 (Rupees two lakhs and fifty thousand) to meet expenses in India and the travel of some of those coming from other countries and we invite those who are concerned for world peace to respond generously to this appeal

3. This Conference urges our Governments and peoples to remind themselves constantly of the remarkable success of the use of non violence in the attainment of Indian freedom and earnestly to seek those forms of non violent expression which are needed today to settle difficult problems and situations the Conference views with concern the introduction of military training in educational institutions, we are conscious of our own failure to express truth and non-violence in our own lives but we desire to unite with all men of goodwill in seeking for positive measures to induce peace mindedness in the people generally, especially in the rising generation

4. This Conference is convinced that there is a clear need for a fellowship in India whose primary concern will be to help in the realization of a world order based on truth and non-violence. Membership will be open to all who accept truth and non violence as a rule of life.

The main purposes of such a fellowship will be

1 To strive for the realization in India of an order of society based on truth and non violence

2 To work for the removal of the causes of conflict among groups and nations

3 To aid in the healing of the wounds of conflict,

4 To promote international understanding and a world-wide acceptance of truth and non-violence as a basis of living through such means as the personal interchange of experiences, and to organize local or general Peace Units for allaying conflicts in an effective manner

5 To undertake any other measures consistently with truth and non violence for establishing world peace

6 The Executive Committee of the World Pacifist Meeting is requested to give effect to the above resolutions

SUCCESS OF THE COMPOST SCHEME

Referring to the article *Why even good Schemes Become Useless* and the article published in the *Harijansevak* of 22 8-48 by Shri Balwantsingh of Sevagram there is no doubt that in order to ensure the success of the compost scheme, all its activities must be carried out in a language which our cultivator brothers can properly understand Therefore, the cultivators of Bengal should be addressed in Bengali the cultivators of Maharashtra in Marathi and the cultivators of Gujarat in Gujarati and so far as I know, this is the procedure being adopted all over Recently a conference of compost specialists was held at Nagpur on the 5th, 6th and 7th July 1948 at which measures to overcome the difficulties experienced by experts in the various parts of the country in making the compost scheme completely successful and thereby making compost a useful and living manure were discussed Most of the discussions at this conference took place in English owing to the lack of adequate technical words in our Indian languages But it is wrong to presume that thereby either the conveners or the members taking part in the discussion have any less regard or respect for their mother tongues.

The second question raised by the learned writer and finding a practical solution to it have been engaging the attention of persons concerned with the scheme for quite a long time We are ourselves trying to find a simple and useful means to this end Removal of glass, brickbats and pieces from town refuse at the time of its conversion into manure increases its cost to such an extent that its use becomes financially uneconomic The suggestion made by the writer cannot be brought into practice successfully at least today when the urban population is not enlightened enough to deposit its refuse at a fixed spot viz the dust-bin the main reason for this being the lack of a sense of social cleanliness and neglect in the discharge of one's civic duties. It is a common sight to every town that there is more refuse lying near the dust-bin than actually inside it Taking into account this sad state of affairs it is wrong to hope that if the municipal bodies provide separate dust-bins, it will be possible to collect refuse material useful for the soil and manure separated from the harmful and undesirable matter Therefore it is very essential to educate every citizen to collect the useful and non useful portions of town wastes separately before this suggestion can be put into actual practice

If we are to keep pace with other advanced nations of the world, the need of the moment is that not only our cultivators but all Indians — rural and urban residents alike — must properly understand that it is their sacred duty to repay to Mother Earth the loan of plant food borrowed in the shape of vegetation and food Once this awakening takes place, all residents of our land will be able to understand the importance of compost like the Chinese and the Japanese

In the attainment of complete success in this mission we very badly need social education and demonstrational propaganda as well as a sense of discipline, nationalism and duty among the administration local bodies and social workers.

Jubbulpore K S K RAO

Government Bio-chemist Compost Scheme

[NOTE I do not see much difference between the opinions of Shri Balwantsingh and Shri Krishna Rao The reason advanced that want of proper technology in the Indian languages is responsible for the use of the English language is hardly right It is best to acknowledge the facts and these are that we are so much used to speak in English that several of us find it difficult to speak in the mother-tongue, and secondly in meetings where high class officers of several provinces, many of whom cannot understand or speak the common language meet in conference nothing else is practicable And this will continue as long as we do not earnestly attempt to speak in the common language As to technical terms, let us remember that there are several agriculturists intelligent enough to understand scientific principles of practical importance without bothering about technical terms and can not only learn from but also give something to the experts themselves from their rich experience But they are unable to take advantage of such conferences on account of the hurdle of English

Shri Krishna Rao complains of the ignorance and negligence of the people Shri Balwantsingh also emphasizes this fact It is necessary to train the people in this respect in every manner This should be a part of the adult education campaign This adult education has to be imparted not only to the illiterates but even to the degree-holders of universities and members and office-bearers of municipalities and legislatures and Government servants

Shri Krishna Rao has argued that removal of glass etc from town refuse at the time of conversion into the manure would make it extremely costly There is some truth in it But then the remedy is partly for the purchaser to pay a little higher price for obtaining the right substance, and secondly since the owners of refuse are responsible for the cleaning expenses its cost should be charged to the city and town people. It is not proper that the cultivator should have to purchase at an apparently lower rate a substance which is really harmful for his fields

Bombay, 1-1-'49 K. G MASHRUWALA]

THE ESSENCE OF RELIGIONS

Leaving ultimate problems to metaphysicians and dogmes to theologians, let us turn to the indubitable facts of life to get at the essence of religions

In the heart of every creature we find a desire for happiness without limit The lower species follow this instinctively while in man it becomes a self-conscious effort So it is evident that this desire for perfect wellbeing lies at the very heart of the universe manifesting itself more and more as life evolves

In his ignorance man seeks it chiefly for himself in his savage state, and gradually following the moral tendency of self-sacrifice more and more is able to form a family, a tribe, and a nation and a citizenship of the world, thus making more humane laws for the guidance of society

All this is possible through a curbing of his desire for personal happiness at the expense of his fellow-beings In other words, the individual begins to recognize slowly the right of other beings also to gain that happiness

That is how the urge of the life of the universe, call it God or whatever we like, gradually expands till the more evolved members of human society begin to find that they are able to attain to greater and greater happiness through a conscious recognition of the universal urge for welfare, even by a complete surrender of the personal desire

In fact, the more evolved individual had already begun to find that perfect happiness was impossible for him when he sought it selfishly for himself, because he was opposed therein by all other creatures who similarly sought it for themselves and because the objects of desire were limited and perishing while the desire was infinite. And even if a strong, energetic and intelligent person could take a great deal by trampling over others, he had to guard it through a similar struggle and had to leave everything behind at death Not only that but each object gained ceased to yield that full happiness which he expected from it.

Somehow the universe which had placed this urge in him seemed to be frustrating it all along. This is the ' contradiction of life ' as Tolstoy puts it. Therefore, being disappointed, the individual changed his method and found that as he tried to desire and work for the welfare of his fellows and did not stand in the way of their happiness, he gained that happiness more than before So he made the discovery that he failed in achieving perfect happiness because he was opposing the will of the universe which desired the happiness of all and not only of one at the expense of others

And as he began to recognize this will of the universe or God, and tried to harmonize himself with it and to follow it, the personal happiness which he had missed welled up within him more and more

When we love ourselves we desire our own welfare, but when we desire the wellbeing of others, then we love others And when we recognize this universal will and try to follow its dictates, we are beginning to recognize God and follow His will.

That is how through justice at first and mercy and forgiveness and compassion and love later on, we are able to find God The approach is through righteousness, as all religions teach and prayer devotion, and meditation are the moods of self-surrender and identification with the spirit of the universe.

There is strife and struggle in the animal world which man has inherited, but there is also the moral element dimly visible even in the animal stages. Owing to the thick veil of ignorance which surrounds the personality as its very condition, beings strive against each other in trying to gain their desires. Thus they cause pain and suffering to others and rouse violent reactions in them which bring pain and suffering to themselves sooner or later Not only that but invisible links are formed which bring about opportunities for retribution, here and hereafter, whether we can see it or not At any rate, suffering overtakes us, sooner or later, if we have caused it to others.

Through this pain we begin to learn that others too suffer through us as we suffer from them So this pain in time becomes the means of awakening sympathy in us for others when our consciousness has been clarified through the stress of pain and desire for happiness That is how the moral sense evolves in us as intelligence has done to the animal and human species And when this sympathy arises and grows, which is an indication of the unity of all life, man attains first to justice and then love. And as love is God, man attains to God whom he has found through this awakening of consciousness within himself

To sum up Man found little happiness or none, but suffering instead, when he did not obey the will of God, or did so partially He found it fully when he began to see that will and began to follow it finding the complete happiness which he sought before in vain

Is this a mere speculation? And what are its proofs? Firstly the witness of all the seers and prophets of all times who found it revealed to them Secondly, our own reason when it becomes clarified Thirdly, and which is most important, positive experience Let any one try to live unselfishly and serve his fellow-beings in obedience to this will of God for an hour in a day, for a day in a week, for a week in a month, for a month in a year ; and if he does not find himself much happier than before, though he suffers loss and even death in extreme cases, let him reject this teaching as false and useless

This is the essence of religions. It can be found by any earnest seeker, through a comparative study of religions, as earnest souls like Leo Tolstoy and M K Gandhi have done

But if we are unable to do this, and feel no urge for it then we shall find it one day, however remote, through the path of passing pleasure and more lasting pain, which is the process of God who is the life of this universe.

In its essence the heart of the universe is absolute Being Sentience and Bliss (or Peace). In manifestation it is the desire for happiness which is Love, the purpose being the formation of personality And every creature strives for it and finally attains that full happiness by seeing the life

of God in every one but without losing itself utterly retaining a thin translucent veil of personality

This is the Essence of Religion

Simla, 1944 A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS

LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR

(By M K. Gandhi)

I

[Gandhiji used to call his prison a *mandir* or temple, the temple for him of liberty spiritual as well as political. When he was in Yeravda mandir in 1932 Mahadev Desai joined him in March, and kept a diary in which besides entering the events of the day he copied in extenso or in part the numerous letters Gandhiji wrote to members of the Ashram as well as outsiders For instance he noted that on the 14th of March Gandhiji wrote as many as 42 letters to Ashramites besides the half a dozen letters written to others In course of an English letter to an Ashramite, he wrote the following V. G D.]

In working out plans of self-restraint, attention must not for a moment be withdrawn from the fact that we are all sparks of the divine and therefore partake of its nature, and since there can be no such thing as self-indulgence with divine, it must of necessity be foreign to human nature If we get a heart-grasp of that elementary fact, we should have no difficulty in attaining self-control, and that is exactly what is implied in the Gita verses we sing every evening. You will recall that one of the verses says that the craving for self-indulgence abates only when one sees God face to face

II

[To a couple who sent a printed letter to him, mentioning the fact of their marriage and asking for his blessing]

We wish you would both render disinterested service That the request for blessings should have been made on a printed card detracts from its value. If you seek blessings you should write in your own hand and state some good resolutions you have made to mark the auspicious event (Translated from Gujarati)

III

Beauty must be praised, but the praise should be mute And you must enjoy it by giving it up (तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा:) A man who is not moved by the beauty of the sky is incapable of being moved by anything at all But one would prove himself to be a fool if he began to build a flight of steps in a vain attempt to reach the heavens. (Translated from Gujarati)

IV

[Addressed to a girl who wanted to observe *brahmacharya*]

In observing *brahmacharya* the chief thing is to realize the brotherhood of all men We are all the children of our Father. And therefore marriage is not to be thought of. Take food as you would take medicine, and not in order to gratify the palate. Keep mind and body fully engaged in acts of service Meditate on God as Truth (सत्यनारायण) If you clearly see that it is your duty to shave the head clean, by all means remove the hair and never care for what people would say Your devotion to God should express itself as ministry to men

Passions are our real enemies, with whom we must wage eternal quarrel. This war alone is the theme of the Mahabharata. (Translated from Hindi)

[The six internal enemies of man are enumerated in the following verse

काम क्रोधस्तथा लोभो मदमोहौ च मत्सर: ।

'Lust, anger, greed, pride, delusion and envy' Christianity hits these as the seven deadly sins pride, wrath, envy, lust, gluttony, avarice and sloth V G D.]

V

[Addressed to the children in the Ashram. Written on March 21, 1932]

Do you remember my definition of God? Instead of saying that God is Truth, I say that Truth is God This was not always clear to me I realized it only 4 years ago, but my conduct has been unconsciously based on that realization I have known God only as Truth There was a time when I had doubts about the existence of God but I never doubted the existence of Truth. This Truth is not something material but pure intelligence It rules over the universe, therefore It is Ishvara (the Lord) . . This is for me almost a matter of experience I say almost, because I have not seen Truth face to face. I have had only glimpses of it But my faith is indomitable. (Translated from Gujarati)

VI

[To a sufferer from asthma]

Write to Dr. But I may suggest that you must fast for three days and break the fast with milk and orange juice. (Translated from Gujarati)

[After dictating this letter Gandhiji said 'I have made this experiment on my clients who besides legal advice received medical advice also There was one Lutavansinh who observed a fast and then lived on rice, milk and marmalade for a month At the end of the month he was free from asthma I also induced him to give up tobacco'

V G D.]

CONTENTS

		PAGE
TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE—II	M. K. GANDHI	414
HIGH TIDE OF DISHONESTY	K. G MASHRUWALA	416
PROSELYTIZATION	K. G MASHRUWALA	416
RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVAGRAM PACIFIST CONFERENCE		417
SUCCESS OF THE COMPOST SCHEME	K S. K. RAO	418
THE ESSENCE OF RELIGIONS	A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS	419
LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR	M K. GANDHI	420
NOTES		
PANDIT JAWAHARLALJI AND SARDAR VALLABHBHAI	K. G M.	413
THE DURBAN DISTURBANCE	K. G M.	413
THANKS	K. G M.	413
TWELFTH FEBRUARY	K. G M	414
PURITY OF PUBLIC INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS	G M	414

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates—INDIAN One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year Rs. 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Sevagram Pacifist Conference

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL XII No 50 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY FEBRUARY 13, 1949 TWO ANNAS

DARE TO WALK ALONE

When I was in prison in 1941, I wrote out some thoughts on non-violence as a creed for my own benefit and at the request of co-workers The gist of the whole argument spread over many pages was that as a makeshift policy non-violence was doomed to failure If it could succeed at all, it could do so only when any particular society was to treat it as a creed and act upon it accordingly I also suggested that while Gandhiji himself had explained the implications of non-violence, so to say, in compartments there was still some vagueness left and it might be desirable if under his guidance some competent authority were to present to the world a complete picture of a society based upon truth and non-violence and non co-operation with evil, as Gandhiji himself envisaged it On my release I submitted the manuscript through Shri Kishorlalbhai, for Gandhiji's consideration. He liked it and he published a part of it in the *Harijan* in April 1942 with a prefatory note of his own About my suggestion for an authoritative interpretation, he remarked that I had better set about it myself I felt quite unequal to this task Anyway, soon afterwards the great Quit India movement was started and all of us found ourselves in prison again.

The last seven years look like almost so many centuries so world-shaking and fast has been the march of events It seems as if the shape of things has altered completely Great world powers like Germany and Japan have seemingly crumbled to dust, and not only other powers have come to the front but other ideologies too occupy men's minds and as for non-violence we have seen the birth of the pretentious atomic age

Up to the last Gandhiji remained like a rock true to his principles but I do not know how other minds were affected. It is no doubt true that after his death there is a growing recognition in every country in the world that the way to preservation of mankind lies through non-violence, though may I add that I do not see much stress being laid anywhere on truth and non-co-operation with evil That is a crucial fact, because Gandhiji considered all three as the integral parts of a complete whole One element by itself had no meaning to him

It is indeed a curious world While everyone contemplates with horror the possibility — some even say the inevitability — of another world conflict, and while everywhere lip-homage is paid in language of varying emphasis to the doctrine of non-violence, every country is arming to the teeth, professedly in self-defence and for self-protection, and statesmen proclaim loudly that it is the strength of arms that can make any country respected in the councils of the world and guarantee peace and security No nation is prepared to take the risk of renouncing all force and violence as an instrument of national policy Gandhiji used to say again and again that non-violence of his conception required courage and fearlessness of almost of a superlative order, and making a people non-violence-minded of Gandhiji's pattern requires high training of body and mind. You cannot create a non-violent society overnight Violence has been glorified by mankind ever since the dawn of recorded history, and non-violence of the brave coupled with non-co-operation with evil has not had if I may say so even a flying start.

It is saddening to reflect that all disarmament talks seem to end in futility No nation is prepared to take the risk of unilateral disarmament and world-wide disarmament by common consent seems to be a vain hope

I think, to be truthful with ourselves we must face a critical alternative. Failing a world agreement any country which devoutly believes that the only way to save humanity both from moral and physical wreckage lies through the path indicated by Gandhiji, then that country must take the risk and follow that path even if it has to walk alone and take appropriate measures to train its citizens accordingly It will not be an easy job We will have to reconstruct and reshape the existing structure of society Our standard of values will have to be radically altered Our notions of economic progress will have to be revised. It will be a tremendous task and taking a bold action indeed If we are not prepared to take it then it seems to me that our pious invocations of non-violence will not carry us far Indeed they may not only be ineffective but sound hypocritical

I imagine Gandhiji had a very complete picture in his mind of the non-violent society of his conception. In such a society one may assert that the end and the means must go together Non-violence excludes not only aggressive ends but also

the adoption of [illegible] and violent means and the moment we permit the use of violence in any shape or form under any circumstances, then to that extent we also give the go-by to the sanctity of righteous means Violence does not stop short anywhere and devours everything

KAILASNATH KATJU

THE CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

How the solution of the world problem lay in the concept of Sarvodaya (the good of all) and not in the Western theory of the greatest good of the greatest number was explained at length by Shri Vinoba at the Friday prayer meeting at Rajghat on the 24th December, '48 — the Christmas Eve.

He had been to Jaipur Shri Vinoba said, to perform the opening ceremony of the Sarvodaya Exhibition. As he had not been able to participate in the Rajghat prayers for the past two months, he thought of availing himself of an opportunity to do so by making his return journey via Delhi

The condition of the world today Shri Vinoba said, required anxious consideration There were violent conflicts everywhere The struggle in Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs continued as before The fratricidal war in China had reached a climax The Dutch had made a wanton attack on Republican Indonesia. With these new conflicts, the memory of the war that had just concluded was also being revived After staging a drama of judicial trials, the so-called war criminals had been condemned to death in Japan It was sought to be suggested that Japan alone was responsible for breach of peace in Asia and that those who were to execute her leaders were messengers of peace, and that with their death peace was going to be established in the world

Even in India, violence had to be resorted to in the case of Kashmir On whom lay the blame for this conflict was a different question, The fact remained that the Kashmir issue could not be resolved non violently Political unity appeared to be growing in India Smaller States were being merged and transformed into larger groups But mental unity was not in evidence to the same extent He would give only one example. The Madhyabharata Union had been formed, but it had given rise to two new groups viz the Indore group and the Gwalior group The problem of Hyderabad had been resolved in the larger context, but internally the Congressmen there had divided themselves into two factions A fissiparous tendency was thus gaining strength in all directions. There was a race among various political parties for capturing students, as if they were but fish to be caught in nets Labour too was similarly exploited, and the problem, instead of being resolved was getting more and more complicated

The issue of linguistic provinces was a simple and innocent one but even that was made intricate No one felt like instantaneously accepting the other man's proposal What harm would really be done if a few lakhs belonging to one province had to remain in another? Since all power was at the Centre, there could possibly be nothing to lose if an agreement, acceptable to the other party, was reached on the issue of the common boundary But their obstinacy and uncompromising attitude had created a deadlock and the creation of commissions and committees

The Hindi-Hindustani controversy was more for the name than for its form No one cared to ponder as to what after all was the objective of the national language Was it not national unity? How then could they afford to allow the devil of controversy to get into it? But obstinacy had made all of us blind People did not seem to realize that every thing had its limitations and if they wasted away their energies on trifles, they could have left nothing in reserve to face the bigger problems As they had met on the Christmas Eve, it reminded Shri Vinoba of what Jesus had said "Agree with thine adversary quickly" He asked the audience to think well over it

All that, said Shri Vinoba was not intended to make them feel despondent He was not a pessimist for he knew that the soul was at the bottom all peaceful and undivided whole and that the conflict and divisions which appeared on the surface were after all trivial But like a tiny blot on a very clean cloth, it at once draw one's attention Shri Vinoba knew no despair even when the world war waged He had then believed and did so even now that the world wars were divine, maybe they were inflicted as a kind of divine punishment to man but intended ultimately for his progress However large they might appear, they occupied but a small point of that vast eternal soul and made their appearance only to disappear after some days His purpose, Shri Vinoba continued in referring to these matters was to make them ponder and not to make them lose their hearts To him the solution seemed to lay in the concept of the Sarvodaya Samaj People asked him about the nature of the organization of the Sarvodaya Samaj He told them it was a revolutionary *idea* and not an organization It was a thing to be thought over and acted upon.

The Western idea of the greatest good of the greatest number, contained in it the germs of minority and majority problems But the idea of Sarvodaya as preached by the *Gita* was to merge oneself in the good of all This of course demanded on their part, absolute faith in truth and non violence Never should they resort to untruth in their private and public life, nor in their business or other occupations. They should try their best not to allow violence a place in their life The constructive programme which was meant for the uplift of the society, should be carried out in part or in full, individually or with the co operation of friends and colleagues, as also by establishing local institutions wherever necessary They should meditate over the great thought that was behind all that, and should give expression to do it and remember it at all times.

If they could rivet the attention of the young and the old on this great concept Shri Vinoba concluded, the solution of all the problems of the world would be found therein The present political methods which were being tried all over the world would be of no avail

D M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

THE DOWN-TRODDEN

I

The real producers of wealth are those who co-operate with nature and through the operation of natural forces transform various elements into such shape as to make it possible for human beings to satisfy their immediate needs. This type of operation is the normal working of agriculture The farmer, who prepares the land, sows the seed, nurtures it and ultimately harvests the produce is the real producer of wealth Man and nature — which latter includes air, water and land — combine together in these operations

In olden days when man lived in comparative isolation there was no legal proprietorship on nature, but as time went on man began to claim ownership of the land As population began to increase society created values in land. These values being ultimately a creation of society it follows that land itself must be a social asset, used for the purposes of society and not for individual profit. From this it follows that a person can cultivate land for his own use and any surplus should be controlled by society Therefore, private property in land is an anti-social arrangement. It is also an unnatural situation.

Not only has the present social organization allowed misappropriation of land but it has also provided sanctions for individuals to exploit the land for their own benefit. This has resulted in several types of injustices being showered on the weak by the strong A great many influential and educated people own land and they are using it to exploit the labour of the weaker ones In many cases, this has resulted in not giving the workers on the land even the status of the animals with which the cultivator performs his operations For all practical purposes such field labourers are slaves bought at nominal cost by the landowners. Legally these may not be called slaves They are usually merely styled debtors The debt itself is as a rule a small one of Rs 40 or Rs 50, incurred very often, for the marriage of the debtor With this petty amount the landlord purchases practically a lifelong right over the bride and the bridegroom and their progeny!

In most cases these loans are never repaid. The debtor is illiterate and ignorant. He gets no receipts for any amounts that he may have returned, with the result that he is at the tender mercies of the landowner Hardly any credits are given by the landlord sufficient enough to work out the debt. The debtor labours and labours year in and year out, loyally to serve his faithless master getting a mere pittance in return. Occasionally such labourers are given a set of clothing once a year at the time of festivals such as Diwali The rate of remuneration differs from place to place but it is generally given in kind in amounts hardly sufficient to maintain the labouring families in a healthy condition The result is in some cases labourers are put to such stress as the *gobris* of Gorakhpur

These *gobris* collect cow dung at certain seasons of the year, wash out the undigested grain passed out by the cattle and dry these grains grind them and prepare their food from the flour From about half a dozen heads of cattle they can glean, during the season, about a maund or a maund and a half of grain. They say that although there is not much difference in the taste of such grain from the natural produce yet it has a 'heating' effect on the body

J C KUMARAPPA

HIGGLEDY — PIGGLEDY

I happened to look in at the Dehradun Military Dairy a short while ago, in order to see the little calf 'Mira", who had an interview with Rajaji last autumn She was in a yard with a large number of other youngsters Several of them were male calves This struck me as something new "So you are no longer sending your male calves to the slaughter-house" I said "That has been stopped" I was told 'But what is to happen to these male calves when they grow up? Is anybody prepared to buy them?' I asked "Nobody,' was the reply, "and what is more, nobody wants to take them as a gift, because they are useless for draught" "Then what is going to be done?" The reply was simply, 'We don't know We are keeping them and feeding them but it can't go on like this for long" "But how is it you have not yet stopped using these foreign (Holstein) bulls? The whole thing is absurd, and will lead to much worse cruelty than the slaughter-house"

People who are pressing for laws against cattle slaughter should first think what they are doing Regulations for the stoppage of slaughter of male calves in the military dairies have been passed, but the breeding of useless male animals has not been checked, with the result that hundreds and thousands of unwanted male calves are still being brought into the world who are practically bound to die of starvation and neglect Or are we to build concentration camps for all these miserable unwanted animals, in order that the dairy farms may go on having fancy cows? It should be remembered that it is not only military dairies that have up to now sent their male calves to the slaughter-house

If slaughter of cattle is to be prohibited then breeding of anything but dual-purpose cattle must also be prohibited Unless we develop cows, the male calves of which are useful animals, prohibition of slaughter will turn into creation of torture.

Would-be benefactors of the cow beware!

Pashulok, 28-1-'49 MIRABEHN

PUBLIC FINANCE & OUR POVERTY

By

J C Kumarappa

Price *Rs 1-8-0* Postage etc 0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

February 13 1949

SEVAGRAM PACIFIST CONFERENCE

The readers of the *Harijan* are aware that in 1947 it was proposed that some persons earnestly interested in peace should visit India and discuss with Mahatma Gandhi the problems of world peace. Mahatma Gandhi advised that the Conference should be held not in 1948 but after the British army had withdrawn from India and January 1949 was fixed Unfortunately however, before the Conference could be held Mahatmaji was assassinated It was felt by those in India and elsewhere that the project should not be given up and that it was all the more incumbent upon those left behind to carry it out. For various reasons among which the principal were our own unpreparedness and the difficulty in securing ship passages for those coming from foreign countries the Conference which was fixed for the middle of January 1949 had to be postponed It was decided however to have a preliminary conference to consider and undertake the necessary preparation for the postponed World Pacifist Conference This Conference accordingly met most appropriately at Sevagram on the 26th 27th and 28th January last.

The first question that the Conference took up was that of fixing a date and the programme of the World Conference It was decided that the World Conference should be held in two parts, the first part being held at Shantiniketan as had been originally arranged and the second part at Sevagram The Conference at Shantiniketan would meet from December 1 to 8 and after about three weeks' adjournment during which the foreign delegates might visit various places in the country where they could not only see something of the life and culture of the people, but also have talks and discussions regarding the objects of the Conference it could meet again for a few days in the first week of January 1950 at Sevagram A resolution to this effect was passed and the public were invited to take part in the preparations for the World Conference and to form local groups or committees to discuss the application of the principles of non-violence to the conflicts amongst classes and nations Some fifty active workers for peace have been invited from Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia to attend the World Meeting of Pacifists and it is estimated that even when the expenses of the delegates from some of the countries like the U S A and England will be met by those countries, the Invitation Committee will need about 2½ lakhs to meet the other expenses of the Conference in India and a request has been made to the public interested in world peace to help raising this fund by responding generously to the appeal that had been made

The Conference then discussed for two days the various aspects of the problem of peace with special reference to the practical application of non-violence, the relation of constructive work to it as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi Shri J C Kumarappa, Secretary of the Gram Udyog Sangh (All India Village Industries Association) founded under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, opened the discussion and finally a resolution was adopted urging Governments and peoples to remind themselves constantly of the remarkable success of the use of non-violence in the attainment of Indian freedom and earnestly to seek those forms of non-violent expression to settle difficult problems and situations The desire of the Conference was expressed to unite with all men of goodwill in seeking for positive measures to induce peace-mindedness in the people generally especially in the rising generation. It was decided to form a fellowship in India whose primary concern will be to help in the realization of a world order based on Truth and Non-violence to strive for the realization in India of such an order of society, to work for the removal of causes of conflict among groups and nations to promote international understanding and to organize local peace units for allaying conflicts in an effective manner

Indian members of the Conference felt and expressed their anxiety regarding the situation in India and confessed to a certain incongruity in it in the land of Mahatma Gandhi s birth and activity in that both the people and the Government were not able to implement in actual life the lesson of *ahimsa* which the Mahatma had taught and practised. The tendency towards militarization as witnessed by schemes for military training in educational institutions and the continued heavy expenditure on development and equipment of the armed forces was noted with concern. It was felt, however, that although unable to implement non-violence the Government were ever conscious of Mahatmaji s teachings and the leaders of India were constantly reminding themselves and the people of the success achieved through non-violence, and it was hoped that they would be able to rise above the circumstances which were forcing their hands at present

The work before the Indian lovers of peace at the present moment is to prepare for the World Conference, and for this purpose not only the necessary finances have to be raised but even more important than that is the creation of the necessary atmosphere by public and group discussions amongst all classes of people It is hoped that the country will respond and prove its abiding faith in the teaching of the Master by establishing effective peace and goodwill among all its inh[illegible]ts and thus opening the way for its wider o[illegible]

RAJENDRAPRASAD

OBITUARY

For various reasons I was unable to take note of some of the eminent persons and valuable workers who died during the last month Even now, I must just console myself by briefly alluding to them with respect.

G A NATESAN

The services of the great Madras publisher, Shri G A. Natesan are well known. It was his publications of speeches, writings and biographies of eminent Indians which gave inspiration to many a youth of the last generation

D SESHAGIRI RAO

The All India Spinners' Association has suffered a great loss by the unexpected deaths of two of its valuable workers Shri D Seshagiri Rao was a lifelong worker in the *khadi* field in Andhra The organization of the *khadi* movement in the Godavary District of that province was mainly due to his efforts. He died on the 6th January through sudden rise of blood-pressure

GULAM AHMED

Shri Gulam Ahmed Secretary of the A. I. S A Kashmir Branch, died on the 16th January under tragic circumstances He attended the Jaipur Exhibition with his party of workers, and returned up to Jammu after the close of the Exhibition The motor road from Jammu to Kashmir was blocked by snow and it was arranged that the party should fly to Kashmir. As all could not go together, they went one or two at a time Shri Gulam Ahmed was the last to start His plane was caught in a snow-storm, and crashed Gulam Ahmed's body was found in the debris when the plane was traced. The Branch has suffered an irreparable loss by his sudden end Both D Seshagiri Rao and Gulam Ahmed were of middle age, and the mainstay of their families.

JAMNADAS GANDHI

P S Closely following upon the despatch of the above came the information of Shri Jamnadas Gandhi's death in New Delhi His father Shri Khushalchand Gandhi, one of Gandhiji's first cousins, had placed all his sons at the disposal of Gandhiji, while he was still in South Africa Shri Jamnadas was the youngest of them He was one of the party who came with him from South Africa, and for some time used to move with Gandhiji in his tours During the non-co-operation movement he started the National School at Rajkot, and conducted it for a few years Later he took to business in Bombay After earning some money he retired from it some years ago

During my recent stay in Bombay he constantly helped me in the editing of the *Harijan*. He took keen interest in the preservation and collection of Gandhiji's relics and pictures. His health was far from satisfactory for some years past, but he was a Nature-curist and did not take kindly to drugs Work took him to New Delhi, where he developed enteric fever and had to be removed to a hospital. After more than six weeks illness he succumbed to it this morning

Shri Jamnadas was associated with Gandhiji, while he was still not much known in India, and was therefore in a position to throw light on several matters briefly alluded to in Gandhiji's letters notes etc of the time With his death we lose one more person capable of assisting Shri Pyarelalji in writing Gandhiji's biography He was under 55 and having regard to the general longevity of his family, must be regarded as having died quite young This increases the intensity of the loss

Wardha 4-2-49 K G MASHRUWALA

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru who passed away at Allahabad on the 20th January 1949, after a prolonged illness was truly an *knight sans peur et sans reproache* An ardent patriot and a doughty fighter for the country's freedom according to his lights, the closer in contact one came with him, the more one learnt to reverence him for his purity of character, uncompromising integrity and sturdy independence of mind which refused to bow to fear or favour Very few people fully understood this characteristic of his, and many misunderstood his actions during his lifetime It is very little known for instance, how it was his fearless opposition that ultimately forced Lord Reading's Government to reverse their decision to arrest Gandhiji at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit to India in 1920 When General Smuts tried to browbeat at the Imperial Conference in London, it was he who stood up and hit back undismayed and unsubdued Equally sturdy was the fight which he put up when at the Second Round Table Conference, Sir Samuel Hoare and India Office sought to force upon the country provincial autonomy without responsibilities at the centre He left the Congress on the issue of non-co-operation and joined the Indian Liberal Federation But his independence of mind would not let him rest there and in the end he broke away from them too

His unblemished personal life and uttermost purity of motives, in which nothing sordid or mean could ever enter put him on a pedestal where few could rival him His love of truth and love of the motherland forged between him and Gandhiji ties which no amount of political difference could weaken or severe And so in spite of their sharp difference in regard to Direct Action, there never was a crisis in Gandhiji's life in which Dr Sapru failed to rally to his side and do his bit. The part he played in the negotiations in the Yeravda Central Prison during the first Satyagraha struggle in the year 1930, then again at the time of Gandhiji's epic Harijan fast, and finally in the Leaders' Conference at the time of Gandhiji's 21 day fast in the Agakhan Palace is too well known to need recounting here. When I approached him in July last for information about certain episodes of Gandhiji's life, in

connection with the writing of his (Gandhiji's) biography, he was bed-ridden But he promptly wrote back that not only did he regard it as a privilege but a sacred duty to give all the help that he could in the task. I felt overwhelmed at the way in which he gave hour after hour to satisfy my thirst for facts about Gandhiji's life The muscles were all paralysed he could hardly sit up or even lie down in bed without help the speech was faltering and at times, required the trained ear of his intimate attendants to be intelligible, but the mind was crystal clear and as vigorous as ever and the memory had lost none of its pristine sharpness and pungency He recalled with an amazing precision the minute details of the incidents which he described, even the date and time when he met certain eminent British statesmen, and their exact words during the talks. After three days he let me go, but asked me to come again and gave orders that all his archives and personal correspondence from 1905 onwards be placed at my disposal. I had hoped to be able to get lots of more information from him, which probably no one else could have given. But that was not to be When I saw him for the last time on the afternoon of 20th January, there was only a faint gleam of recognition in his eyes. At night, however, I learnt subsequently, just a few hours before the end, he rallied once again and remarked that he wanted to go where Gandhiji was, for there there are no ailments

Dr Sapru was the finest product of the British liberal tradition in which our political leaders in the pre-non-co-operation era were brought up It has been noted that since then revolutionary ardour has crowded out the solid attainments — erudition, balance of judgment industry hard study of facts and healthy respect and regard for tradition, which constructive statesmanship requires, and which was so remarkably typified in his person. May his example serve as a beacon light and inspiration to the younger generation for the attainment of these qualities, which the country needs so sorely at present.

Delhi, 27-1-49 PYARELAL

SOME USEFUL BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

An Autobiography	7-0-0	0-13-0
Key to Health	0-10-0	0-2-0
Non-violence in Peace & War Vol 1	7-0-0	0-10-0
Cent Per cent Swadeshi	2-0-0	0-8-0
From Yeravda Mandir	0-8-0	0-2-0
Hind Swaraj	0-8-0	0-2-0
Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence	2-0-0	0-8-0
Women & Social Injustice	3-0-0	0-8-0
Delhi Diary	3-0-0	0-10-0
The Nation's Voice	3-0-0	0-10-0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Govt. (1942-44)	2-8-0	0-7-0
Constructive Programme	0-6-0	0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

VI

SWADESHI

(Concluded)

Khadi has been conceived as the image of Swadeshi because India has committed a heinous sin by giving it up and thus failing in the discharge of her natural duty

The importance of khadi and the spinning-wheel first dawned on me in 1908, when I had no idea of what the wheel was like and did not even know the distinction between the wheel and the loom. I had only a dim consciousness of the condition of India's villages, but still I clearly saw that the chief cause of their pauperization was the destruction of the spinning-wheel, and resolved that I would try to revive it when I return to India

I returned in 1915 with my mind full of these ideas Swadeshi was one of the observances ever since the Ashram was started But none of us knew how to spin We therefore rested content with setting up a handloom Some of us still retained a liking for fine cloth No Swadeshi yarn of the requisite fineness for women's *saris* was available in the market. For a very short time therefore they were woven with foreign yarn But we were soon able to obtain fine yarn from Indian mills.

It was no easy job even to set up the handloom at the Ashram None of us had the least idea of weaving. We obtained a loom and a weaver through friends Maganlal Gandhi undertook to learn weaving.

I conducted experiments at the Ashram and at the same time carried on Swadeshi propaganda in the country But it was like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark so long as we could not spin yarn At last however I discovered the spinning-wheel, found out spinners and introduced the wheel in the Ashram. The whole story has been unfolded in the Autobiography

But that did not mean that our difficulties were at an end On the other hand they increased, as such of them as were hidden till now became manifest.

Touring in the country I saw that people would not take to the spinning-wheel as soon as they were told about it I knew that not much money could be made by spinning, but I had no idea of how little it was. Then again the yarn that was spun would not at once be uniform as well as fine Many could spin only coarse and weak yarn Not all kinds of cotton were suitable for spinning The cotton must be carded and made into slivers and in carding much depended upon the condition of the cotton Any and every spinning-wheel would not do To revive the spinning-wheel thus meant the launching of a big scheme Money alone could not do the trick. As for man-power too hundreds of workers would be needed, and these men should be ready to learn a new art, to be satisfied with a small salary and to live our their lives in villages But even that was not enough The rural atmosphere was surcharged with idleness and lack of faith and hope. The wheel could make no headway

if this did not improve Thus a successful revival of the wheel could be brought about only with an army of single-minded men and women equipped with infinite patience and strong faith

At first I was alone in having this faith Faith indeed was the only capital that I had, but I saw that if there is faith everything else is added unto it. Faith enlightens the intellect and induces habits of industry It was clear that all experiments should be conducted at and through the Ashram which indeed existed for that very purpose I realized that spinning should be the principal physical activity of the Ashram Thus only could it be reduced to a science Therefore spinning was at last recognized as a *mahayajna* (primary sacrifice), and every one who joined the Ashram had to learn spinning and to spin regularly every day

But *yajna* implies skill in action (कर्मसु कौशलम्।) To spin some yarn somehow cannot be called a *yajna*. At first the rule was that members should spin for at least half an hour every day But it was soon found that if the spinning-wheel went out of order, one could not spin even a couple of yards in half an hour Therefore the rule was modified and members were asked to spin at least 160 rounds, one round being equal to 4 feet. Again yarn was no good if it was not uniform as well as strong Tests of strength and uniformity were therefore devised, and we have now made such progress that spinning yarn coarser than 20s does not count as *yajna*

But granted that good yarn is spun, who would make use of it? I was sure from the first that the person who does spinning as a sacrament must not use his own yarn, but I was unable to carry conviction to others Where was the harm if the spinner paid the wages and purchased his yarn for himself? I deceived myself and agreed that one who paid the wages and bought his own yarn should be considered a spinning-sacrificer This error has not still been fully rectified. Errors not dealt with with a strong hand at their first appearance tend to become permanent, and are difficult to eradicate like chronic diseases

As a consequence of this *yajna* spinning has made great strides in India, but it has still to take root in each of our villages The reason is obvious My faith was not coupled with knowledge Some knowledge was acquired after mistakes had been committed Co-workers have joined me, but too few for the great task in hand There are hundreds of workers but perhaps they have not in them the requisite faith and knowledge The root being thus weak, one may not expect to enjoy the ripest fruit

But for this I cannot find fault with anybody The work is new and wide as the ocean and it bristles with difficulties Therefore though the result of our activity is not gratifying it is still sufficient for sustaining our faith We have every right to hope for complete success Faithful workers, men as well as women, have joined in adequate numbers and have accumulated a fund of valuable experience, so that this movement is certainly destined not to perish

Khadi has given rise to quite a number of other activities at the Ashram as well as elsewhere in the country which cannot here be dealt with at any length Suffice it to say that cotton crops are raised spinning-wheels are made, cloth is dyed, and simple hand-operated machines are manufactured for all the processes from ginning to weaving These machines are being improved from time to time The progress made in producing a more efficient type of spinning-wheel is a piece of poetry to my mind

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G D)

(*To be continued*)

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION*

I

We write to draw attention to a great and growing evil, a menace not to the animal world alone but also to humanity Especially because India is increasingly following, blindly as far as most of her people are concerned in the hard track of Western biological science and was only recently announced as starting, with Government approval, the manufacture of a vaccine against tuberculosis, the time seems ripe to examine the facts and the implications of the practice of vivisection

The term has a wider accepted application than cutting or operating on a living animal, as its derivation connotes It includes any painful experimentation upon living animals in the supposed or alleged interest of science. The average layman is as serenely unaware of the extent of the practice as he is of the cruelty involved.

An inquiry in the House of Commons on October 24th, 1947, as to the number of experiments performed in 1946 (allowed under the Cruelty to Animals Act!) brought from the Secretary of State for the Home Department the reply that in that year experiments had been performed on 231 cats and 620 dogs without anesthetics and on 2,111 cats and 411 dogs with anesthetics These figures, it will be noted, cover only species of animals often made pets They do not include rats, guinea-pigs, rabbits, mice and other laboratory animals which are very largely used nor do they include monkeys of which thousands have been exported from India It was admitted in the Simla Assembly a few years ago that research laboratories were the probable destination of most of the 22,544 monkeys exported from India in 1936-37 ‡

It was estimated in a recent popular article that laboratories in the U S A spend a million dollars annually for research animals The four medical schools of Chicago alone were allotted 9,000 of the city's unclaimed, unlicensed dogs in 1943, and a defender of vivisection complained in *The Scientific Monthly* for December 1947 that the number was "actually not sufficient."

The nobler a man is the more objects of compassion he hath.

—BACON

*This article is reproduced from Theosophical Free Tract No 13 of the 25th July 1948. It is prepared under the auspices of the United Lodge of Theosophists Bombay

‡According to a recent note in *The Times of India* 16,000 monkeys were exported to America from this country during the last year —Ed.

RAMANAMA*

[Note — I desired the following to appear in the issue of the 30th January I regret it could not be so done However, it will be valuable even now
— K. G M]

At Anki I could not get goat's milk for Bapu. I tried my best to procure it but failed So I had to inform Bapu who said to me, "What does it matter? For goat's milk the white juice of the coconut will do as well and fresh coconut oil will serve the purpose of ghee

Bapu showed me how to prepare them and accordingly I gave them to him. As he usually took eight ounces of goat's milk he took the same quantity of coconut milk too But he could not digest it and so had an attack of diarrhoea The frequent motions made him weaker and weaker till in the evening when he was coming back to the hut he felt a reeling sensation and was about to fall. Generally symptoms like yawning perspiration, coldness of hands and feet etc would precede such a reeling sensation in his case I thought from his yawns that he was about to feel giddy but I was mistaken Bapu who was walking with my support was already collapsing I held his head with care and shouted for Nirmalbabu He came and we both helped Bapuji to bed Then it struck me that I should call for Dr Sushilabehn who was in a village near-by I feared that I would be taken for a fool if Bapuji's illness suddenly took a serious turn and if I did not call for her in time I wrote a chit and just as I was giving it to Nirmalbabu for despatching Bapu woke up from his trance and called out, "Minudi (that was Bapu's term of endearment for me) "I do not like your calling Nirmalbabu As you are still young however, I can excuse you But at such a time I expect you to do nothing else but take *Ramanama* with all your heart. As for myself I was already engrossed in taking His name. I would have liked it unmeasely had you started taking *Ramanama* instead of shouting for Nirmalbabu Now don't inform Sushila or call her The real doctor is Rama As long as Rama needs service from me He will keep me alive. When He does not, He will call me back to Himself"

A shiver passed through my body when the words "don't inform Sushila or call her" struck my ears I snatched the chit from Nirmalbabu and tore it to pieces Bapu saw this and remarked "So you had already written to her' I had to admit the fact Then he said, 'Today the Lord has saved us both On reading the chit Sushila would have left her work and immediately run to us. I would not have liked it at all. That would have made me angry with myself and you Thank God I was tested today I am convinced that I shall not die of sickness if *Ramanama* has penetrated deep down into my heart This rule is for everybody One has to suffer for one's mistakes and in that spirit I passed through the pain One should have *Ramanama* on one's lips till one's last breath but it should not be repeated parrot-like, it should spring from the heart as was the case with Hanuman When Sitaji presented a pearl necklace to him he broke the pearls to see if the name of Rama was written to them We need not care to find out whether the incident actually happened or not. We may not be able to make our bodies as strong as that of Hanuman but we can certainly make our souls as great. One can realize the devotion of Hanuman if one is intent on it. If one cannot reach that height it is enough if one makes a sincere attempt Has not Mother *Gita* taught us to make every effort and leave the result in the hands of God? We should try our very best to follow that teaching

"Now you have understood what my attitude is towards the sickness of anybody—he is you me or anyone else" And that very day he wrote to an ailing sister "There is only one panacea in the whole world and that is *Ramanama* But His name could only prove effective if the rules pertaining to it are strictly adhered to But who cares to do so?

Strangely enough the above incident occurred on the 30th of January 1947, exactly a year before his death.

That unshakable faith in *Ramanama* remained with him till his last breath I did not then imagine that on the same day a year later I should have the heart-rending experience of hearing *Rama, Ra . ma* as the last audible words of the great departing soul Mysterious indeed are the ways of the Lord!

MANU GANDHI

* This article forms one of the chapters of a book by the writer which in its turn are only fourteen of the chapters of the diary which she kept during the long period she toured Bihar Noakhali and other places in Gandhiji's camp The book is published by the Navajivan Press under the title *Bapu — My Mother* Price Twelve Annas Postage Extra —J DESAI

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs Four* Postage etc *As Ten*
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105 AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS

		PAGE
DARE TO WALK ALONE	— KALANATH KATJU	421
THE CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA	— D M	422
THE DOWN TRODDEN — I	— J C KUMARAPPA	423
HIGGLEDY — PIGGLEDY	— MIRABEHN	423
SEVAGRAM PACIFIST CONFERENCE	— RAJENDRAPRASAD	424
OBITUARY	— K. G MASHRUWALA	425
DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU	— PYARELAL	425
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION — VI	— M. K. GANDHI	426
THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION — I		427
RAMANAMA	— MANUBEHN GANDHI	428

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press Kalupur Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year Rs 6 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

Overcoming Communalism

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII No 51 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY FEBRUARY 20, 1949 TWO ANNAS

THEN AND NOW

When as a youth of eighteen Gandhiji went to England to study Law, vowed to abstain from flesh foods, a friendly European on the boat told him that it was so cold in England that one could not live there without meat Gandhiji's answer was that if he found it to be so, he would rather return to India than break his vow to his mother The subsequent history of his struggle to keep his vow and ultimate success constitutes one of the most poignant episodes of his life It laid the foundation of his future greatness

Over half a century has elapsed since then Indians going to England are still told that it is not possible to live there as vegetarians Yet, as a leaflet issued on behalf of the London Vegetarian Society points out, there are 1 00 000 English people who do so 'But , continues the leaflet "under the rationing scheme introduced during the war, and still continued in England, it is not easy to live as a vegetarian unless you know the procedure for getting a vegetarian ration book which includes a counter-signature, which the Secretary of the London Vegetarian Society has been authorized by the Ministry of Food to give for members of the Society The housing shortage makes it difficult to find lodgings of any sort, and for accommodation in a vegetarian household Indians are advised to advertise beforehand in one of the three vegetarian magazines Those desirous of utilizing the good offices of the London Vegetarian Society for the purpose, are asked to communicate with its Secretary, Mr Roy Walker, who is also the editor of the Society's Quarterly *Vegetarian News* The text of a remarkable address on the *Moral Basis of Vegetarianism* that Gandhiji delivered at a gathering of the Society during his visit to England in 1931, is reproduced from the *Vegetarian News* for the Summer Quarter, 1948, elsewhere, in this issue

Delhi 19-1-49 PYARELAL

To Correspondents

The amount of correspondence, articles and suggestions for articles which I receive, though often important, is far too much for me to be able to cope with physically or deal with in the *Harijan* I shall be obliged if my correspondents will hold over their despatches for about a couple of months

Wardha, 11-2-49 K. G M

THE DOWN-TRODDEN

II

I wrote about *gobris* in the last article In some parts of our country the landlords let out such near-slave labourers to other employers and receive in return the daily hire for such workers as though these workers were so many cattle hired out !

In other parts of the country we come across still more degrading conditions The field-labourers live in houses situated on land owned by the landlords so that they are depending on their landlords for, not only work, but also shelter Even ordinary daily-wage labourers are accommodated in this fashion and if any of them dare to question the order of the day and ask for a higher return, they face the danger of being left homeless as the landlord would evict them without mercy and perhaps attach their few belongings in lieu of the loan granted to them. This leaves the farm labourers hopelessly at the mercy of the landlord

Not only such landless cultivators suffer from these various disabilities but are also placed on a level with dumb driven cattle when they are branded on the thigh with the initials of the landlord to whom they belong This identification mark subjects the branded one to be dependent only on his landlord for work because if at any time he thought of leaving him and seeking work elsewhere under another landlord— an inspection of his thigh will immediately reveal that he is a labourer run away from his "lawful master The landlord from whom such a labourer sought work would immediately send back the refugee to his old master

In this manner our real wealth producers who are the feeders of society, are being down-trodden. They are deprived of liberty They are denied freedom They are sunk in poverty They know no light of learning There is hardly a ray of hope in their lives Such is the fate of those on whom depends the culture of our nation, the economic life of a whole people and the good name of society It is no use thinking that they form only a small group of people They may be in a minority, but the very existence of such a group damns the claims we make of being an independent country What is independence that does not break the shackles of the least of us ? What is

Society which does not bring light and hope to the remotest? Where is self-sufficiency when some are being oppressed?

At the moment great many reforms are being introduced but as long as we leave this section of society untouched, we cannot be said to have attained complete independence. This will be the real test of real freedom, that every man should be free to work choose his work, get enough to eat clothe and be sheltered from the weather He should have freedom to think and act as long as he does not injure his fellowmen

Until the Britishers left our land a great many of us were engaged in all manner of public work We used that as a lever to throw down the British but now many such workers are searching the debris for the spoils rather than continue the work that they were doing formerly If we do not turn our attention to righting the wrongs of the down trodden, we shall lose all the privileges we possess sooner or later and those who labour for the suppressed will develop a power which will give them the right to lead the nation

Gandhiji emphasized Harijan Sevak work A great many of the people were described as Harijans They obtained freedom to worship in temples They have been granted legal approach to wells but there remains still the dignity of human beings being restored to them It seems now that the Congress has been relieved of the fight with the British, it ought to turn its attention against social evils and injustice We have been fighting an outside enemy The fight within is much greater

Our country is like a man who has developed malaria by being exposed to mosquito bites The man has now put up a net to keep the outward enemies from poisoning his blood This is the situation with the British quitting India Now we have to turn our attention to the parasites in our blood stream which keep up the fever This fight for the purification of our body politic has to be a determined and sustained attack on that which poisons us otherwise we shall surely succumb to this internal ailment. Outwardly we appear free but inwardly the disease of slavery continues Shall we rise with sufficient courage to undertake the cure by sponsoring the cause of the downtrodden?

This work cannot be done by an appeal to the government—to the forces of law and order—police army etc This work has to be done by those of us who are strong by standing by those who are weak and taking upon ourselves the duty of sponsoring the cause of the underdog Many former Congressmen are looking for a programme of work Here is one that should appeal to the patriotic and to the strong By so doing we shall be sublimating the protective nature endowed on manhood We shall build our new-born nation on a firm social foundation of equality and self-respect restoring to everyone the dignity of a human being a temple of God

J. C. KUMARAPPA

THE MORAL BASIS OF VEGETARIANISM

[Address to the London Vegetarian Society by Gandhiji 9th November 1931 —Ed.]

When I received the invitation to be present at this meeting I need not tell you how pleased I was, because it revived old memories and recollections of pleasant friendships formed with vegetarians. I feel especially honoured to find on my right Mr Henry Salt It was Mr Salt's book *A Plea For Vegetarianism*, which showed me why, apart from a hereditary habit, and apart from my adherence to a vow administered to me by my mother it was right to be a vegetarian He showed me why it was a moral duty incumbent on vegetarians not to live upon fellow-animals It is, therefore a matter of additional pleasure to me that I find Mr Salt in our midst

I do not propose to take up your time by giving you my various experiences of vegetarianism, nor do I want to tell you something of the great difficulty that faced me in London itself in remaining staunch to vegetarianism but I would like to share with you some of the thoughts that have developed in me in connection with vegetarianism Forty years ago I used to mix freely with vegetarians. There was at that time hardly a vegetarian restaurant in London that I had not visited I made it a point, out of curiosity and to study the possibilities of vegetarian restaurants in London, to visit every one of them Naturally therefore, I came into close contact with many vegetarians I found at the tables that largely the conversation turned upon food and disease I found also that the vegetarians who were struggling to stick to their vegetarianism were finding it difficult from health point of view I do not know whether nowadays, you have those debates but I used at that time to attend debates that were held between vegetarians and vegetarians, and between vegetarians and non-vegetarians I remember one such debate, between Dr Densmore and the late Dr T R Allinson Then vegetarians had a habit of talking of nothing but food and nothing but disease I feel that is the worst way of going about the business I notice also that it is those persons who become vegetarians because they are suffering from some disease or other—that is, from purely the health point of view—it is those persons who largely fall back I discovered that for remaining staunch to vegetarianism a man requires a moral basis

For me that was a great discovery in my search after truth. At an early age, in the course of my experiments I found that a selfish basis would not serve the purpose of taking a man higher and higher along the paths of evolution What was required was an altruistic purpose I found also that health was by no means the monopoly of vegetarians I found many people having no bias one way or the other and that non-vegetarians were able to show generally speaking good health. I found also that several vegetarians found it

impossible to remain vegetarians because they had made food a fetish and because they thought that by becoming vegetarians they could eat as much lentils haricot beans and cheese as they liked Of course those people could not possibly keep their health Observing along these lines, I saw that a man should eat sparingly and now and then fast. No man or woman really ate sparingly or consumed just that quantity which the body requires and no more We easily fall a prey to the temptations of the palate, and therefore when a thing tastes delicious we do not mind taking a morsel or two more But you cannot keep health under those circumstances Therefore I discovered that in order to keep health, no matter what you ate it was necessary to cut down the quantity of your food, and reduce the number of meals Become moderate, err on the side of less, rather than on the side of more When I invite friends to share their meals with me I never press them to take anything except only what they require On the contrary I tell them not to take a thing if they do not want it.

What I want to bring to your notice is that vegetarians need to be tolerant if they want to convert others to vegetarianism Adopt a little humility We should appeal to the moral sense of the people who do not see eye to eye with us If a vegetarian became ill and a doctor prescribed beef-tea, then I would not call him a vegetarian A vegetarian is made of sterner stuff Why? Because it is for the building of the spirit and not of the body Man is more than meat It is the spirit in man for which we are concerned Therefore vegetarians should have that moral basis—that a man was not born a carnivorous animal but born to live on the fruits and herbs that the earth grows I know we must all err I would give up milk if I could but I cannot I have made that experiment times without number I could not after a serious illness, regain my strength unless I went back to milk That has been the tragedy of my life But the basis of my vegetarianism is not physical, but moral. If anybody said that I should die if I did not take beef-tea or mutton, even under medical advice, I would prefer death That is the basis of my vegetarianism I would love to think that all of us who called ourselves vegetarians should have that basis There were thousands of meat-eaters who did not stay meat-eaters There must be a definite reason for our making that change in our lives for our adopting habits and customs different from society even though sometimes that change may offend those nearest and dearest to us Not for the world should you sacrifice a moral principle Therefore the only basis for having a vegetarian society and proclaiming a vegetarian principle is and must be, a moral one I am not to tell you as I see and wander about the world that vegetarians, on the whole enjoy much better health than meat-eaters. I belong to a country which is predominantly vegetarian by habit or necessity Therefore I cannot testify that that shows much greater endurance much greater courage, or much greater exemption from [illegible] Because it is a peculiar, personal thing it means obedience, and scrupulous obedience to all the laws of hygiene

Therefore, I think that what vegetarians should do is not to emphasize the physical consequences of vegetarianism but to explore the moral consequences. While we have not yet forgotten that we share many things in common with the beast, we do not sufficiently realize that there are certain things which differentiate us from the beast Of course, we have vegetarians in the cow and the bull—which are better vegetarians than we are—but there is something much higher which calls us to vegetarianism Therefore, I thought that during the few minutes which I give myself the privilege of addressing you, I would just emphasize the moral basis of vegetarianism And I would say that I have found from my own experience, and the experience of thousands of friends and companions, that they find satisfaction so far as vegetarianism is concerned from the moral basis they have chosen for sustaining vegetarianism

In conclusion, I thank you all for coming here and allowing me to see vegetarians face to face I cannot say I used to meet you forty or fortytwo years ago I suppose the faces of the London Vegetarian Society have changed There are very few members who, like Mr Salt, can claim association with the Society extending over forty years Lastly, I would like you if you want to to ask me any questions for I am at your disposal for a few minutes

Mr Gandhi was then asked to give his reasons for limiting his daily diet to five articles only and replied That has no connection with vegetarianism. There was another reason I had been a pampered child of nature I had acquired then that notoriety that when I was invited to friends, they placed before me ample dishes of food I told them I had come there to serve and, personally, I should find myself dying by inches if I allowed myself to be pampered like that So, in limiting myself to five ingredients of food, I served a double purpose And I must finish all my eating before sundown I have been saved many pitfalls by that There are many discoveries about that in regard to health reasons Dietists are saying that we are more and more tending towards simplifying diet and that if one must live for health one must have one thing at a time and avoid harmful combinations I like the process of exclusion better than that of inclusion because no two doctors have the same opinion

Then I think the restriction to five articles of food has helped me morally and materially—materially because, in a poor country like India it is not always possible to procure goat's milk, and it is a hard thing to produce fruit and grapes Then I go to visit poor people, and if I expected hothouse grapes, they would banish me So by restricting myself to five articles of food, it also serves the law of economy

HARIJAN

February 20 1949

OVERCOMING COMMUNALISM

A correspondent asks me to indicate some definite steps for overcoming communalism, and suggests the creation of a new institution—"raising a common front", a special *sevadal* (volunteer corps) and a new 'ism called "humanism".

In my humble opinion it is not necessary to found new institutions, committees, volunteer corps isms slogans etc for bringing about every good or necessary reform Every new institution is likely to produce a new faction Perhaps it has become a malady with us to go on adding institutions after institutions There are already several institutions in out country which do not believe in communalism The chief among these are the secular central and provincial governments which we have founded, the Congress liberals socialists and constructive programme institutions It is not necessary that there should be even a joint committee of the representatives of these institutions for fighting against communalism.

But the first drawback which I notice is that in every one of these institutions there are people whose ideas are not quite clear and whose emotions and sentiments are not sufficiently all-embracing on this subject

Perhaps every one of us is, to some extent, like that slave who, on being asked by the sultan to find a suitable companion to play with his child-prince, could not think of a better boy than his own. We of India are unable to get over the idea that Indian nationalism, language and culture must bear the impress of Hinduism, which, again, with them means Hinduism based on the *Vedas* and Sanskrit We are unable to realize that like the Jains, Sikhs, Lingayats and the other non-Vedic Indians, the Mussalmans Christians and Parsis of India are a part and parcel of the people and culture of India And the Muslims think in a like manner in Pakistan. They too fail to realize that it is possible to have a separate political State of Pakistan, but it is not possible to stop the mixture of Hindus and Muslims and their civilizations For, the rivers of the Himalayas proclaim that whoever crosses the Sindhu for good becomes a Hindu, irrespective of his religious label But to return to ourselves The language culture, the source of inspiration and even descent of non-Hindus in spite of admixture with non-Indian elements, are a product and possession of India and India alone on the Indian soil If the idea of Indian culture held by these protagonists of Hindu-nationalism in the Congress is correct I do not think there is much difference between their opinion and the opinions of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R S S Even these latter institutions are prepared to tolerate [illegible] and [illegible] ordinate place to non-Hindus

Hence the first imp[illegible] that we clear our minds of the obsession [illegible] Hindu culture in India should as of right occupy the first place and that it is the duty of a good Hindu to keep it free from admixture with non-Hindu elements—particularly that associated with Islam Once we get over this mental complex, other healthy developments will follow without much effort

The second necessity is the purification of our educational institutions and public services Several of our schools and colleges have become breeding centres of communalism In some places, boys and girls are being brought up from their very childhood under parents and teachers full of communal hatred Whatever may be the difference in the ideologies of communists and communalists there is unanimity between them in their faith in falsehood, hatred, riots, murder, sabotage and other violent methods Both ridicule truth, non-violence, love, restraint and other virtues Congressmen (including Socialists) cannot be credited with having no share in the spread of the cult of underground movements I myself was about to slip into it in 1942 My prompt arrest arrested my further fall The one propagates these evils by denying God The other does the same in the name and for the sake of God!

Party spirit has entered deep among Government servants also The result is that if the Government takes any steps against a particular party, it does not meet with full success We know well that in the Congress movements against the British Government, the Congress workers were often largely helped by Congress-minded Government servants in remaining underground, avoiding arrests attachments etc The underground members of the banned institutions are able to do the same thing with the help of Government servants sympathetic towards them Ministers are often helpless in the matter

Among Government servants those holding responsible positions generally belong to the middle class Not a few of them are relations of Congress workers They are "educated" men It is this class whose minds and hearts are either clear or confused. Subordinate officers like the ordinary policemen, warders soldiers and others come from the labouring classes Generally they just carry out the orders of their immediate superiors In communal riots it is these people and their kinsmen outside the service who suffer the most Even if the riots are engineered by middle class leaders, it is this class which is instigated to commit acts of vandalism and it is this class which suffers most at least in casualties Hence they are full of anger against their opponent community or class which they are taught to believe to be their enemies Nevertheless their anger is not deep-rooted and permanent, because in their heart of hearts they do not carry bigotted partiality for a particular religion or culture, which

is characteristic of the intelligentsia It is easier to remove the poison out of their minds than of the latter Hence the first necessity is to make our own minds and hearts and the minds and hearts of the educated classes pure and to make the atmosphere of schools and colleges quite clean We must feel that the foreign religions and culture which entered India at different periods have become a part and parcel of the life of several of our countrymen It has affected even those who have not accepted those religions And, on the whole it has been for the good of India Hinduism by itself had become degenerate and needed a shock for its improvement Our languages including Sanskrit itself have been enriched by the Islamic and Christian currents even as our dress, houses and outer life have been If we shed our blind partiality for unmixed pre-Islamic civilization we shall have taken the first step towards non-communal-mindedness

Wardha 5-2-49 K G MASHRUWALA

CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

I

In the *Harijan* of December 5 1948 Shri J C Kumarappa in his article captioned *Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh* has said that the present leadership of the Congress has refused to carry out the wishes of Gandhiji as expressed in his last testament, viz. his draft of a new constitution for the Congress He has further stated that this task is being faithfully fulfilled by the constructive workers by forming the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh In the beginning of his article Shri Kumarappa writes ' Gandhiji had expressed a wish that the Congress should turn itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh now that the political activity of the past has resulted in a measure of independence and that it should now work in the constructive field to bring Swaraj to the masses in terms of self-sufficiency of the villages Such a change of policy and constitution was not acceptable to the Congress To give effect to Gandhiji's wishes and to co-ordinate the work of all the institutions which have drawn their inspiration from him the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has been formed ' This can leave only one impression on the minds of the readers namely that the men on whom the responsibility of moulding the Congress has fallen after Gandhiji's demise have deliberately betrayed him and that the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is the direct result of the attempts on the part of the constructive workers to fulfil the last desire of Gandhiji But are the facts as stated by Shri Kumarappa correct? And do those men who are trying to steer the ship of State and the Congress in the present stormy weather deserve this censure at the hands of a comrade of high intellectual understanding like Shri Kumarappa?

Those constructive and political workers who had the good fortune of being associated with Gandhiji in his [illegible] activities and who have followed the workings of his mind know that for a long time before his tragic death Gandhiji was seriously thinking of amalgamating the different all-India constructive organizations, which he had created into one body and thus bring all the constructive activities for which he was responsible under one plan and direction. The various Sanghs were doing no doubt useful nation-building work separately in their respective fields But Gandhiji realized from experience that this had created a separatist mentality in the workers and that the part so much absorbed them that they lost sight of the whole A worker became not only indifferent to all other constructive activities except the one in which he was himself engaged but curiously enough he sometimes even became hostile to them and unconsciously harmed them. A khadi worker did not necessarily think it his duty to use products of village industries similarly a worker who was very keen on serving the *gomata* did not think it his duty to dress himself in khaddar This ignorance and indifference on the part of the constructive worker turned Gandhiji's constructive programme into a social reform activity which it was not intended to be Gandhiji had placed his constructive programme as the dynamic of a non-violent social revolution and not as a palliative in the form of social reform The revolutionary potentialities of Gandhiji's constructive programme can only be realized if it is accepted and worked as a whole and as the basis of a new non-violent social order, Gandhiji wanted the constructive worker not to lose sight of this aspect and therefore when he saw that the creation and working of separate constructive organizations was leading to this undesirable result he came to the conclusion that the best remedy was to carry on the different constructive activities under the auspices of a single organization The violent turn that the 1942 struggle took had convinced him of the imperative necessity of this reorientation Immediately after his release he unfolded his plan of Samagra Gram Seva to principal constructive workers in a meeting at Sevagram in September 1944 and suggested the formation of a Committee consisting of representatives of the five all-India constructive organizations But as the idea developed it was realized that this could not be successfully done unless the different Sanghs merged into one A few days before his death members of the different constructive organizations happened to be present in Delhi for their periodical meeting The Constructive Programme Department of the All India Congress Committee taking advantage of this called an informal conference of these workers Gandhiji was himself present An idea of amalgamating all the constructive organizations into one Milapi Sangh was discussed. It was decided that a conference of all the prominent workers in the country should be convened at Wardha under the auspices of the Gandhi Seva Sangh where Gandhiji

would himself be present and a final decision taken. Thus it will be seen that the idea of forming a Milapi Sangh was exercising the mind of Maharma Gandhi long before the question of turning the Congress into a Lok Sevak Sangh arose in the context of framing a new constitution for it in free India.

SHANKARRAO DEV

COMPREHENSIVE DETERMINATION

Addressing a prayer meeting held in the Gandhi Tatvagnan Mandir Dhaka on 1.1.'49, Shri Vinoba said that he was glad that people had come there on foot from long distances for the sake of prayer. It was the first day of the year, and he wished to take that opportunity for some loud thinking.

The New Year had begun but that was a man made convention. Men measured time since they could not do without it. Such occasions gave man an opportunity to do some introspection for his own good. The *sandhya* was enjoined as the proper time and mode of worship and prayer. *Sandhi* meant linking, and *sandhya* meant prayer at the period of transition. The beginning of a year also marked linking of two periods. It was therefore an occasion when one should take stock of what transpired during the previous year and resolve not to repeat the mistakes committed in the past.

Such introspection had to be in social life as well as in the individual one. Shri Vinoba said he would do a little social introspection that day. Prayer, even when offered in private, was a social act, because the individual was a part of the whole, and could not be separated from it. As soon as it was separated it would break into pieces. Nowhere was man alone, even though he might seem so. Hence his self-introspection also would be both individual and social.

"The world has come now closer. We can know what is happening in any part of the world immediately after the event. In ancient times people did not even know what countries and peoples existed in the world, far less what transpired there. Even great leaders of society or State had no idea of it. Yet they did what they could with the help of the knowledge they had. Today our position is such that we have become citizens of the whole world. We shall have to bear this in mind while thinking of any subject. This does not mean that we must stop serving our immediate neighbours. The body has got its own limitations and so actual services must be rendered to the people dwelling around us. But the service will become narrow-based, if we go on dividing it, thinking that these are my people and the others are foreign to me. Service in that spirit will not be for the wellbeing of all, and ultimately even to the people served. So while we serve the people nearest us, our outlook should be that of a citizen of the whole world.

'This way of thinking will lead you to see that there are only two ways open before the world today: either a plan for another world war more destructive than the previous ones, or a way for the abolition of all violent conflicts.

"The views on violence or non-violence of the philosophers and saints of the past are not sufficient for our present-day problem. They did not have before them the picture of the world which we have today. An action in one part of the world has its repercussions now in the whole world. Science is giving birth to most powerful instruments. When such is the case even if some of the great philosophers of the past had been tempted to regard or if you would say so, had the realization of the inevitable necessity of violence for the good of universe, their realisation cannot avail us today. The circumstances are entirely different today. And I do not regard this as bad, but as good. We cannot afford to take a narrow view of things now. We have got to think with a wider outlook. Even preparation for violence has to be made upon a wide scale. And it is quite clear that it can do no good to mankind. All our activities must be so co-ordinated that they would fit in with the life of all others. Our every step must fall in that direction. Even if we work in a village, it should proceed in such a way as to fit in with the welfare of every human being and not be to the disadvantage of any person.

India, Shri Vinoba said had every convenience for working with a broad outlook. We had in India as it were the whole world in miniature. It was good that we had several religions, several languages, various castes and manners and customs. If we could train the mind of India to think and act for the good of mankind irrespective of any community (*jnati*) or caste (*jati*) it would bear good result not only for India but for the world. He had used Shri Vinoba said the words community and caste advisedly. A group bound by some common creeds or aims was a community (*jnati*) one connected with birth was a caste (*jati*). All the differences were summed up in these two.

'India is a great country almost a continent—a *varsha*. We call it Bharatvarsha. Narrow views have no place in it. Do not the narrow minded become inferiors?—this question will be asked to the short-sighted here. We can thrive in India only if we keep a broad mind. Formation of groups would neither do good to us nor to the world. 'I am a man and I shall think and serve from the point of view of humanity. I won't go against it. It is such babel that is required in India and the requirements of the world can be all realized from our experiences here.

"So come, let us make comprehensive determinations. With Tukaram let us also sing 'Trihuvan (the three worlds) is my motherland and God is my parents.' In fact by the grace of God our country is indeed such a wide one. There is endless variety in it. By assimilating these varieties we have become united. We will not create imaginary distinctions between man and man. We shall regard the miserable as miserable, the happy, happy. We shall call a rascal, rascal, and a saint saint. We shall not think even of his caste or religion or language. Only one distinction we shall bear in mind, viz. that which distinguishes man from a savage. It means that we shall discriminate between Truth and Untruth. Our this determination would bring bliss to India and the good of the world will also emerge from it.'

Dhaka 4.1.49 D. M.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION

II

SOME OF THE TORTURES

Nothing can exceed what Dr R Fielding-Ould, M D M R C P M A described last year as the damnable cruelties daily taking place in the secret shambles of the vivisectors'

Newsweek for March 8 h 1948, carried the gruesome illustration reproduced above of "a tight-fitting Lucite cap clamped on the bared brain of an experimental monkey" This experiment was made at the National Naval Medical Centre Betbesda Maryland, and the text explains that "by injecting dyes into the monkey, researchers can look through the 'window', watch the dyes flow through the brain, and check on the animal s circulation The grim and tragic expression on the victim's face defies description The whole top of the animal's skull bad been removed.

In an experiment reported in *War Medicine* for February 1944, 'it was found that shock could regularly be produced in dogs by a controlled muscle-crushing procedure with minimum loss of blood"

A 'simplified standard procedure for the production of traumatic shock in mice and the evaluation of therapy', described in *U S- Public Health Reports* 24th September 1943, 'involves the application of tourniquet-like bands to the legs With this technique the maximum mortality is reported to result from two to three hours of application when untreated

In one experiment reported in a medical journal, a number of monkeys had been inoculated with rabies and the account described how they gradually developed such symptoms as shrieking continually, tearing the flesh off their own arms and having convulsions which threw them bodily across the cage

It is difficult to concede that a sadistic tendency is not at the root of many vivisection experiments, or that it is not fed by all Because through parents carelessness a young child had now and then got hold of kerosene and drunk it, an elaborate experiment was carried out in the U S A. involving the torture of many guinea-pigs and rats, studying the effect of varying doses of kerosene by mouth and by various types of injections The ner result was the discovery that, as damage continues as long as kerosene remains in the gastroenteric tract, it should be removed as quickly as possible in cases of kerosene poisoning, which anyone with a modicum of common sense could have told them in advance!

An article condensed in *Science Digest* from *Maclean's Magazine* for June 1947 describes how the Director of an Institute

> used 15 000 rats in 10 years of experiment With ingenious tipping platforms to worry his rats revolving cages turned by motor to keep the rats running in the cage an hour at a time to exhaust them, and cold chambers to subject them to exposure, he found he could induce the so-called degenerative diseases experimentally

Bernard Shaw attacked Pavlov, the vivisector who discovered "conditioned reflexes' in dogs, as a scoundrel According to his biographer, Hesketh Pearson, he declared that Pavlov s book on the subject

> described how Pavlov had cut half their brains out, and pierced their skulls and dragged their tongues through them to study their salivation
>
> And from twentyfive years of this sort of thing all that the world learned was how a dog behaved with half its brain cut out, which nobody wanted to know

We learn from a paragraph in *Science News Letter* for 19th December, 1942 apropos of recent experiments, that

> by leaving intact a tiny isolated bleb of pituitary gland and hypothalamus to maintain the water and sugar balance of the body, it was possible to discover that animals lacking 95% of the brain can walk, jump claw and right themselves

Is that information worth to society the price to the experimenter s character, to say nothing of the sufferings of his victims?

Nothing hardens or debases human nature so quickly or so hatefully as the killing of pity in the heart of man, woman or child

—HAMILTON FYFE

BAPU — MY MOTHER
By
Manubehn Gandhi
Price *Annas 0-12-0* Postage etc *0-2-0*

PUBLIC FINANCE & OUR POVERTY
By
J C Kumarappa
Price *Re 1-8-0* Postage etc *0-2-0*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HAPPY TERMINATION OF A FAST

Shri Potti Sriramulu is an old Harijan worker of Andhra Though the disabilities of the Harijans have been legally removed from most of the provinces of India and I believe to the greatest extent in Madras there is not much improvement in day to day life Old practices and prejudices die hard and as in other provinces so in Madras caste Hindus are not yet sufficiently moved to befriend them Practically therefore, their hardships stand.

Shri Sriramulu holds that mere legal removal of their disabilities is not sufficient Governments must also take up the work of seeing that Harijans actively enjoy what rights they have been declared to possess and to this end, officially undertake a regular Harijan uplift programme in every village and town within their jurisdiction He holds that this mission should have been particularly taken up by governments at any rate after the assassination of Gandhiji He took this matter up with the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, with the constructive workers of his province and with his Government While he saw lip-sympathy expressed by every one of them and good resolutions passed for the Harijan cause, there was not much doing in a concrete form Having long come to the conclusion that this was not a work which could be effectively organized by unofficial agency or a body of private workers however honest he began to press the Madras Government to accept a programme suggested by him The Madras Government did not consider his demands practical and acceptable and Shri Sriramulu threatened a fast He once commenced his fast at the very house of the Prime Minister He was arrested and sentenced to one month's imprisonment He continued his fast in jail, but having begun to vomit blood and bad much suffering, he gave it up after a few days The Government therefore released him before the completion of term

Being an old member of the Seryegraba Ashram he came to Sevagram both for rest and consultation Before his first fast he had been in correspondence with Shri Thakkarbapa, Vinoba Narandas Gandhi, Chimanlal Shah (Manager, Sevagram Ashram), myself and others. We all felt that fast was not the proper way of setting about this kind of work and we regretfully declined to lend him our support He consulted Dr Rajendraprasad also who gave him the same advice Undeterred by our apathy he went on fast on the 12th January, 1949 at Sevagram During the first few days, he suffered severely, and even passed blood in his vomits. He was persuaded by the Ashram inmates to accept a little honey to assuage his suffering and to sustain his energy And so with a little honey his fast went on. Happily, it made the fast free of complications When I saw him after my return to Wardha he had already been fasting for more than a fortnight I again remonstrated with him to no effect It was a silent fast, almost unknown to the public except a few personal friends of his in Andhra and outside Meanwhile I spoke to a few prominent men of Madras who happened to visit Sevagram during the week and also wrote to the Prime Minister to see if anything could be done to give him the hope that the Harijan cause would not be neglected by the Government and the leaders

The Prime Minister, Shri O P Rameswami Reddiar replied very sympathetically but it was too general to satisfy Shri Sriramulu I wrote to him again. Some prominent leaders of Madras had also been moving in the matter The result was that I was happy to receive the following telegram from the Prime Minister yesterday evening

> I am taking up with the Collectors Provincial Congress Committees and Harijan Sevak Sangh to observe the 30th of every month as Harijan Day and further steps to implement the Harijan uplift programme of the Government Request Shri Sriramulu to give up his fast — Ramaswamy Reddiar Premier

Needless to say Shri Sriramulu was fully satisfied with this promise and broke his fast yesterday night. Thus happily terminates a 28 days' fast I heartily congratulate the Madras Government for its promise and Shri Sriramulu for his success May the Harijan cause prosper under this new undertaking

Wardha 9 2 49 K. G MASHRUWALA

Union of Spirit and Competence

[Mr Arthur E Morgan one of the members of the Indian University Commission now travelling in India paid the following tribute to the work done in the Hindustani Talim Sangh at Sevagram —K G M.]

While travelling about India studying Education I have been trying to get a picture in my mind of a pattern and spirit of Education for realizing the possibilities of Indian village life When I see going on at Sevagram helps greatly to make clear in my mind what is desirable and necessary and possible I see a union of great spirit and of practical competence a union which is too rare in Education Wherever that spirit lives and works is holy ground

11-1-49 ARTHUR E. MORGAN

CONTENTS

		PAGE
THEN AND NOW	PYARELAL	429
THE DOWN TRODDEN—II	J C. KUMARAPPA	429
THE MORAL BASIS OF VEGETARIANISM	M K GANDHI	430
OVERCOMING COMMUNALISM	K.G MASHRUWALA	432
CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS—I	SHANKARRAO DEV	433
COMPREHENSIVE DETERMINATION	D M	434
THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION—II		435
HAPPY TERMINATION OF A FAST	K G MASHRUWALA	436
NOTES		
To CORRESPONDENTS	K G M	429
UNION OF SPIRIT AND COMPETENCE	ARTHUR E MORGAN	436

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad

Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs 5 Six months, Rs 3 FOREIGN One year, Rs 8 or 14 sh or $ 3

HARIJAN

Qualifications of Representatives

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor K G MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No 52 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1949 TWO ANNAS

2492

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI IN GUJARAT

EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES

Bardoli, 17-1-'49

Swaraj means *Rama Rajya*. *Rama Rajya* means the taming of both the tiger and the goat so that both could drink from the same reservoir standing side by side. In other words it means that Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs must be regarded as all members of the same family. None is high, none low. None untouchable. Gandhiji instilled this lesson into our minds not by force but through truth and non-violence. When the landholder and the cultivator consider each other as members of the same family, both will be happy. The peasant labourer is ignorant and inefficient. But if he always remains so, the responsibility is the landlord's and the loss is his because his children and the labourer's children will all play together.

The people of the Bardoli Taluka had vowed to get Swaraj. Now they must pledge themselves for the establishment of *Rama Rajya*. It is not difficult to do so. It is the work which you must now undertake. It will be one year on the 30th of January since Gandhiji's death. So we must pledge ourselves to the task of establishing true Swaraj. In getting rid of the foreign Government, we had to face several hardships. We were required to go to jails and have our property attached, sold and confiscated. What we have to do now is to change our own hearts.

* * *

We are very much mistaken if we think that the achievement of independence implies that it is now for the Government to do everything needed by the people. If we are sincere and work in co-operation with the Government for five years, India will be on her road to prosperity. If we abandon true effort, we shall lose everything.

It is not that the government is faultless. No government is so. But the fault of the government is the fault of the people. If we feel that the present government should be dismissed, I would lead such movement. But in that case we must first create a good body which could carry on a better administration. If we rear one good garden, we would be able to raise several such. Mere criticism is not as effective as demonstration through actual constructive work.

* *

The greatest handicap in India is that we do not grow our own food. A country which has to depend upon imported food must in the end become a pauper. Instead of looking at the drawbacks of others, let us examine our own selves and attend to our own failings. India is regarded a religiously-minded country. But it really often means that the people have been accustomed to look at their own miseries as predestined.

There are two ways of producing food. Large scale schemes have been prepared but they require considerable machinery. They would take ten years to materialize. If we go on importing food from outside for ten years, we shall become insolvent. But if the government and Congress workers work shoulder to shoulder, much could be done.

Necessity is the mother of invention. It is not the Government which can grow more food. It is for the people to do it.

There is pressure on land in Gujarat. The population is dense. If we desire Gujarat to keep its old place, we must produce our food and our cloth.

Wherever this is done through large industries, it has created a number of problems. We must keep abreast of times and face them properly.

* * *

When we were struggling against the British Government the Congress Committees were quite alert. There was life in their work. They had no internal disputes. But now there are disputes at the elections. If the Congress does not truly reflect Gandhiji's ideals and aspirations, who else will? We must, therefore, search ourselves and know where we want to go, what we must do and what we are doing.

*

Bardoli, 19-1-'49

India needs two articles—food and cloth. The war proved to us that we did not produce them in sufficient quantities. Before the war we used to import rice from Burma. It was cheaper than Indian rice. Now we have to import grains worth crores of rupees. The exporting countries dictate their rates. During the war, 30 lakhs of people died of starvation in Bengal. It was a sacrifice made on the altar of war. Today no one is allowed to die of starvation in spite of difficulties, floods or famine. It is true that several go only half fed. Our present

position is that we have to pay crores of rupees for mere freight of ships The provinces which grow more food than they need do not part with it liberally for maintaining their sister provinces They hoard their grain and then sell it stealthily in the black market The Congressmen advise the people not to part with their grains In order to preserve their leadership, they give them hopes of getting better rates

Where shall we then bring food from? The countries which are prepared to sell it demand payment in their own coins The U. S A. has plenty of cereals but it must have dollars Moreover food is in demand almost all over the world The world war has destroyed the factories of several countries in Europe, Asia and Japan and the farmers and labourers there are in great difficulty America would take jute in exchange for food but all the jute is in Pakistan, and so we are not in a position to give it The only remedy is that we must produce our own food If without producing our own food we close its import, people would be dying like ants

We must think of the matter both on the long-term and short-term basis The long-term scheme must have the aim of ensuring sufficient food for at least 50 or 60 years But if we neglect the short-term scheme, we would have to pay crores and crores of rupees outside To the extent labour gets more costly, we would need more notes, leading to inflation Thus a vicious circle has set in and the only way of breaking it is to apply ourselves to work The situation cannot be improved by anger abuse or feeling disgusted It can be remedied only by putting in our best effort and bearing patiently what cannot be helped. We must persuade the cultivator to raise two crops where he used to raise one, to sink a well wherever possible and thus raise as much crop as we can Also we must take very great care in its use and preservation Nothing should be allowed to go to waste

* * *

The Bombay Government passed a Tenancy Act regulating the relations between the landlord and the tenant If we now go on quarrelling about this production of food will suffer Raising quarrels is not the right way We (landholders) must remember that our own people are in the Government We must have the ability of convincing them If in spite of our representations they are not convinced, let us remember that they are not doing it with any selfish motive and they are not inefficient people, but they honestly feel that the course adopted by them is the right one in the larger interests of the people. If in the friction between the landlord and the agricultural labour, the landlord does not act wisely, he will have to repent later on I tried my best to convince them that they were doing harm to themselves They must get out of the quarrel; they might get out of their homes also The agriculturists of Surat have grown very good tobacco in Udaipur Water is only 15 feet deep there Our agriculturists had settled down in Africa also But there is disturbance all over the world at present The times have changed and a new age has set in Different civilizations have come into existence The one is the capitalist, the other communist and the third that of Gandhiji. You see the effects of the Russian civilization in China intense civil war is going on there No one knows what the final result will be. But what is the ultimate cause of it? It is that one cannot bear to see a few people possessing too much wealth We must first of all find out how much total wealth we have and what each will get if it is distributed equally.

The city labourer finds it difficult to maintain himself in face of the present high prices at his present wages. But the village labourer does not get even that much He owns neither land nor tools If anyone thinks that on the achievement of independence everything should set itself right overnight, he is greatly mistaken

The structure of Swaraj was to be built upon the foundations laid down by Gandhiji. We did not do so We simply talked and criticized. If we had worked according to Gandhiji's plans, we would have got Swaraj like a ripe and sweet fruit

Gandhiji asked us to achieve communal unity He worked for it till the end of his life and sacrificed his life for it. He also asked us to put on *khadi* and produce our own food. We all put on *khadi* cape because it has become a respectable pass. It is possible for the wearer of the *khadi* cap to aspire to sit on the biggest chair of the State and thus it has become simply the emblem of a new class or sect Gandhiji's third stipulation was the removal of untouchability. Legally it has been done but we have not removed it from our hearts His fourth item was prohibition The people have not ceased to cast their coveting eyes on liquor Only the Government has lost its revenue I need not point at the labourers High class families want good English wine If we wish to establish *Rama Rajya*, we shall have to carry out these items fully and honestly

When we were struggling against the foreign Government, we kept to some code of honour. But now even Congress workers have become anxious to occupy whatever seats might be available or to speak ill of those who have occupied them. If the energy which they put forth in resisting the old Government is employed in raising our own country, this would not happen But we have fallen low, given up all codes of honour and are running a race for achieving selfish ends We must get out of this evil.

* * *

If there are strikes in the work of transporting articles of necessity, the administration will break down. If we have to pay more money, there will be inflation

* * *

I hear several people complaining that the administration is still carried on in the old form.

The officers are of the old type yet These critics do not know how the administration is carried on at present. There were only 1500 first class officers. Of these 60 per cent were Englishmen and most of them have left. Some of the remaining were appointed as ambassadors and a few had to go with them The Muslim officers opted for Pakistan The result is that each Department is being run by a fourth of its former crew Those who have been appointed in place of the old are efficient officers. They have been working night and day with full zeal But for them the administration would break down The Englishmen are surprised that we are able to carry on the administration without them.

* * *

The control on cloth was lifted but the merchants abused the measure and made large profits They became objects of contempt to the people We did not realize the true situation and began to find fault with the Government and so control had to be re-imposed Owing to want of experience, a new class of distributors was created. Thus disemployed the mercantile classes and their clerks When the price of cotton was fixed, merchants went in for the purchase of raw cotton at high rates Now there is a demand for fixing the price of raw cotton, and thus like the bullock of the oil-crusher, we are moving round and round in a circle

* * *

A rise in salaries will not put an end to corruption in railways. This is an evil which follows a war. Truth is the first casualty in war

* *

Let me warn Congress workers here present that unless we are sincere, we shall spoil all work If we are sincere, the administration will improve Some say that it is necessary to have an opposition for achieving improvement But there is no opposition capable of standing as a rival The people of the R. S S were an organized body but they spent their energies in infusing poison in the atmosphere They are exhausted now and seek release by offering apologies

* *

It is futile merely to complain that the Government fails to do this or that. Let us not allow the work in Gujarat to go astray from the path chalked out by Gandhiji If it so happens in Gujarat, it will happen also in other provinces The days are gone when the only work to do was to write or strike Now we have to *work with love*

(Translated from Gujarati reports)

BAPU — MY MOTHER

By

Manubehn Gandhi

Price *Annas 0-12-0* Postage etc 0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

EVOLVING NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

BASIC PROPOSITIONS

These are certain basic propositions which we must bear in mind in considering this vital question We must remember that any hurried decision of it on a political plane or under the influence of momentary passions or prejudices may well prove harmful We have to build for the future and a false foundation may well stunt our future growth not only linguistically but in the wider domain of culture and human advancement. It is far better to go slow and avoid every kind of rigidity Language is a very delicate instrument evolved in its higher aspects by fine minds and strengthened by the popular use of it It grows like a flower and too much external compulsion retards that growth or twists it in a wrong direction

It is not very material what we call this language whether Hindi or Hindustani except for the fact that every word has a history behind it and connotes something very definite which limits its meaning What we must be clear about in our minds is the inner content of the language and the way it looks at the world, that is, whether it is restrictive, self-sufficient, isolationist and narrow, or whether it is the reverse of this We must deliberately aim, I think at a language which is the latter and which has, therefore a great capacity for growth The English language probably more than any other today, has this receptiveness flexibility and capacity for growth Hence its great importance as a language I should like our language to face the world in the same way

I am distressed at the way this question of language is considered and debated in India today There is little of scholarship behind this argument and less of culture There is no vision or thought of the future language It is looked upon more as a kind of extended journalese and a perverted nationalism demands that it should be made as narrow and restricted as possible Any attempt to expand it is branded as a sin against this form of nationalism. Beauty in a language is often supposed to be an extreme ornateness and the use of long and complicated words There is little vigour or dignity in evidence and one gets the impression of extreme superficiality and shallowness

Just as poetry is not a mere collection of rhymes and metres, so also a language is not just a display of intricate and difficult words Recent attempts to translate well-known common words from English are fantastic in the extreme. If this tendency persists, that surely is murder of a fine vehicle for the expression of thought.

SANSKRIT

If I was asked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this codures and influences the life of our people so long will the basic genius of India continue..

I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put out scholars to work in explora and bring to light the buried literature in that language that has been almost forgotten

The true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth (But) however great Sanskrit may be and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living language. But it must be, as it has been, the base and inner substance of most of our languages That is inevitable But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.

Role of Persian

Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Pahlevi are nearer to one another than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit.

So a certain overlapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race In any event a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are, and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise to try to undo this work of history.

From the cultural point of view such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of a cultural heritage which we possessed It would mean making ourselves poorer We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore, any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view

Characteristics of the All-India Language

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness.

Inevitably its base and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words as far as possible, we should not detract from the world language that is growing up.

Basic Word List

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words say 3,000 or so, which would be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally These may often include alternative words for the same idea, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which every one, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me

If these two lists are prepared the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vaster reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above

Need for Dictionary

It is an astonishing thing that while we argue so much about a language, we have hardly any proper dictionaries One of the earliest steps to be taken is to concentrate on the production of scholarly and comprehensive dictionaries, both for Sanskrit and our modern languages

Name

As I have said above it is the content of a language that counts and not the name so much. Judging from the content I have indicated above, and using the words as they are used today, the word Hindustani comes nearest to the content of my choice

Script

As for the script, it is clear that the Nagari script will be the dominant script. But again, because I think it wrong to be exclusive both from the cultural and political point of view, I think that the Urdu script should be recognized and taught where desired. We cannot ask all people to learn both these scripts. That is too much of a burden. But the Urdu script should be recognized more especially for presentation of documents and other papers and for teaching in schools where a sufficient number desires it

This fits in with our general language policy, which has been declared both in the Congress and the Constituent Assembly to be that every child should be given primary education in his or her mother tongue provided there are a sufficient number of pupils in a particular place to make this practical. Thus in Bombay or Calcutta or Delhi, if there are a sufficient number of Tamil-speaking children, they should have an opportunity to have their primary education in Tamil If in any part of India there are a sufficient number of children, whose home language is Urdu they should be taught the Urdu script, in addition to the language of the province.

This principle has been accepted and it is desirable to give effect to it in practice as soon as possible Many difficulties arise at present, more especially in the areas where two provinces meet together, On either side of this border there is a bilingual area It is necessary there, even more than elsewhere, that primary education should take place in the mother tongue

ROMAN SCRIPT

I do not think it is possible for us to adopt in any wide scale the Roman script. But it must be remembered that the Roman script has been used with great effect in the army It has been found very easy to teach the Roman script and it has proved a certain unifying force in the army Therefore it would be desirable to explore the possibilities of the Roman script and to use it where possible or desirable

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(Extracts from an article in *The Sunday News of India*, 13-2-'49)

CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

II

Now, what about the Congress leaders refusing to turn the Congress into a constructive organization according to the wishes of Gandhiji and thus betraying him? Is this charge justified? There is no doubt that the present Congress leadership has come in for much severe and unsympathetic criticism bordering on anger not only from their political opponents but surprisingly enough from their friends also, especially from the constructive workers. They are evidently much disappointed with the present Congress But in my humble opinion this disappointment is due more to Congress not taking up or helping the constructive programme according to their expectations than to the fact that it was not turned into a Lok Sevak Sangh One may not care to countenance the deliberate misrepresentation of the opponents or the enemy but one must try to remove the misunderstanding on the part of friends and co-workers especially when such misunderstanding and consequent disappointment is the result of want of proper appreciation of the situation

The historical task of the Congress of making India free from foreign domination was accomplished on the 15th of August, 1947 when she became politically independent But to say that is not to say much, for, unless India attains moral, social and economic independence, the political independence which she has achieved will have no positive reality for the people The question was whether the Congress should continue to work for this new goal or whether some other body should do it Some advocated that the present Congress should dissolve itself and leave this new task to other existing or new political parties or organizations Gandhiji himself was of the opinion that the present Congress should dissolve itself and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh. The main difference between the past and the future organizations would be that the future Congress alias Lok Sevak Sangh will not carry on any political or parliamentary activities, nor will it enter into unhealthy competition with political parties or communal bodies The leaders of the Congress followed neither of these two alternatives but chalked out a third part namely, of rejuvenating the old Congress by giving it a new creed, a new programme and a new constitution which was expected to make it a fit instrument to fulfil the noble role of ushering in a new social order in which the common man would get the fullest opportunity for the development of his personality If the present Congress leadership which was inspired and initiated into public service by Gandhiji and which believing in his unerring judgment generally followed him, has thought it inadvisable to do so on this occasion, it must have had weighty reasons for acting as it has done

If the Congress was dissolved or was turned into a constructive organization, then necessarily some other political organization must take its place. There could not be a vacuum. That would mean anarchy and ruin of the country But was it possible for the Congress to do so even if it so desired? To whom was it to hand over the responsibility of the governance of the country? It was a sacred trust accepted by it on behalf of the people of India. For it was to the Congress that power was transferred on the 15th of August 1947, it was the Congress who was ruling the country at the Centre as well as in the Provinces People had sacrificed and suffered in the fight for freedom at the call of the Congress trusting that it will lead them to the promised land The Congress had made commitments to the people in this behalf and therefore, it would have been sheer betrayal if it had, without honestly trying to honour those commitments, suddenly disappeared from the Indian scene, or changed its field of activity from the political to the merely constructive. In spite of all its drawbacks and shortcomings it was still only the Congress which could command the respect and willing obedience of the great majority of the people throughout the length and breadth of this country and therefore it alone had the strength to keep the people together The Congress had become the symbol of the country's unity And unity was the greatest need of the hour when India had to pass through calamities unparalleled in the history of the world, before and after the 15th of August, 1947 Thus the Congress could not divest itself of its political character and responsibilities, to do so would have been like scuttling the ship in mid-ocean.

But let us assume for a moment that as expressed by Gandhiji, the Congress had been turned into a constructive organization. What would have been the result? Ninety if not ninety-nine out of hundred Congressmen would not have found any place in this new organization and almost all the top-ranking Congress leaders on whom the onerous duty of carrying on the administration of the country at the Centre and in the Provinces had fallen, would

have been compelled to found a new political party For men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabbhai Patel could not have been expected to leave their posts of duty If Gandhiji was alive to advise us in these matters, he would surely have counselled them to remain where they were This was inevitable for, the Congress has been a political organization from the very beginning. No doubt in 1920 under Gandhiji's leadership it became a revolutionary organization and the source of its non-violent strength lay in the constructive programme Parliamentary activity was later added to its programme of carrying on a non-violent struggle against foreign rule As Gandhiji himself said, not only had the parliamentary mentality come to stay as a concession to the constitutionalists in the Congress, but it also became an important and integral part of the fighting programme of the non-violent revolution started by him The parliamentary activity attracted a large number of Congressmen

Incidentally it is often forgotten that though the Congress accepted non-violent non-co-operation and Satyagraha of Gandhiji in 1920, it was mainly as a means to achieve political independence and never as the basic principles of the Gandhian way of life or of a new social order To the vast majority of Congressman Gandhiji was essentially a political and not a moral leader The moral and purificatory side of his programme was accepted by the generality of Congressmen more as a price of his leadership than as a matter of inner conviction or acceptance of a higher moral and spiritual code No one was more aware of this than Gandhiji himself We see the truth of this statement in the present day attitude of the majority of Congressmen towards governmental power and service of the people through constructive work Today it is a sad sight to see them putting more faith in power than in service.

This does not mean that Congress never accepted constructive work as part of its programme for Swaraj On the contrary it was the constructive work that generated the necessary strength which enabled the Congress to fight its non-violent struggle with the foreign power If in Pandiji's words *khadi* became 'the livery of freedom' and untouchability today has been declared a crime according to the law of the land it is due to the fact that the Congress gave all its moral and material support to the constructive programme of Gandhiji.

This is all true, nevertheless the major portion of Congressmen's energy and time were spent in actually fighting the foreign power or working in the legislatures—Central or Provincial There were difficulties in the way of the Congress applying itself solely to constructive work To do constructive work successfully a certain amount of faith or devotion, continuity and application to details are essential The Congress being a fighting political organization could not possess these in the requisite amount. Gandhiji knew this and therefore he formed under the auspices of the Congress, autonomous bodies for carrying on various items of his constructive programme The All-India Village Industries Association and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh were set up by the resolutions of the Congress He insisted on keeping these bodies non-political and non-communal so that they may be able to command all the constructive talents in the country irrespective of party or community for national regeneration His policy was not to involve these constructive organizations in the day to day political activities of the Congress or its struggles with the British Government While the Congress drew its sustenance mainly from the work of these bodies, they never directly participated in the various struggles started by it. This became possible only because of the marvellous non-violent technique of the struggle Besides those who were working in these organizations, there were others who under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji were independently carrying on constructive activities with their own resources. Gandhiji always wished that they should never entangle themselves in politics and whenever they expressed such a desire he tried to dissuade them from doing so That is why some of the best constructive workers are today outside the Congress

SHANKARRAO DEV

FULFILMENT OF SARVODAYA

Addressing the special prayer meeting at Rajghat (New Delhi), on the occasion of Gandhiji's first death anniversary (30-1-49), Acharya Vinoba Bhave gave a simple but lucid exposition of the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence and explained the significance of Gandhiji's martyrdom. Shri Vinoba pointed out how the murder was a challenge to them all for the fulfilment of the *Sarvodaya* ideal

'A year ago, on this very day, and exactly at this hour was perpetrated the tragedy for which we have for ever to hang down out heads in shame But the same incident can, for us, become a source of eternal inspiration also It has brought us home the distinction between the body and the soul.

"Several people asked why was Gandhiji, who was a true man of God, was not protected by Him But I ask you, could there be a greater protection than what Gandhiji was provided with ? That we do not realize it on account of our attachment for the flesh is a different matter The *Quran* says, "Think not that they are dead, they who are killed while treading the path of the Lord. They do live, even if you cannot see them.' And again, "Even death, on the path of the Lord is life, and life on the path of Satan is death itself." All his life, Gandhiji tried to tread the path of truth and goodness. He preached the same to his people and was murdered for that very exhortation Blessed was his life and blessed also was his death!

"Many a time have preached the path of righteousness. Man is not however, yet fully

convinced that good alone begets good He is still experimenting to see if good can come out of evil as well. He does not doubt that a *babul* (thorn) tree cannot produce a mango fruit and vice versa May be, in the ancient days even this might not have been so clear to him. But the present age is convinced that so far as the material world is concerned, the law of relation between the seed and the fruit holds good In the moral sphere however, he has not yet shed his doubts. He of course realizes that goodness generally pays, but he lacks the conviction that unadulterated goodness has the power to do good

"There are some who recognize the principle of unadulterated goodness in private life They accept this as necessary to attain salvation But social life, they think, cannot be pursued without adulterating it with some evil. They believe that the world lives and prospers on a mixed ration of truth and untruth Gandhiji never accepted this doctrine, and made us practise the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence on the social sphere also. As a result we have achieved some kind of Swaraj It has brought us satisfaction to the extent we obeyed his injunctions That our Swaraj is not all what it should be is due not to a flaw in his principle but to its imperfect implementation. A geometrical theorem established in the case of one ordinary triangle must apply to all three-sided figures. Similarly if it is true that absolute purity is beneficial in private and personal life, it must be so in the collective life of the society also

"There are some who believe that it is enough that our aims and objectives should be in accordance with truth, it does not matter what means are employed to achieve them Gandhiji had always opposed that theory. He was prepared to sacrifice even Swaraj for the sake of truth. Not that he did not want Swaraj or under-valued its importance. What he wanted was to emphasize the necessity of employing pure means for achieving it All his life he strove for Swaraj, but he always declared that Swaraj could be won only by truthful means, and that such Swaraj alone would be the right one

He who works for an ideal must be careful more about the means than about the ends. Correct pursuit of means is the achievement of the end. The distinction between means and ends is therefore but imaginary Means not only lead to end but shape it also

'Every one, as a matter of fact believes in the correctness of his own end and ideals The claim of good ends therefore has no value. The idea that there should be no inconsistency between the ends and the means is not new. But its extensive application in India is without a parallel There are some others who say that insistence on truth and righteousness is good, but action in every condition is much more important. If the insistence on righteousness makes you inactive, the ideal need should be lowered a little. To them inactivity is unthinkable. This too is an infatuation and a fallacy When people had to remain in jails for long periods they employed the phrase, 'rotting in prisons' Gandhiji used to point out that there was power hidden even in the inaction of a pure person. This is action in inaction in the inimitable language of the *Gita* Action is no doubt important, but truth and righteousness are even more so One may remain inactive under particular conditions, but one may never give up truth.

"Then there are some who believe themselves to be 'practical people' They like truth, but they think that there is risk in practising it unilaterally They are afraid that they would have to suffer if they scrupulously adhered to truth and non-violence while their opponents practised untruth and violence These people really do not know the value of truth Otherwise, they would not argue thus. Do they ever argue that they should go without food if their adversary did not eat? Food, they know, gives strength, irrespective of what the adversary does. If they can take food without worrying about the opponents there is no meaning in not practising truth and love unilaterally To act as the opponent acts amounts to playing into the adversary's hands and handing over the initiative to him This is a cowardly attitude which creates a vicious circle and gives a merry-go-round to wickedness. To break it, one must act courageously with love and generosity without calculating the consequences After all it is truth, love and righteousness which are positive and real. Untruth etc. are negative and unreal It is the conflict between light and darkness and what has light to fear therein?

'This is the philosophy of Satyagraha, as I have understood it. Herein lies the welfare of all Therefore it is also called the philosophy of *Sarvodaya*

"Gandhiji's murder is a challenge to us. We can accept the challenge only if we have complete faith in truth and are determined to pursue it in our lives, individual as well as social Otherwise, not only may we not dare to accept the challenge, we may, even against our will, be joining the assassin's camp

"I hope Gandhiji's release from the body will infuse new strength into us and through diligent pursuit of truth and non-violence make us fit workers for the ideal of *Sarvodaya*'

D M

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs Four* Postage etc *As Ten*

KEY TO HEALTH
By M K Gandhi
Translated by Dr Shushila Nayyar
Price *Rs 0-10-0* Postage etc *0-2-0*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

February 27 1949

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Constituent Assembly has taken two very far-reaching decisions regarding the future Constitution of India. It has deliberately chosen the British model in preference to the American model of democratic constitution It has decided in favour of adult suffrage and direct election of members to the House of the People and the State assemblies We have thus by one leap as it were reached the stage which was reached by England after a long struggle extending over centuries in the course of which many traditions and conventions have grown up which are no less important and binding than any provision in a written constitution. The first elections under the new constitution will involve participation in them by a very much larger number of men and women than have participated in any election ever held in the world's history till now The organization required for conducting them will be vast and the total expenses involved cannot be easily estimated The results of such elections may well defy all forecasts.

The question which naturally arises is Will the elections give the best results, that is, will they return people who are best fitted morally and intellectually to give the best and most suitable laws and to run the administration of the country in the best possible way so as to realize all the high hopes that have been formed of our national government? In all elections there are two factors which have to be counted the education and vigilance of the electors, and the ability public spirit and devotion to duty of the elected representatives In taking the decision which the Constituent Assembly has taken, it has proceeded upon the assumption that every individual who has attained the age of 21 possesses the necessary education and is capable of exercising the vigilance necessary in electing a fully qualified legislator unless he is disqualified by proving his inability to escape the verdict of a court declaring him of unsound mind or bankrupt or punishing him for certain crimes It is a very big assumption on which we have proceeded, particularly in the absence of any background of recent experience and traditions of democratic elections on such a vast scale The constituencies will be tremendous In the case of State assemblies, they will comprise about 75 000 people of whom somewhere between 40 and 50 thousands will be voters assuming that each constituency will be a single member constituency In the case of the House of the People, the constituencies will be ten times as large. Will it be possible for the voter to know his representative and to keep any kind of control over him, and for the representative to maintain any contact with his electors? The chances are that the voter will vote for a candidate without knowing much about him I think this happens in other countries also and by itself will not be a big handicap, provided the candidate happens to be a fit and honest person and not a selfish and unscrupulous adventurer The Constituent Assembly has not yet taken any decision regarding the qualifications of a candidate, and the Draft Constitution has made no recommendation on the point. The question requires and deserves serious consideration

The function of the Legislature is to make laws and in the system which has been adopted it also runs the administration through its representatives who take and hold office only so long as they enjoy its confidence It is well known that a public servant who has to carry out the administration in accordance with orders issued by a minister or with policies laid down by him is a highly qualified man who has been given special training for the particular job he is entrusted with. For example, the police officer and the ordinary policeman are trained in one way while the officer dealing with the revenue and expenditure of the State is especially qualified in accountancy Similarly, other officers and men concerned with other departments have their special training The person entrusted with the duty of administering the law and the person who has to assist him in the discharge of his duties are both required to be highly qualified Does it not sound strange that while the persons who carry out policies and execute orders or who administer the law are required to be specially qualified, the person who formulates the policy and issues the orders or who makes the law is not required by the Constitution to possess any moral or intellectual qualifications? It is a serious lacuna and unless removed, it may lead to serious consequences. It is true that he has to be elected but an unscrupulous demagogue without real knowledge and character can impose on the electorate When parties and groups are formed, based not on principles but on narrow parochial, sectarian or even personal and selfish considerations, the presence in Legislatures of persons with true public spirit, wide sympathies and an appreciation of the requirements of the country as a whole becomes apparent and essential This requires both intellectual and moral equipment of a high order which must be ensured in the candidate who seeks election

The difficulty in practice is in defining the qualifications in a form in which they will not only be easily understood but also ascertainable by a judicial tribunal in case of dispute. The age of a candidate is easily ascertainable and if a high age is made a qualification, it may imply a certain amount of experience and knowledge of human affairs which are valuable in a legislator But age by itself obviously is not sufficient Educational qualification can be made ascertainable by reference to certain fixed standards, as for example, a university

degree or a certificate of having passed a certain examination or of having been educated in a particular Institution. Apart from the fact that some highly intellectual persons may not satisfy such a test, a qualification of this sort will shut out the vast bulk of our people from being elected at any rate at present, when even the knowledge of three R s is confined to a very small percentage of the population The most difficult although the most essential to lay down is a test which will ensure in an ascertainable form the moral and spiritual qualities of a legislator Honesty public spirit and such other qualities are impossible of measurement and ascertainment The only measuring rod which can be employed in judging whether a person possesses them is his own life and experience of his past activities, but even these are difficult measures.

I am raising this question and placing before the public the absolute necessity of laying down qualifications for legislators as also the difficulties in doing so, with the object of stimulating serious consideration of it Dr Bhagwandas has given a lifelong study and thought to it and has made some concrete suggestions in his *Outline Scheme of Swaraj* which was adopted by the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das

The Commonwealth of India Bill which was prepared under the inspiration of Mrs. Annie Besant also contains some concrete proposals Both are being reproduced separately in the *Harijan* for ready reference These may be considered as indicating the lines on which we may proceed

13-2-'49 RAJENDRAPRASAD

SUGGESTIONS OF DR. BHAGWANDAS

QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS

1 Every individual of either sex who has resided in India for at least seven years and is at least twentyfive years of age if a man, and twentyone years if a woman should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3 The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4 The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

5 The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, colour, race or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of credal and communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than forty years of age should have done some good work in any walk of life should if rural, be at least literate, and if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience, should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of breadwinning or money-making and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends, should give practically all their time to national work and should do so without any cash remuneration But their travelling and other ex-officio expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honour attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7 The members of each Panchayat should possess between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself as a candidate for election, but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office if elected

SUGGESTIONS OF DR. ANNIE BESANT

QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

(a) The Village Panchayat All electors.

(b) The Taluka Sabha Electors of twentyfive years of age and above with either of the following qualifications (i) Education up to the Primary Grade (ii) Ex-members of Village Panchayats, having served for one complete term.

(c) The District Samiti (Rural) or Municipality (Urban) Electors of twentyfive years of age and above, with either of the following qualifications (i) Education up to the Lower Secondary or Middle School Grade (ii) Ex-members of Taluka Sabhas or Ward Panchayats having served for one complete term.

(d) The Legislative Council, Electors of twentyfive years of age and above, with any one of the following qualifications (i) Education up to the High School level, or equivalent general or technical training (ii) Ex-members of a District Samiti or Municipality, having served for at least one complete term (iii) Members of Councils of Chambers of Commerce, or Landholders' Association, or Industrial Associations or Trade Unions, or such other bodies as may be recognized by rules

(e) The Legislative Assembly Electors of twentyfive years of age and above

(f) The Senate A person to be included in the electoral panel of the Senate shall be a person eligible to become a member of the Legislative Assembly, and have rendered conspicuous public service and shall have completed the age of thirty years

[Note—It may be noted that Dr Bhagwandas' scheme recommends a scheme of indirect election. As the Constituent Assembly has already decided in favour of direct election, clauses 1 to 4 of his scheme need not be considered. —ED.]

UNADJUDGED OFFENDERS

On the 18th January last Shri Mamasaheb Phadke of Gujerat was returning from the meeting convened to meet Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Bardoli He tried to entrain the Ahmedabad Passenger at 8 p m at Sachin As Mamasaheb has very weak eyes, he was guided by a companion The train does not stop long at Sachin The platform was insufficiently lighted and as luck would have it, Mamasaheb and his companion tried to get into a compartment occupied by some prisoners under transfer orders and their police escort. The escort and the prisoners began to push out Mamasaheb using at the same time filthy language The result was that when the train started, Mamasaheb was hanging on the foot-board of the compartment with a bag and an umbrella in one of his hands The companion drew the attention of the train guard at the situation and he was good enough to stop the train But the place at which the train stopped was such that between the guard s compartment and the compartment near which Mamasaheb was hanging out there was a small bridge over a stream-lat so that it was impossible for either Mamasaheb to go over to the guard or for the guard to reach him When the train stopped the escort and the prisoners changed their tactics by asking Memasaheb to hand over he bag and umbrelle to them, as if they wanted to allow him to get into the compartment. Mamasaheb under that belief handed over his things inside. Then they pushed him so that he came on the ground Mamasaheb asked the party to return to him his things, but there was no response. As the train re-started Mamasaheb just managed to take hold of the bar of the next compartment It was also occupied by another batch of prisoners and police escort, but they were good enough to allow him to get into the compartment. When the train arrived at Surat, Memasaheb approached the head of the police on the station to get back his things The police officer searched the compartment but by that time the things were somewhere done away with. Everything that Mamasaheb possessed as private property was in that bag namely a cup, a brass box (*dabba*), eye-drops, spectacles and some money and, of course, the umbrella The people whom the police escort was taking to another prison were adjudged offenders against society The policemen were no better either in civility or offence against society Only it had not been adjudged so by a court of law Perhaps that is all the difference between us and those whom we detain in prisons for various terms

I trust the Inspector General of Police of the Bombay Government will look into the conduct of his staff. But this is a matter for the Police Departments of all the Governments in India to seriously consider The policeman of an independent nation must regard himself as the helper, guide and protector of the people and the people must feel in him a friend, whom they could always turn to with confidence in case of need, who will, even to his own inconvenience, look first to the comfort of the public. Filthy language must be removed from the mouths of the people like loose and diseased teeth. The social education movement is as much needed for literates as for illiterates.

Wardha, 14-2-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

A CO-WORKER AND WITNESS GONE

With the death of Shri Jamnadas has gone one more of the living witnesses of the discovery of Satyagraha by Gandhiji and his earliest experiments in it in South Africa, and a co-worker on whose help I had greatly counted. In many respects he reminded one of his elder brother Maganlal Gandhi, (whom Gandhiji, in an obituary in the *Young India* at that time, described as his 'best companion') in his truthfulness, business capacity, punctuality, neat and methodical habits and particularly in his deep devotion and loyalty to Gandhiji and his ideals In demonstrating his revolutionary technique of opposing physical might with the strength of the spirit which Gandhiji had evolved in South Africa, he employed, for the first time in the history of such fights, women and children in the South African Satyagraha struggle to the disapproval and dismay of orthodox politicians. Many of them, however who came to scoff, remained to pray Jamnadas with Manilal Gandhi and Ramdas Gandhi was one of the youngsters who were privileged to join in that struggle If I remember aright he constituted one of the sixteen with whom at one stage Gandhiji launched his Satyagraha campaign in South Africa When I first came to Gandhiji in 1920, Jamnadas was in England where he had gone to study Commerce and Economics. But he returned in response to the call when Gandhiji sent him a cable at the beginning of the non-co-operation struggle, and toured with him as part of his entourage during the early days of the non-co-operation struggle Later, on the death of his wife to whom he was greatly devoted, he retired to Rajkot, where he served for some time as the Principal of the Rashtriya Vidyalaya When I met him on my return from Noakhali in December last, he volunteered to come and stay with me at Harijan Colony Kingsway, and work with me in the preparation of Gandhiji's biography and the related writings But God had willed otherwise and just a few days after that he got the fever from which he never recovered To the last he remained a devoted soldier of Gandhiji whom Gandhiji could command in an emergency without any hesitation. India will need many such sons in the arduous task that lies ahead

Delhi, 10-2-'49 PYARELAL

PUBLIC FINANCE & OUR POVERTY

By

J. C Kumarappa

Price *Rs 1-8-0* Postage etc 0-2-0

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

EDUCATION OF HARIJAN GIRLS

Addressing the inmates of the Harijan Ashram (Sabarmati) on 19-1-49, Shri Vinoba, in his post-prayer speech dealt at length on some of the points connected with the education of Harijan girls

The work of Harijan service was a revolutionary work, and they could hardly get a better atmosphere elsewhere for that purpose The Harijan Ashram had its origin in the fact that Gandhiji undertook in 1933 for the sake of Harijans Referring to Gujarat and its language, Gujarati, Shri Vinoba said that although Gandhiji had poured out all his heart through Gujarati, Gujarat seemed to take very little interest in the Harijan cause, which was so very dear to him He however felt that the present indifference would not last long, if the work that was going on in the Ashram was properly done Ignorance could not stand against the light of knowledge

Shri Vinoba expected three results from the education imparted to Harijan girls at the Ashram The first was cleanliness. It was generally believed that Harijans lacked cleanliness The prejudice against Harijans would disappear if the girls at the Ashram got such training in cleanliness as might be a model for others to follow

Shri Vinoba's second expectation was the quality of knowledge They were imparting education not merely to Harijans but to Harijan girls Shri Vinoba insisted that they should get the best of learning He was of opinion that women needed knowledge to a greater degree than men But it should be knowledge which did not touch only their talents, but made its way to their hearts They would then win over the whole society

In education, Shri Vinoba stressed the need of clear and correct pronunciation Pronunciation, he said, was the mirror of one's ideas, and indifferent pronunciation betrayed lack of proper training. Correct pronunciation combined with good knowledge facilitated proper expression.

His third expectation was regarding their training in crafts Untouchability had been forced on Harijans, with the result that on the one hand certain occupations were made compulsory for them and on the other hand, several occupations were closed against them. Training in different useful crafts would enlarge their hope in life and free them from the present bondage of limited occupations.

It was necessary to be ever vigilant on the above three items in educating the Harijans, But on the top of these stood the basic need, the building of character It could never be too strongly emphasized. They should remember that they lived in the abode of Gandhiji, and if they lacked in character, they would be regarded unworthy of him and would merit the world's censure. He therefore hardly needed to deal with it at length, and referred only to external attainments.

With education so outlined there the girls would leg behind none They would not be wanting in knowledge And humility they possess from birth Humility was a force, which was stronger than the power of insolence And humility combined with knowledge made that force unlimited It was not necessary to compare the Harijan girl students with other girls Shri Vinoba did not like such comparisons He used the current terminology unavoidably The right thing was that they all had to become Harijans The term itself implied that pledge He who was not a *Harijan*, the devotee of the Lord, would be called *asur* a demon, and who would like to be that?

D. M

(*Translated from the original in Gujarati*)

THE LATE HARILAL DESAI

Shri Vinoba was invited to unveil the portrait of the late Shri Harilal Desai After the ceremony which was held at Kapadvanj on 16-1-'49 was duly performed, Shri Vinoba paid a fitting tribute to the memory of Haribhai He remembered how he took lessons in French from him at the Baroda High School and remained his student for about three years His relations with his late teacher were more spiritual than social, for Shri Vinoba lacked the capacity of developing social and formal contacts. He knew that Shri Haribhai not only loved him but also had regard for him Shri Vinoba did not recollect a single occasion when Haribhai had either got annoyed with the students or ever inflicted harsh words on them Haribhai's look always reminded him of the Sanskrit saying वदनं प्रसादसदनम् His face was the abode of grace Everyone therefore had regard for him Students were often merry with their teachers and Haribhai was not an exception, but they never transgressed the proper limits with him Teachers of his like did not only teach but also rendered service. He was indeed a real *sevak* and the fragrance of his service was not unknown to the people of Kapadvanj It was evidenced by the fact that they had been preserving his memory even after twenty years since his death They had founded several institutions in his name and each still rendered social service under his inspiration Of greater importance was the group of workers which had formed there and had grown like a family That was Haribhai's special contribution and the amiability which was his gift was still evident in the atmosphere

Sages, continued Shri Vinoba, had said that it was the body that perished and not the soul They realized this truth when they saw how people like Haribhai left behind them the fragrance of their memories and the inspiration of their amiability, Haribhai, according to the measure of the world might not be regarded a great man But he was no doubt a very sincere man, who spread the lustre of his sincerity wherever he went. The size of the

letter did not influence the significance of the word similarly it was the pure and humble service that was recognized by God — not the quantity and the field of service influenced by him

Shri Vinoba thereafter offered a few suggestions to the group of Haribhai's workers as to how they could proceed further in their service The order, the best of its kind, which was given by their ancestors in this connection had been neglected and hence there was all round scarcity of workers Should it not be possible to have one thousand workers in a town of twentyfour thousand population? That was not a big number indeed, said Vinoba. Why was the number not forthcoming? asked he Hindu scriptures had laid down that one should work for the progressive development of every *ashram* i e of every one of the four orders in life spending a few years in the *Grihastha* (householder's) stage, one should devote oneself to meditation and service Haribhai was unattached in the *Grihastha* stage. Hence he was able to tender real service

Reading rooms, adult education, or medical aid were but insignificant activities compared to the magnanimous task of ideological revolution which they had all inherited from Gandhiji and such a revolution demanded great effort The wicked were to be won over by love and non-violence, defeat was not to be known, and *Rama Rajya* was to be established All that required, freedom from passion. It was the restrained life alone that could generate the power capable of influencing the surrounding atmosphere. Men like Hanuman and Lakshman who had conquered their senses were the persons competent to propagate the Ideal of *Rama Rajya*. Not that ordinary householders had no place in the field of social service but only those who were free from worldly attachments had the power to uplift the society and it was only they whom people could follow

The group of the workers there, Shri Vinoba continued, would shine and grow, if those who appreciated his (Vinoba's) ideas tried to transform their lives into channels of self-restraint. That was the message which Haribhai's life had meant for them, for Haribhai was dedicated to service was pure at heart, and was free from worldly attachments Could there be a greater memorial to him than to develop those qualities of his in one's own life? His portrait otherwise could have no meaning, for after some days people would get used to look at it and would forget its significance It was the worship of ideals alone that counted

Concluding, Shri Vinoba hoped that they would try to practise the few things at which he had pointed, for thus alone could his presence bear fruit.

Earlier, Shri Vinoba performed the opening of the Gandhi Garden and unveiled the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Kapadvanj Municipal Hall. He also addressed a workers meeting in the evening, and proceeded to Sabarmati Ashram thereafter

Sabarmati 21-1-'49 D M

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

NOTES

Mechanized Agriculture

In the 19-9 48 issue of the *Harijan*, which was lent to me by an Australian friend of mine, I read Shri D K. Gupta's article, *Why Tractors Then?* Perhaps Shri Guptaji did not realize the fact that Indian agriculture can be easily mechanized even without the aid of a tractor It is the implements like the disc plough, combine harvester, reaper and binder etc. which are playing a dominant role in the agricultural advancement of various countries Teams of bullocks or draught horses could be effectively employed instead of a tractor The mere fact that we are precariously short of petroleum products should not blind us to the value and importance of these machines which require a certain amount of lubricating oil only Time has come when we will have to say goodbye to primitive and out-of-date methods and adopt modern methods of mechanized agriculture.

I have formed these views after taking into consideration the pros and cons of the subject. They might help dispel the wrong notions which many people have and the undue importance they attach to the tractor

Dooen (Australia) S C DASS

Search for Peace

[Among those who attended the Pacifists Conference which took place at Sevagram last week, was an old blind sadhu named Sharanananda]. He participated more than once during the three days' discussions, and made some valuable utterances. I note below a few of his pithy sayings. —K. G M]

Truth is greater than wisdom Wisdom is greater than science. Science is greater than production of material objects Material objects are greater than possession of money

The cause of our miseries is that we give precedence to possession of money, and back seat to Truth

The knowledge of science is faultless It is the scientist who is at fault If he becomes corrupt, he becomes a slave of money and power, and uses his science for evil purposes If he remains pure, he applies it for making the world happy Therefore, improve your learned men first Give them wisdom. For, wisdom is greater than science

Until you are at peace with yourself you cannot bring peace into the world, you cannot know how to do it. First therefore, attain your own peace and contentment You might then be able to pacify your neighbour.

S

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

Correction

In *Harijan* of January 30, 1949 (XII-48) on page 412 (column 1- read *fierce* in place of *fine* line 4) and omit *and* in the last line under 13 March. In *Harijan* of February 6, 1949 (XII-49) on page 420 (column 2 line 7) in place of *quarrel* read *war*

In *Harijan* of February 13, 1949 (XII-50) on p 426 (column 2, last line of paragraph 2) for *return* read *returned*.

गांधी सेवा संघ वाराणसी

VACCINATION AGAINST T B.

The Madras Government appears to have decided upon giving B C G vaccine inoculation for tuberculosis to students of all schools in Madras. I do not know whether this measure is going to be compulsory I hope it is not Vaccination and inoculation are after taking into account every argument and fact in their favour, not at all free from danger to health and are not even quite successful in carrying out its intended purpose. This particular vaccine has been denounced by other medical authorities The correspondent who has drawn my attention to the above writes

"Eminent physicians have all opposed and given their opinion against B C G tuberculosis vaccine as dangerous. Dr Sokolski, the well-known Berlin doctor, has demonstrated that B. C G tuberculosis vaccine is dangerous to health and that death has been caused by it Prominent Austrian children's doctors and specialists on tuberculosis abandoned B. C G vaccine for tuberculosis five years ago among them is no less an authority than Professor Dr Von Pirquet, the greatest school medical authority, who gave his opinion of tuberculosis vaccine in Vienna Medical Weekly in the following words

'The tubercle bacillus can establish itself in the organism through the B C G vaccine for tuberculosis and the result cannot be foretold Such a dangerous process cannot be approved or tolerated The Viennese Health authorities have refused to introduce B. C. G. tuberculosis vaccine. In France numerous doctors have reported serious injuries and deaths from B C G vaccine for tuberculosis. Prof Dr Kock says

'It is the overcrowded dwellings of the poor that we have to regard as real breeding places of tuberculosis it is out of them that the disease always creeps up anew and it is to the abolition of insanitary conditions that we must first and foremost devote our attention if we wish to attack the evil at its root and wage war against it'"

I hope the Madras Government will not take any hasty step and in any case will not compel students against their own and their guardians' wish to get vaccinated.

I am aware that my correspondent will not be satisfied with my protest in this mild form My hesitation arises from the fact that in spite of my conviction that right prophylactic measures against various diseases are sanitation, nutritious food, clean habits and surroundings, pure air, light and water, and not vaccines and inoculations, yet when the former are not available and cannot be quickly organized and speedy measures are necessary to arrest the spread of a disease in a virulent form- vaccination becomes an unavoidable necessity in spite of all the evils attributed to it. Those of us, who regard this activity as a sin against health and nature must help in creating conditions for rendering them unnecessary by energetic and quick execution of sanitary and other programme It is not that the Government regards vaccination as a substitute for sanitation, and does not care and work for the latter But it often feels compelled to resort also to vaccines etc because by its very nature, the other work requires more time, more workers and day to day application. Until this is fully organized, the other may have to go on Only it should never be forced on people, who have objections to it and should never have such faith induced in them as if they were a talisman against their respective diseases.

Wardha, 15-2-'49 K G MASHRUWALA

GANDHIJI'S ECONOMIC THEORIES

"The love of God may be defined as the love of one's fellowmen raised to the highest power"—it was Gandhiji's unique contribution to the evolution of mankind to translate this definition into dynamic action Few among the seers known throughout the ages and fewer still among the founders and leaders of nations, great or small, have come so near as Gandhiji did, towards relating the politics of time to the politics of eternity

If the term politics is interpreted in a broad sense Gandhiji's was an attempt to effect not only a social revolution but a moral one as well It was a new civilization predominantly rural and, therefore aiming primarily and immediately at checking the decay of the countryside and to preventing the degeneration of the rural community. As a far-seeing social thinker, Gandhiji believed in the thesis that it was a community which was predominantly rural that had the social basis of democracy secure.

There are not a few among us who hold the view that the mechanization of the basic industry of the country is essential for bringing plenty and prosperity to the countryside If the present agrarian system stands in the way of such mechanization, they would scrap the system, making it possible for agriculture to become a large-scale enterprise. A centralized agriculture, Gandhiji however sensed, was a contradiction not only in terms but of the natural law Such large-scale farming does not possess the capacity to produce enough both qualitatively and quantitatively per acre Productive efficiency dependent as it is upon the capacity for good husbandry displayed by the individual devoted to the soil, is impaired in large-scale impersonal operations while, obviously the essence of quality, however modest the degree, is to be individual and unique. It is the philosophic basis of this tenet that appealed instinctively to Gandhiji. Mass production appeared to him to be the anti-thesis of individual men engaged in making things of quality.

It is this horror of mass production turning human beings into automatons and a dread of the possibility of their being enlisted, under the orders of the centralized authority controlling such production, for purposes of mass destruction that, apart from other reasons, made Gandhiji advocate decentralized production in industry A highly centralized society could not, according to Gandhiji,

for long remain democratic, in as much as the ruthless urge for efficiency in matters economic that it inevitably fostered, bred an equally ruthless avidity for political domination Without democracy, he foresaw, there could be no scope for a classless non-violent social order

It is not only the philosophical aspect of the future mould of our economic organization that impelled Gandhiji to take the stand that he did. It was also the practical economic aspect as well It is futile, if not foolhardy, to draw upon the experiences of the achievement of rural prosperity gained by these methods in countries such as the United States of America, Canada, Australia or even Russia with conditions, social and economic, very dissimilar to ours With the possible exception of China there is no country in the world where the pressure of population on the land is so great as with us in India There is no country with so large a cattle wealth as ours Years ago Ruskin urged that not till all muscle was fully employed should machines be used Muscles rot with idleness, much to the detriment of the community, particularly a community where as with us, the means of sustenance are scanty. The plough cattle employed on the land feed on the land — and not like the machine on fuel imported from abroad — but in return they return one hundred per cent to the land in power and in their food residues apart from the use that can be made of their carcasses when they die The manurial value of cattle dung provides the most valuable ingredient from which the soil can derive nourishment The mechanized farm often becomes, however, a graveyard of old machines That production per acre will be quantitatively greater or qualitatively superior is wholly uncertain, the output per man may be higher This however, can only mean that fewer persons will be needed on the land; and with our vast population already unemployed or underemployed, it will be, as Gandhiji foresaw in relation to industries, a superhuman task for any Government to face in future

Two considerations, presumably, weighed with Gandhiji in resisting action on lines which are supposed to have led to rural prosperity elsewhere Such action has flown from the desire for quick results. With his inborn faith in an unseen power, Gandhiji was never in a hurry to gain ends but invariably he bestowed more care and thought on the means Speeding in the wrong direction, instead of taking us to the goal we had in mind, might lead us to chaos Besides like the true democrat that he was, Gandhiji believed that "the really precious things which democracy preserves and cherishes may be slow in their unfolding."

The second consideration, apparently, was a unique outlook on the human contribution towards material progress All human activity to be worthwhile, Gandhiji ever and anon emphasized, should be creative. As a postulate no human being should derive his livelihood from the creative labour of others. In a regime of large-scale production, whether in agriculture or in industry, pride in work is not deemed as an asset in output In several processes in industry, skilful handwork surpasses in quality the work done by the machine, while for the rural community all true husbandry, as has been aptly described, expresses a kind of reverence in its manipulations of natural substances Both the right and the wrong way of doing things Gandhiji averred, have an indirectly moral bearing on the work and the life of those who engage themselves in labour Thus, as Gandhiji asserted again and again, physical labour directed to the production of things needed for human life is not only honourable but is holy It is with the enslavement of human beings for purposes of economic exploitation that labour has become degraded and with the intensive growth of mechanization has become synonymous with drudgery To put an end to such degradation of human values was the mission of Gandhiji's life because as one who valued the spirit in man, he longed for and strove for unchaining that spirit so that it could express itself in labour that was art — the highest manifestation of man's creative instinct

24-1-'49 V L. MEHTA

"VIOLENCE BETTER THAN COWARDICE"

I have seen this saying of Gandhiji being frequently quoted of late It is used as if Gandhiji thereby wanted the people and the State to resort to violence rather than be suspected of cowardice In the context in which Gandhiji expressed this idea, it was quite proper But maxims, generalisations, or "tabloid" sayings become misleading and mischievous when used as sanctions for particular policies or exhortations

The fact is that there is no contradiction between violence and cowardice, for cowardice is never non-violent. It is only violence suppressed under adverse external forces, or, say, expressed fear is suppressed violence, i. e cowardice When the suppressing force is removed a coward is more brutally violent than a brave regular fighter The latter has a code of honour even in his free fight The coward is without it He knows only anger, revenge and unrestrained brutality, along with the use of heels as soon as fear reappears. What is, therefore, meant to be said is that honourable and open fight under a well-understood code of honour is superior to cowardice, but the firm spirit of non-violence is the best, because there is violence both in fight and cowardice. India's goal is not to cultivate violence either of the regular fighter or the coward, but to cultivate the spirit of non-violence, i. e winning the opponent by suffering, sacrifice, service, sympathy (fellow-feeling) accompanied with non-co-operation and even civil resistance to the evil in him. It is not that a person should acquire the art of violent resistance or should have cultivated the spirit of violent resistance before he can adopt non-violence.

Wardha, 7-2-'49 K. G MASHRUWALA

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION

III

WHERE ARE THE RESULTS?

What is there to show for the mounting toll of animal torture and human debasement? When Faust sold his soul to the Devil he got at least that for which he had hastened it away. The vivisectors who claim exemption from the laws of human decency and demand ever-increasing facilities and funds for their sadistic pursuits — what have they got to show for their activities? They are in much the same position — and their recommendations should be valued accordingly — as the woman, always free with her advice on child care, who declared, "I ought to know how to bring up children, I've buried six!" This infamous practice of vivisection has been going on so long that it is surely not unreasonable to ask what the perpetrators have to show for it.

Were not the main facts about diet known before the hundreds and thousands of wretched laboratory animals paid with their sufferings and with their deaths sometimes by slow starvation that we might be able to call the nutritive elements 'vitamins'?

In our *Theosophical Free Tract No. 11*, we presented in some detail *The Case Against Vaccination*. We shall not, therefore, go again here into the failure of vaccination for smallpox, which is no longer compulsory in Great Britain, though it unfortunately is still in parts of India. We believe with the late A. R. Wallace, O. M., F. R. S., that "a condition of health is the one and only protection we required against all kinds of disease, and to put any product of disease whatever into the blood of a healthy person is to create a danger far greater than the disease itself."

The failure of diphtheria immunization has been spectacular and tragic in its results. In Germany it was made compulsory in 1940 and the number of cases jumped from 142,685 to 236,000 two years later. It was made compulsory in France, in the second and third years of life, after having been widely practised before. The incidence per 100,000 jumped from 35·9 in 1939 to 118·7 in 1943. Dr. J. Tissot, Hon. Professor of General Physiology at the National Natural History Museum, Paris, declared last December that vaccination with diphtheria toxin had inoculated serious diphtheria upon about 150,000 children in France since 1940, and killed 15,000 of them.

It is often not realized that the serums and vaccines which millions take unthinkingly in blind submission to medical orthodoxy's current fad, involve great suffering of animals in their production. A physician wrote in a popular article in *The Sunday Pictorial* of 14th October, 1945:

> It is said that these experiments are merely the prick of a needle. The initial act is no doubt only a prick but the animal who has been injected is kept alive often for days until it has developed peritonitis and died in strenuous pain.

The torture of any animal is bad but the fact that smallpox vaccine preparation involves cruelty to the cow should be more widely known by Indians, too many of whom are ready to bow to any Western medical superstition that is urged upon them.

In a striking article in *The Nineteenth Century* long ago as 1929, Beatrice E. Kidd wrote of the vested interests concerned in the immunology cult:

> So long as bacteriology is the mean of livelihood of thousands and is subsidized by the government and the makers of vaccines and sera pile up their huge profits, so long will hundreds of thousands of animals, presented in our laboratories, be cast to a doom which men and women of sympathetic imagination must needs contemplate with horror and so long will their sacrifice be quite fruitless.

Take that scourge of humanity — cancer. In spite of several decades of futile sacrifice of thousands of animals in the laboratory, there have been no resulting suggestions of a cure, and deaths from this dread disease are on the increase. In the U. S. A. it has become the second greatest cause of death. *Common-Sense About Cancer*, approvingly reviewed in *The Medical World* a few years ago, suggested that orthodox medicines themselves may be one of the main cause of cancer, essentially a disease of civilization.

Dr. Monkton Copeman, F. R. S., said that, "notwithstanding the enormous amount of time, money and energy which have been spent on cancer research all over the civilized world, they were still as ignorant as ever as to the cause of the disease."

It was of this problem of cancer that Dr. Beddow Bayley, M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P., wrote in *Cancer: The Failure of Modern Research*:

> Until the complete futility and moral unjustifiability of animal experimentation are more generally recognized, there is little likelihood that lines of thought and experience so entirely foreign to the mental outlook of those who uphold the practice of vivisection, but essential to the true comprehension of the problem, will be found acceptable.

Insulin for diabetics is a discovery to which the defenders of vivisection point with pride, asserting triumphantly that this boon to the human race cost "only thirty dogs". But how do they account for the fact that since the introduction of this "wonder drug" the mortality from diabetes has been rising in a medically "advanced country like the U. S. A.? Between 1933 and 1944, the last year for which statistics are available, deaths from diabetes rose from 21.4 per 100,000 to 26.4.

Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, M. D., M. R. C. P., M. A. wrote in *The Animals' Defender* for June 1947, that "during the last thirty years the infliction of intense torture on unknown myriads of sentient animals

has not resulted in the discovery of a single remedy of acknowledged and generally accepted value in the cure of disease". Dr Banting's experiments on living dogs, he declared in *The Sunday Pictorial* article cited,

> have not added one whit to the knowledge we had fifty years ago when Dr. Abram, Professor of Medicine in the Liverpool University, was treating diabetic patients with pancreatic extract, which is now known and boosted by the manufacturing chemists as insulin

The hackneyed demand based on the assumption of beneficial results from vivisection, "Would you spare the life of an animal and let your own child die?" is shown by the barren record of vivisection to be completely irrelevant.

> Kill not—for Pity's sake—and lest ye slay
> The meanest thing upon its upward way.
>
> —*The Light of Asia*

LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR

(By M K Gandhi)

VII

[To a co-worker who asked if one could see God face to face while still living.]

This question never worries a liver of the *Gita* life, for he is entitled only to strive and must not bother about the consequences. Still I am inclined to think that perfect realization of the Supreme is impossible so long as one is subject to the limitations of life. He might reach the door but cannot enter as he still bears his body like chains. However he should be ever conscious of pain due to separation from God, if this pain is not felt he will be negligent in his effort and might even stop it altogether. The pain must not cause despondency but must be the spring of hope everlasting and a spur to stronger effort. Remember the *Gita* promise that the least little effort never goes in vain. Therefore the pain of separation too must be a source of joy for the aspirant as he is confident that he is bound to reach his goal sooner or later

(Translated from Gujarati)

VIII

India is to me the dearest country in the world, not because it is my country but because I have discovered the greatest goodness in it. It has been subject to foreign rule, it is true, but its subjection too is a proof of its goodness. The status of a slave is preferable to that of a slaveholder.

(Translated from Gujarati)

IX

[Jada Parekh, an Ashram boy, asked, 'Shri Krishna got Bhishma killed by placing Shikhandi in front of him and prevented Jayadrath from seeing the sun by covering it up with the sudarshan chakra. Was his conduct on these occasions justified? And if it was not, can we cannot such scenes as a part of our school theatricals? Gandhiji replied to him on a slip of paper of the usual size for children, 4 inches long and 2 inches broad.]

It is an excellent question. The *Mahabharat* is poetry not history. The poet tries to show that if a man resorts to violence, untruth too is sure to come in, and even people like Krishna cannot escape it. A wrong is a wrong no matter who the wrongdoer is. Krishna was at fault in both the cases, and if my memory serves me right, Vyasa too takes an unfavourable view of these incidents. There may be no harm in enacting such scenes if such conduct is clearly shown as unworthy of imitation. *(Translated from Gujarati)*

X

[To Shri Narandas Gandhi, the Secretary of the Ashram.]

I have my doubts about the propriety of enacting such scenes. I do not think we can derive any benefit from scenes in which big people have acted unworthily. Children are apt to draw the moral that if big people behave like that, so can we. I therefore think that our theatricals should be of a different kind altogether like say Rabindranath's *Muktadhara* or Maithilisharan Gupta's *Anagha*, which is very good indeed and fit to be presented to the children there. The Hindi is simple and sweet and the subject-matter leaves nothing to be desired. *(Translated from Gujarati)*

XI

Vanity is emptiness, self-respect is substance. No one's self-respect is ever hurt except by self, vanity is always hurt from outside.

In the phrase, 'seeing God face to face', 'face to face' is not to be taken literally. It is a matter of decided feeling. God is formless. He can therefore only be seen by spiritual sight.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI IN GUJARAT	VALLABHBHAI PATEL	437
RVOLVING NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	439
CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS—II	SHANKARRAO DEV	440
FULFILMENT OF SARVODAYA	D M	442
QUALIFICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES	RAJENDRAPRASAD	444
UNADJUDGED OFFENDERS	K G MASHRUWALA	445
A CO WORKER AND WITNESS GONE	PYARELAL	446
EDUCATION OF HARIJAN GIRLS	D. M.	447
THE LATE HARILAL DESAI	D M.	447
VACCINATION AGAINST T B.	K. G MASHRUWALA	448
GANDHIJI'S ECONOMIC THEORIES	V L. MEHTA	448
"VIOLENCE BETTER THAN COWARDICE"	K G MASHRUWALA	450
THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION—III	—	451
LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR—VII—XI	M K GANDHI	452
NOTES		
MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE	S. C. DASS	446
SEARCH FOR PEACE	S.	448

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates—INLAND One year, Rs 6 Six months, Rs. 3 FOREIGN, One year Rs. 8 or 12 sh. or $. 2